

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT TAMPA, FLORIDA
NOVEMBER 16 TO 27, INCLUSIVE

1936



JUDD & DETWEILER
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION

OF LABOR

1937

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Fifty-sixth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artists of America, Associated.	1	44	Frank Gillmore, 45 West 47th Street, New York, New York.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and....	1	25	Joseph A. Mullaney, 41—32 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, New York.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	4	66	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		65	Joseph Schmidt, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		65	Peter Beisel, 153 Selma Avenue, Webster Grove, Missouri.
		65	J. Goldstone, 2401 Davidson Avenue, New York, New York.
Barbers' International Union of America, Journeymen.....	5	65	W. C. Birthright, 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		65	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward Street, Rochester, New York.
		65	Anthony Merlino, 97 Dyer Street, New Haven, Connecticut.
		64	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Avenue, Dallas, Texas.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	64	Charles T. Crane, 407 Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson Street, Portland, Oregon.
		14	Leo Abernathy, 303 Bessemer Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		25	Wm. G. Fowlesland, 4308 Kensington Avenue, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	3	52	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		52	J. N. Davis, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		51	William E. Walter, 504 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	39	John B. Haggerty, 307 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		39	J. W. Prewitt, 310 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		38	Anastasia Becker, 300 St. Louis Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	1	270	John J. Mara, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	140	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine Street, Station E. Box 28, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		140	Albert J. Kugler, 56 Glenwood Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		140	Adam E. Zusi, 704 South 14th Street, Newark, New Jersey.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	109	William J. Bowen, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		109	Harry C. Bates, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		108	Richard J. Gray, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		108	John J. Stretch, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		108	William J. Moran, care Labor Advocate, El Paso, Texas.
		108	John W. Jockel, 14616 Savannah Avenue, East Cleveland, Ohio.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	1	10	Frank Kasten, 1550 West 95th Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	4	40	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		40	W. J. McCain, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		40	J. H. Lyons, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		40	John J. Dempsey, 119 South Liberty Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	5	70	Jerry J. Horan, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		70	Oscar F. Nelson, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		70	Wm. L. McFetridge, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		70	George Sealise, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	70	James Bambrick, 570 7th Avenue, New York, New York.
		146	Felix H. Knight, 107 West Linwood, Kansas City, Missouri.
		146	John O. Holmgren, 11740 Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		146	Robert Macrorie, 210 Kitson Street, Norwood Grove, Manitoba, Canada.
		145	Irvin Barney, 5236 South Spaulding Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	375	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		375	Frank Duffy, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		375	Geo. H. Lakey, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		375	Wm. J. Kelly, 1225 Farragut Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		375	T. M. Guerin, 290 Second Avenue, Troy, New York.
		375	Thos. Flynn, 5968 West Adams Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	1	375	L. B. Parrish, 2310 Highland Avenue, Tampa, Florida.
		375	John Howat, 533 Robinson Place, Shreveport, Louisiana.
		70	R. E. Van Horn, 604 Carpenters Building, Washington, D. C.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office..	5	64	Leo E. George, 3851 31st Street, Mt. Ranier, Maryland.
		64	Gilbert E. Hyatt, 3318 19th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		64	George B. Falconer, P. O. Clerk, Brainerd, Minnesota.
		64	John F. Bowen, Jr., 5432 Camp Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
		64	Robert K. Harwood, 214 Parker Street, Tampa, Florida.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION v

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	3	292 292 291	George M. Harrison, Brotherhood Railway Clerks Building, 1015 Vine Street, Room 701, Cincinnati, Ohio. P. C. Sarrett, 6805 Central Avenue, Tampa, Florida. J. V. Guerra, 2712 12th Street, Tampa, Florida.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail	2	52 51	W. G. Desepte, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana. C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car	1	20	R. L. Janes, 102 West 17th Street, Jacksonville, Florida.
Coopers' International Union of North America	1	25	James J. Doyle, 168 Dartmouth Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and	1	12	C. L. Rosemund, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America International Brotherhood of	4	425 425 425 425	D. W. Tracy, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. G. M. Bugniaset, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Chas. M. Paulsen, 4919 N. Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. E. D. Bieretz, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	3	34 34 34	F. B. Comfort, 12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Harry Milton, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California. Mathew Taylor, 202 South State Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Engineers, International Union of Operating	5	70 70 70 70 70	John Possehl, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. F. A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Joseph S. Fay, Room 1101, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York. Charles B. Gramling, Route 7, Box 432, Atlanta, Georgia. William P. Walsh, 11111 Clifton Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo	3	30 29 29	Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 292 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. Matthew Woll, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York. Henry F. Schmal, Tower Grove Bank Building, 3138 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Fire Fighters, International Association of	2	128 127	Fred W. Baer, 207 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. J. F. Watkins, 2312 Bessemer Boulevard, Birmingham, Alabama.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	4	52 52 52 51	John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts. John Clinton, 330 South Wells Street, Suite 1410, Chicago, Illinois. James L. Kelley, 501 3rd Street, White Bear Lake, Minnesota. James M. Kennedy, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International	3	50 50 50	Pietro Lucchi, 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, New York. Samuel Mindel, 409 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. Harry Begoon, 250 West 26th Street, New York, New York.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
		82	T. A. Rickert, Room 621, Bible House, New York City, New York.
		81	A. Adamaki, 621 Bible House, New York City, New York.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	81	I. W. Hashkins, 621 Bible House, New York City, New York.
		81	A. Gordon, 621 Bible House, New York City, New York.
		81	D. A. Houck, 621 Bible House, New York City, New York.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	31	James Maloney, Room 1801, 12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		31	William S. Dixon, Lansdowne P. O., Maryland.
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window.....	1	12	Joseph E. Mayeur, 11 East Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint....	1	48	M. J. Gillooly, 204 Hardee Building, Corner Huron and Jefferson Street, Toledo, Ohio.
		74	Charles I. Stengle, 900 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Government Employes, American Federation of.....	3	74	(Mrs.) Berniece B. Heffner, 900 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		74	Clarence L. Edwards, 5th U. S. Civil Service District, New Post Office Building, Atlanta, Georgia.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	1	50	Laurence Foley, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United.....	4	56	Max Zaritsky, 245 5th Avenue, New York City, New York.
		55	Michael F. Greene, 11 Tuxedo Parkway, Newark, New Jersey.
		55	Alex Rose, 31 West 37th Street, New York City, New York.
		55	Samuel Herskowitz, 2600 University Avenue, New York City, New York.
		109	Joseph V. Moreschi, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	6	109	Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California.
		109	Herbert Rivers, 509 Bowen Building, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		109	J. B. Etchison, 230 East Ninth Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		109	James Bove, 731 Bryant Park Bldg., 55 West 42nd Street, New York, New York.
		109	Peter Fosco, 850 South Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		123	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
		123	Robert B. Hesketh, 528-530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	6	123	Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State Street, Rochester, New York.
		123	Chris Lane, 184 West Canton Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		123	John C. Staggburg, 166 West Washington Street, Suite 306, Chicago, Illinois.
		123	Walter Cowan, P. O. Box 83, San Francisco, California.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International....	1	53	Samuel E. Beardsley, Room 402, Bible House, 45 Astor Place, New York City, New York.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	27	William J. McSorley, 2805 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
		27	George T. Moore, 5807 Cornelia Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		27	Charles J. Case, 4 West 7th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Laundry Workers' International Union....	1	60	W. C. Brooks, Box 332, San Francisco, California.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION vii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Leather Workers, United International Union.....	1	25	W. E. Bryan, 539 Bryan Place, Middleport, Ohio.
		100	Edward J. Gainer, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	5	100	M. T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		100	William J. Gorman, 2429 Cornelia Street, Brooklyn, New York.
		100	Luther E. Swartz, 1018 Stohlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.
		100	Charles D. Duffy, 332 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	35	Andrew J. Kennedy, 205 West 14th Street, New York City, New York.
		34	Robert Bruck, 1506 Jonquil Terrace, Chicago, Illinois.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	2	203	Joseph P. Ryan, 265 West 14th Street, New York City, New York.
		203	Michael Dwyer, 1808 Avenue K, Galveston, Texas.
		190	A. O. Wharton, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		190	W. F. Robinson, Labor Temple, 11th and Marshall Streets, Richmond, Virginia.
Machinists, International Association of...	6	190	Charles W. Fry, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		189	N. P. Alifas, 303 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		189	R. A. Henning, 2395 University Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota.
		189	Daniel P. Haggerty, 936 Capp Street, San Francisco, California.
		72	F. H. Fljosdal, 61 Putman Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of.....	5	72	E. E. Millman, 61 Putman Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
		71	T. F. Holleran, 312 Brooks Building, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.
		71	George H. Davis, 18 Cohen Building, Covington, Kentucky.
		71	S. H. Mitchell, 1632 Spring Garden Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of.....	2	28	William McCarthy, Room 306, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		27	Joseph A. McInerney, 615 Second Avenue, New York City, New York.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....	1	25	John J. Scully, Room 1103, 15 Moore Street, New York, New York.
		49	Dennis Lane, 160 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	4	49	M. S. Maxwell, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
		48	Earl W. Jimerson, 755a Collinsville Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
		48	John J. Walsh, Room 604—160 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		40	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet.....	4	40	James J. Ryan, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		40	James T. Moriarty, 7 Appleton Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		40	James W. Close, 620 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	3	53 53 53	Lawrence O'Keefe, 528-530 Walnut Street, Edwards Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. John H. Wardley, 464 Mercer Street, Jersey City, New Jersey. George Haas, 1000 Walnut Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
		167	Joseph N. Weber, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		167	Edward Canavan, 3416 90th Street, Jackson Heights, Long Island, New York.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	6	167 167 166 166 166	C. A. Weaver, 616 Insurance Exchange, Des Moines, Iowa. C. L. Bagley, 720 Washington Building, 311 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, California. Otto J. Kapl, 2200 East 21st Street, Cleveland, Ohio. Harry J. Steeper, 225 30th Street, Woodcliff, New Jersey.
Newspaper Guild, American.....	1	5	Jonathan Eddy, 1560 Broadway, New York, New York.
		111	L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
		111	Clarence E. Swick, Painters & Decorators Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	111 111 111 110	Jos. F. Kelley, P. O. Box 433, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Harry Kaufman, 734 Canton Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey. James M. Meehan, 84 Towerhill, Lawrence, Massachusetts. Christian M. Madsen, 3209 Evergreen Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Papermakers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	33 33	Matthew J. Burns, Standard Building, 112 State Street, Albany, New York. Arthur Huggins, 112 State Street, Albany, New York.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	1	26	George Q. Lynch, 311 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, International Union of.....	1	31	Michael Carrozzo, 100 North LaSalle Street, Room 707, Chicago, Illinois.
		45	M. J. Colleran, 401 W. 263rd Street, Riverdale, Bronx, New York.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	45 45 45	John E. Rooney, 15401 Grovewood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. John H. Donlin, 5145 West Cermak Road, Cicero, Illinois. M. J. McDonough, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		66	John Coefield, 506 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		66	Thomas E. Burke, 506 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	66 66 66 66	Charles M. Rau, 408 S. Leavitt Street, Chicago, Illinois. Charles Anderson, 1901 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. William Fallon, 150 Virginia Street, Jersey City, New Jersey.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal.....	1	46	W. W. Britton, 48 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car.....	1	12	A. Philip Randolph, 36-38 W. 135th Street, New York, New York.
		52	James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	52	Alex Young, 31 Passaic Street, Trenton, New Jersey.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	13	Joseph Draby, Washington Loan & Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION ix

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	64 64 64 64 64	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee. Edward F. McGrady, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. J. Sid Tiller, 552 Oakland Avenue, S.E., Atlanta, Ga. George A. Freeburn, 710 North Oregon Avenue, Tampa, Florida. Edward M. Wilmot, 160 First Avenue South, St. Petersburg, Florida.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	3	31 30 30	John P. Burke, Fort Edward, New York. G. G. Brinkley, Covington, Virginia. H. W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Quarry Workers, International Union of North America.....	1	20	John C. Lawson, Scampini Building, Barre, Vermont.
		127	W. D. Mahon, 260 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan.
		126	Edward McMorrow, 260 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan.
		126	Joseph J. Kehoe, 328-338 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		126	Neil McLellan, 906 Lawyers Building, Detroit, Michigan.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	6	126	Matthew J. McLaughlin, 320 Kimball Building, 18 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		126	Thomas F. Broderick, Room 246, Plymouth Building, 265 Main Street, Worcester, Massachusetts.
		97	J. F. Bennett, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railway Mail Association.....	2	96	Henry W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	2	20 20	George W. Jones, 1116 Washington Boulevard, Oak Park, Illinois. J. M. Gavlak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
		67	Andrew Furuseth, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	3	67 66	Ivan Hunter, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois. Paul Scharrenberg, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Sheep Shearers' Union of North America...	1	9	A. A. Evans, Box 1992, Butte, Montana.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	60 60 60 60	George E. Browne, 13th & E Streets N.W., Earle Building, Washington, D. C. Fred J. Dempsey, 13th & E Streets, Earle Building, Washington, D. C. Thomas V. Green, 262 Washington Street, Newark, New Jersey. E. J. Brock % 1037-Earle Bldg., Wash., D. C.
State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of.....	1	10	Arnold S. Zander, 611 Beaver Building, Madison, Wisconsin.
		41	Leon De Vese, 89 W. 33rd Street, Bayonne, New Jersey.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	40	Chas. A. Sumner, 2645 East 28th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
		26	M. W. Mitchell, 8 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	26	P. J. Cullen, 180 West Adams Street, Room 412, Chicago, Illinois.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	23	Edw. W. Kaiser, 1513 Hogan Street, St. Louis, Missouri.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	2	43 42	Thomas C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York. John Lundergan, C/o Hotel Imperial, New York, New York.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen...	1	59	William Resnick, 15 Union Square, New York, New York.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	3	43 42 42	Jerome Davis, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut. Allie B. Mann, 858 Springdale Road, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia. Irvin R. Kuennli, Room 622, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	269 269 268 268 268 268	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana. Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana. John M. Gillespie, 222 East Michigan Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana. John McLaughlin, 536 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California. George Wilson, 639 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. John O'Rourke, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	2	175 175	E. J. Manion, 2673 W. Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri. H. B. Perham, 6828 19th Avenue, North East Seattle, Washington.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial.....	1	20	Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Tobacco Workers' International Union....	3	28 28 28	E. Lewis Evans, 807 Realty Building, Louisville, Kentucky. J. E. Lentie, 807 Realty Building, Louisville, Kentucky. Raymond E. Rodgers, 335 West 5th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	123 122 122 122 122	Charles P. Howard, 2820 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. William R. Trotter, Box 428, Indianapolis, Indiana. Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, Detroit, Michigan. John Simons, 423 West 120th Street, New York, New York.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	3	29 28 28	James H. Hatch, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York. Pierce H. Deamer, C/o James H. Hatch, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York. Edwin E. Graves, C/o James H. Hatch, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	J. W. Williams, Rooms 500-504 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	John P. Frey, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railway Employees Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, Room 520, American Fore Building, 944 Rush Street, Fort Dearborn Station, Chicago, Illinois.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	I. M. Ornburn, 202 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Dan C. Thompson, 616 Lyric Building, Birmingham, Alabama.
Arizona State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. W. Kindred, 732 East Van Buren, Phoenix, Arizona.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Vic Wood, 504 South 18th Street, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xi

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George G. Kidwell, care, Edw. D. Vandeleur, Grant Building, 1095 Market Street, San Francisco, California.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Hefferty, 315 Security Building, Denver, Colorado.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor....	1	1	John J. Egan, 1024 Main Street, Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wendell C. Heaton, Capitol Building, Tallahassee, Florida.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. C. Jeffries, 428 Broadway, Columbus, Georgia.
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Aug. Rosqvist, Box 246, Pocatello, Idaho.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. G. Soderstrom, 728 United Mine Workers Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Carl H. Mullen, 920 Peoples Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. C. Lewis, 428 Iowa Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. C. Kane, care, P. J. Campbell, 205-6 Tyler Building, Louisville, Kentucky.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. H. Williams, 221 Ward Building, Shreveport, Louisiana.
Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph P. McCurdy, 702 Emerson Tower, Baltimore, Maryland.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Robert J. Watt, 1222-23, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Warren S. Welsh, Labor Temple, St. Joseph, Missouri.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James D. Graham, 419 Breckenridge Street, Helena, Montana.
Nevada State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Townshend, 24 West Douglas Street, Reno, Nevada.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Louis P. Marcianite, Brearly Avenue and Lawrence Road, Trenton, New Jersey.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Lyons, 55 West 42nd Street, New York, New York.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, 321 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ben T. Osborne, 500 Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor...	1	1	John A. Phillips, 430 North Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.....	1	1	Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Commissioner of Labor, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Cornelius J. Mulcahy, 48 Snow Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
South Carolina State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Dowell E. Patterson, 51 Broad Street, Charleston, South Carolina.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William Turnblaser, Jellico, Tennessee.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	B. M. Egan, 1411 Wheeler Avenue, Houston, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. D. Rapp, 920 Rose Avenue, Clifton Forge, Virginia.
Washington State Federation of Labor....	1	1	James A. Taylor, 108 Labor Temple, Seattle, Washington.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor...	1	1	John B. Easton, 310-312 Peoples Exchange Bank Building, Charleston, West Virginia.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. J. Handley, 516 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Martin Cahill, Box 892, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Akron, Ohio, Summit County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wilmer Tate, 182 Sholiton Court, Akron, Ohio.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council.....	1	1	Redmond M. Burr, 320 South Fifth Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
Appalachia, Va., Central Labor Union....	1	1	William Minton, Box 469, Norton, Virginia.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	J. A. Harper, 936 Boulevard, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia.
Balboa, C.Z., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	F. S. Key, Box 1957, Ancon, Canal Zone.
Bekley, W. Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John Getchen, Box 275, Glen Morgan, West Virginia.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.	1	1	Al. Towers, 126 N. 78th Street, Belleville, Illinois.
Benton, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Curtis Mundell, 111 East Main Street, Benton, Illinois.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	Yelverton Cowherd, First National Bank Building, Birmingham, Alabama.
Bismarck, N. Dakota, Central Labor Union	1	1	S. S. McDonald, care O. E. Kafer, 223-13th Street, Bismarck, North Dakota.
Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union....	1	1	William Tracy, Suite 6, Mary Building, 95th Street and Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles B. Campfield, 658 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.
Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union...	1	1	John J. O'Neill, 649 Wayne Street, Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Brownsville, Pa., United Trades Council...	1	1	Richard Mayer, Blainesburg, Pennsylvania.
Brunswick, Ga., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	T. McClellan, 604 Newcastle Street, Brunswick, Georgia.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union....	1	1	E. A. Johnson, 528 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.
Canonsburg, Pa., Central Labor Union....	1	1	H. O. Balls, 333 Ridge Avenue, Canonsburg, Pennsylvania.
Charleroi, Pa., Monongahela Valley Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Joseph Yablensky, care I. E. Eisiminger, 517 McKean Avenue, Charleroi, Pennsylvania.
Charleston, S. C. Central Labor Union....	1	1	E. R. Jenkins, 89a Bogard Street, Charleston, South Carolina.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Joe G. Dobbs, 1135 Dartmouth Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John A. Schoonover, 4100 North Leamington Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Cleveland, O. Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas A. Lenehan, 1355 Central Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Cumberland, Md., Trades Council.....	1	1	John T. Jones, Rooms 35-36, Clark-Keating Building, Cumberland, Maryland.
Dayton, O. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John E. Breidenbach, C/o Hamiel Bldg., 5th and Ludlow, Dayton, Ohio.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Sue Adams, 320 American National Bank Building, Denver, Colorado.
Des Moines, Ia., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	James W. Soutter, Labor Temple, 216 Locust Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit and Wayne County, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Miss Myra Komaroff, 2nd Floor Lawyers Building, Detroit, Michigan.
East St. Louis, Ill., Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	A. L. Wegener, 724 N. 11th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Edwardsville, Illinois, Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Theodore Nischwitz, care W. T. Grinstead, 311 Linden Avenue, Edwardsville, Illinois.
Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Trades Council.....	1	1	George F. Cushing, 1076 Julia Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
Elkhart, Ind., Central Labor Union (Elkhart County).....	1	1	Simon Van Patten, care Wm. Spade, Secretary, 1715 Oakland Avenue, Elkhart, Indiana.
Elyria, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. E. Will, 141 South Logan Street, P. O. Box 22, Elyria, Ohio.
Fairmont, West Va., Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	H. A. Alltop, 1327 Speedway, Fairmont, West Virginia.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Stackweather, care Wilbur S. Dean, 318 East First Street, Flint, Michigan.
Florence, Alabama., Tri-Cities Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lo Petree, Box 302, Florence, Alabama.
Fort Smith, Ark., Central Trades Council..	1	1	Vic Wood, 504 South 18th Street, Fort Smith, Arkansas.
Fredericktown, Pa., Central Labor Union..	1	1	C. O. Williams, Box 213, Denbo, Pennsylvania.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xiii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Grand Rapids, Mich., Federation of Labor.	1	1	Glen Drake, 2933 Longstreet Avenue, Grand Rapids, Michigan.
Guernsey County, O., Central Labor Union	1	1	John Owens, care Charles Degenhart, 505 Walnut Street, Cambridge, Ohio.
Gulfport, Miss., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Holt Ross, care Great Southern Hotel, Gulfport, Mississippi.
Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	Milton Doll, Labor Temple, Hamilton, Ohio.
Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Frank P. Fenton, Highland Apartments, Highland Avenue, Haverhill, Massachusetts.
Holyoke, Mass. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Edward Alden, care Francis M. Curran, Secretary, 30 Laurel, St. Holyoke, Massachusetts.
Houston, Tex. Labor Council.....	1	1	Mrs. Frances G. Egan, care 1411 Wheeler Avenue, Houston, Texas.
Indiana, Pa. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Darrell (Eddie) Sams, P. O. Box 723, Indiana, Pennsylvania.
Jackson, Miss. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Fred Patton, Box 1461, Jackson, Mississippi.
Jacksonville, Fla. Central Labor Union....	1	1	T. J. Davis, 1033 Aldersyde, St. Jacksonville, Florida.
Jasper, Ala. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	U. S. McCain, Townley, Alabama.
Joliet, Ill. Central Trades and Labor Council, Will Co.....	1	1	Tony Augustino, Ottawa Street, Joliet, Illinois.
Kansas City Mo. Industrial Council.....	1	1	Ray England, Labor Temple, 14th and Woodland Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri.
Kenosha, Wis. Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	Felix Olkives, Route 2, 40th Avenue, Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Kensington, Ill. Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	James G. Kennedy, % 321-West 118 St., Chicago, Ill.
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Charles Farrell, 217 West 12th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Kewanee, Ill. Trades & Labor Assembly...	1	1	L. German, 533 Rockwell Street, Kewanee, Illinois.
Knoxville, Tenn. Central Labor Union....	1	1	W. Clay McKenzie, 210 Frets Building, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Lake County, Ill. Central Labor Council..	1	1	Benjamin R. McMahon, 128 N. West Street, Waukegan, Illinois.
Lansing, Mich. Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John Reid, Center Street, East Lansing, Michigan.
La Salle, Ill. Trades & Labor Council.....	1	1	Joseph Marchesi, Standard, Illinois.
Logan Co., West Virginia, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Arthur Taylor, Earling, West Virginia.
Los Angeles, Calif. Central Labor Council.	1	1	Kenneth Thompson, % 532 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
Lowell, Mass. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Sidney E. Le Bow, 15 Newell Street, Lowell, Massachusetts.
Lynn, Mass. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank Burke, 372 River Street, Waltham, Massachusetts.
Madison, Wis. Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Cedric Parker, 309 West Johnson Street, Madison, Wisconsin.
Mercer Co. W. Va. Central Labor Union..	1	1	E. J. Preston, Box 144, Princeton, West Virginia.
Miami, Fla. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Fred Morris, 925 N. E. 1st Avenue, Miami, Florida.
Milwaukee, Wis. Federated Trades Council	1	1	J. F. Friedrich, 518 Metropolitan Block, 1012 North 3rd Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Minneapolis, Minn., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Sander Genis, 355 Lumber Exchange, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Missoula, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Samuel H. Rivin, 414 East Front Street, Missoula Montana.
McKeesport, Pa., Central Labor Union...	1	1	George Powers, Gates Building, 504 Locust Street, McKeesport, Pennsylvania.
Nampa, Ida., Trades and Labor Council...	1	1	H. I. Hansen, 1804 6th Street, South, Nampa, Idaho.
Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Dave Hanly, C/o Labor Temple, Nashville, Tennessee.
Newark, O., Trades and Labor Assembly..	1	1	Edgar E. Baker, 27½ West Main Street, Newark, Ohio.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
New Castle, Pa., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	T. Louis Majors, Ellwood City, Pennsylvania.
New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert Soule, 321 South St. Patrick Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. J. Shave, 219 Mallory Avenue, Hampton, Virginia.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.....	1	1	James C. Quinn, 265 West 14th Street, Room 301, New York City, New York.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. L. Pickler, 209 West Tazewell Street, Norfolk, Virginia.
Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. Luther Langston, P. O. Box 641, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John J. Keegan, care Ernest Bowerman, Secretary, Labor Temple, 19th and Davenport Streets, Omaha, Nebraska.
Orlando, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George Houghton, 22 North Hyer Street, Orlando, Florida.
Oshkosh, Wis., Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	Harry P. Stoffels, 19 Tennessee Street, Oshkosh, Wisconsin.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 172 McLaren Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Pasadena, Calif., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Louise R. Hoocker, care A. W. Soper, 42 E. Walnut Street, Pasadena, California.
Pekin, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly...	1	1	Allen S. Haywood, 408 Akron Savings and Loan Building, Akron, Ohio.
Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly..	1	1	Martin Klarish, 619 E. Republic Avenue, Peoria, Illinois.
Peru, Ill., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Herman Lisse, Kincaid, Illinois.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Adolph Hirschberg, 1517 North 33rd Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council...	1	1	John J. Kane, Allegheny County Courthouse, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Port Arthur, Tex., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	W. F. Hill, 4014 Fifth Street, Port Arthur, Texas.
Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council...	1	1	Gust Anderson, 101 Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Portsmouth, O., Central Labor Council...	1	1	Ed. Switalski, 816 Findlay Street, Portsmouth, Ohio.
Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union...	1	1	M. L. McCarty, 1616 McDaniel St., Portsmouth, Virginia.
Port Washington, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert W. Powers, 501 Chestnut Street, Port Washington, Wisconsin.
Pottsville, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Louis Yagoda, 112 South Centre Street, Pottsville, Pennsylvania.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union	1	1	Joseph T. Cahir, 331 Orchard Street, East Providence, Rhode Island.
Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council...	1	1	Wm. H. Sommers, 904 Racine, Wisconsin.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council...	1	1	A. P. Bower, 705 Walnut Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.
Saint Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union.	1	1	Thomas F. Quinn, 3309 Olive Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Saint Petersburg, Fla., Central Labor Union	1	1	Philip A. McMasters, 731 Arlington Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida.
San Antonio, Texas, Trades Council.....	1	1	Benny A. H. Legler, C/o Labor Temple, 126 N Street, San Antonio, Texas.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. O'Connell, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vic.....	1	1	Dave Beck, 522 Denny Way, Seattle, Washington.
Sharon, Pa., United Labor League.....	1	1	Clarence Irwin, 132 West State Street, Sharon, Pennsylvania.
Shelby County, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	Ed Price, Sr., Underwood, Alabama.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	R. L. Burton, care T. J. Doyle, Secretary, Box 1003, Shreveport, Louisiana.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xv

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Spartanburg, S. C., Central Labor Union.	1	1	J. W. Harrison, 521 Perrinean Street, Spartanburg, South Carolina.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 223½ S. Sixth Street, Springfield, Illinois.
Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union....	1	1	John F. Gatelee, 19-21 Sanford Street, Springfield, Massachusetts.
Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union....	1	1	R. T. Wood, 1530 N. Douglas Avenue, Springfield, Missouri.
Staunton, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	Jack Glasgow, General Delivery, Staunton, Illinois.
Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Vernon M. Crofoot, 618 Massena Street, Syracuse, New York.
Tampa, Fla. Central Trades & Labor Assembly.....	1	1	W. E. Sullivan, 504½ Franklin Street, Tampa, Florida.
Tarentum, Pa. United Labor Council of Tarentum & Vicinity.....	1	1	John Hudak, Baird, Pennsylvania.
Taylorville, Ill. Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Ray Edmundson, United Mine Workers Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Toledo, O. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Otto W. Brach, 702 Clark Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Vallejo, Calif. Central Labor Council....	1	1	John A. Edwards, 726 York Street, Vallejo, California.
Washington, D. C. Central Labor Union...	1	1	Frank J. Coleman, 414 Washington Loan & Trust Building, Washington, D. C.
Wausau, Wis. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Miss Mabel Melvin, 205 Frenzel Street, Wausau, Wisconsin.
Waterloo, Ia. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harold P. Haffs, 324 Quincy Street, Waterloo, Iowa.
West Palm Beach, Fla. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Geo. Kneip, 447 Roseland Drive, West Palm Beach, Florida.
Westville, Ill. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Thomas Hunter, U. M. W. Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Winfield, Ala. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Geo. Reed, care G. A. Dickinson, Secretary Brilliant, Alabama.
Worcester, Mass. Central Labor Union....	1	1	Freeman M. Saltus, 17 Federal Street, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Zanesville, O. Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank J. Bender, National Road East, Zanesville, Ohio.
Zeigler, Ill. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John Moulin, 205 W. Lindell Street, West Frankfort, Illinois.
Agricultural Workers' Union No. 19994, Blissfield, Mich.....	1	1	Albert Markva, Blissfield, Michigan.
Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.....	1	1	Paul J. Arias, Box 393, Fort Lupton, Colorado.
Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20289, Bakersfield, Calif.....	1	1	C. W. Johnson, care Labor Temple, 121 Eye Street, Bakersfield, California.
Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.....	1	1	Donald Henderson, 73 George Street, Freehold, New Jersey.
Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20221, Stockton, California.....	1	1	Warren Brown, Stockton, California.
Alaska Cannery Workers' Union No. 20195, San Francisco, California.....	1	7	George Woolf, 2438 Mission Street, San Francisco, California.
Aluminum Workers Union No. 18738, New Haven, Connecticut.....	1	1	John J. McCurry, 293 Greenwich Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.
Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.....	1	4	Chas. Gibson, care Thos. R. Jarrell, 221 S. Clay Street, Louisville, Kentucky.
Architectural Metal Workers Union No. 18267, Cleveland, O., (2 votes).....	1	3	John Schreier, 1452 West 114th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 19619, Cleveland, O., (1 vote).....			

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Ft. Collins, Colo.....	1	1	Vicente D. Vigil, Box 187, Ft. Collins, Colorado.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York.....	1	11	Lewis Merrill, 118, East 28th Street, New York, New York.
Brass Employees, Specialty No. 19788, Kenosha, Wis., (1 vote).....	1	20	Emil Costello, 4028, 14th Avenue, Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis., (18 votes).....	1		
Cleaners, Dyers and Helpers Union No. 19271, Kenosha, Wis., (1 vote).....	1	1	Marcella Ryan, 795, 12th Street, Oakland, California.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20099, Alameda Co., Calif.....	1	1	Roy Hawthorne, 125 Everett Avenue, Woodcrest, New Jersey.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20224, Camden, N. J.....	1	1	J. Earl Koehler, 367, North New Street, Nazareth, Pennsylvania.
Cement Workers, United, No. 18673, Bath, Pa.....	1	1	Harold Williamson, R. D. 4, Bangor, Pennsylvania.
Cement Workers' Union, United No. 19466, Martins Creek, Pa., (1 vote).....	1	3	Thomas Cairns, 503 Grant Street, Charleston, West Virginia.
Cement Workers' Union, United No. 20281, Nazareth, Pa., (1 vote).....	1		I. J. Fitzgerald, 1583 West Ogden Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Cement Workers' Union, United No. 20321, Stockertown, Pa., (1 vote).....	1	1	W. S. Gross, 1 West Linwood Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Chemical Workers' Union No. 20098, Belle, W. Va.....	1	1	Harry Stern, 151 Clinton Street, New York, New York.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.....	1	9	Harold E. Greenwald, 2765, Lancashire Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18150, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	A. Feinberg, care 1417 South Georgia Street, Los Angeles, California.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Union No. 18232, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Joseph M. Driscoll, 6607 a West Burleigh Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18295, Cleveland, O.....	1	3	Arthur Osman, 1648 West 9th Street, Brooklyn, New York.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Local No. 19989, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	Robert Reynolds, 355 W. 51st Street, New York, New York.
Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	3	Leif Dahl, Box 277, Vineland, New Jersey.
Dry Goods Employees' Union, Wholesale, No. 19932, New York, New York.....	1	3	Mrs. Lillie B. Clinedinst, 627 West 9th Street, Reno, Nevada.
Exhibition Employees' Union No. 17574, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Frank Marek, Jr., 710 Walnut Street, Aurora, Illinois.
Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.....	1	1	Thomas Finnegan, 2015 14th Street S.W., Canton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 17614, Reno, Nev.....	1	1	William J. Cannon, Krewstown Road, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Ill., (3 votes).....	1	4	Anthony S. Knopka, 1108 Lincoln Avenue, Utica, New York.
Federal Labor Union No. 18589, Aurora, Ill., (1 vote).....	1		Geo. B. Jackson, P. O. Box 1708, Orlando, Florida.
Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, O.....	1	3	
Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	10	
Federal Labor Union No. 18930, Utica N. Y.....	1	1	
Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Fla.....	1	1	

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Federal Labor Union No. 18344, Syracuse, N. Y.....	1	10	Clair Bellows, 123 Watson Road, Syracuse, New York.
Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wis.....	1	1	Charles Heymanns, 935 Huron Avenue, Sheboygan, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18546, Milwaukee, Wis., (3 votes).....	1	29	Erwin Zumach, 2438 North 44th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis., (25 votes).....			
Federal Labor Union No. 20136, Milwaukee, Wis., (1 vote).....			
Federal Labor Union No. 19322, Kenosha, Wis.....	1	7	Andrew B. Cross, 4609 22d Avenue, Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 19766, Houston, Texas.....	1	1	Earle R. Alford, 720 Dallas Avenue, Apt. 9, Houston, Texas.
Federal Labor Union No. 19848, Rapid City, S. D.....	1	1	F. W. Merritt, 24 East St. Louis Street, Rapid City, South Dakota.
Federal Labor Union No. 20183, Barberton, Ohio.....	1	1	Frances Gerhardt, care Helen Stevenson, 386 Third Street N. W. Barberton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo.....	1	1	Henry Garcia, Fort Thomas Hotel, Ft. Morgan, Colorado.
Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio.....	1	1	Jesse Waddell, 144 24th Street, Barberton, Ohio.
Filling Station Attendants and Warehouse Employes' Union No. 19094, E. St. Louis, Ill.....	1	1	Fred Olds, 1910 Belmont Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Firemen's Union No. 18966, Birmingham, Ala.....	1	1	Dan Gales, 90 Third Avenue, Pratt City, Alabama.
Freight Handlers and Station Employees Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.....	1	1	Geo. Barnes, 1954 North 4th Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 20,240, Memphis, Tenn.....	1	1	Will Lee, 404 Cynthia Street, Memphis, Tennessee.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.....	1	7	Patrick Gallagher, 7700 South Lavin Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Gas Station Attendants' Union No. 18912, Akron, Ohio.....	1	2	H. A. Bradley, 739 First Central Tower Building, Akron, Ohio.
Gasoline Station Operators Union No. 18378, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	14	Phil Hannah, 2536 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 19311, Cleveland, Ohio, (2 votes).....	1	4	Ralph P. Laundy, 1539 Wyandotte Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio.
Grocers, Warehouse Employes' Union, Independent Wholesale, No. 19572, Cleveland, Ohio, (2 votes).....			
Hospital and Medical Professionals, No. 20094, Association of, New York, N. Y.....			
Match Factory Workers, Federal Labor, United No. 18460, Akron, Ohio.....	1	1	Miss Claire Rex, 228 East 26th Street, New York, New York.
Match Workers, Federal Labor, United, No. 18928, Barberton, Ohio.....	1	3	Donald O. Davis, 2839 Pikes Avenue, Akron, Ohio.
Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	F. B. Gerhart, Box 101, Barberton, Ohio.
Metal Workers' Union No. 19340, Fabricated, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	7	Morris Fine, 4715 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois.
Metal Workers' Union No. 19829, Nesco Fabricated, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	4	Rudolph Faupl, 2312 West Garfield Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Photographic & Finishing Employes Union No. 19893, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Stanley Joers, 1576 South 24th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
			Ben Weintraub, 1365, College Avenue, Bronx, New York.

xviii DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Railway Express Agency Employees Union No. 20159, Jacksonville, Fla.	1	1	Clemon S. Williams, 419 Broad Street, Jacksonville, Florida.
Russian Turkish Bath Rubbers & Workers Union No. 18702, Newark, N. J.	1	1	Irving Matlin, care Philip Savarin, Secretary, 104 Montgomery Street, Newark, New Jersey.
Soap and Edible Oil Workers Union No. 18409, Long Beach, Calif.	1	1	E. F. Prior, 2868 Fashion Avenue, Long Beach, California.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.	1	2	Frank Weikel, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16456, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	1	Aug. J. Scherr, 505 No. 26th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 18198, San Juan, Puerto Rico.	1	1	Miss Laura Iglesias, Calle Padre Isern No. 2, Santurce, Puerto Rico.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.	1	1	L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19366, Cleveland, Ohio.	1	1	Karl M. Duldner, care Room 306, 737 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 19903, Atlanta, Ga.	1	1	Mrs. Marie Hudson, 534 Hurt Bldg., Atlanta, Georgia.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20074, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Miss Mollie Levitas, 3541 Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 20104, Jacksonville, Fla.	1	1	Homer J. Odell, 643 Alder Street, Jacksonville, Florida.
Sugar Refinery Employees' Union No. 20037, Crockett, Calif.	1	11	W. F. Kelleher, P. O. Box 1040, Crockett, California.
Technical Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Irving Meyers, 188 West Randolph Street, 13th Floor, Chicago, Illinois.
Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, New York.	1	3	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York, York.
Theater and Amusement Employees' Union No. 19905, St. Louis, Mo.	1	1	John P. Nick, 4 South 8th Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Ushers, Doormen and Cashiers' Local No. 18784, Racine, Wis.	1	1	Steve J. Thomas, 413 6th Street, Racine, Wisconsin.
Warehouse Employees' Union No. 19330, Cleveland, Ohio.	1	1	James Kocarek, Jr., 4948 East 106th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Watchmen's Union No. 20078, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Thomas J. Kirby, 7643 Dobson Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
British Trades Union Congress.	2	1	William Kean, 39 Bank Street, Sheffield, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	1	1	George Gibson, 1 Rushford Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester, England. George R. Brunet, 2472 Sherbrooke Street, East, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
87	National and International.	250	24,069
4	Departments.	4	4
35	State Bodies.	35	35
125	Central Labor Unions.	125	125
83	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.	76	234
2	Fraternal Organizations.	3	3
336		493	24,470

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan *1915	1913 George W. Perkins. *1917
To British Trades Union Congress		
1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.	1923 { Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek.
1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1924 { Peter J. Brady. Edward J. Gainer.
1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill.	1911 { Wm. B. McFarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1925 { A. Adamaki. Edw. J. Evans.
1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1926 { Frank Farrington. Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	1913 { Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1927 { John Coefield. Michael Casey.
1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	*1914 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1928 { Michael F. Greene. William B. Fitzgerald.
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	†1915 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1929 { William J. Rooney. William P. Clarke.
1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1916 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1930 { John J. Manning. Thomas E. Maloy.
1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1917 { John Golden. James Lord.	1931 { Joseph P. Ryan. Joseph V. Moreschi.
1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1918 { J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.	1932 { Joseph A. Franklin. E. E. Millman.
1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1919 { †Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes.	1933 { Thomas E. Burke. Christian M. Madsen.
1906 { Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1920 { Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	1934 { Michael J. Colleran. Edward Flore.
1907 { John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetasky.	1921 { Wm. J. Spencer. James J. Forrester.	1935 { Henry F. Schmal. Dennis Lane.
1908 { Andrew Furuseh. James J. Creamer.	1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern.	1936 { William J. McSorley. Edward Canavan.

From British Trades Union Congress		
1894 { John Burns. David Holmes.	1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.	1922 { E. L. Poulton. H. Smith.
1895 { Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1909 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1923 { R. B. Walker. W. C. Robinson.
1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1910 { W. Brace. Ben Turner.	1924 { C. T. Cramp. A. B. Swales.
1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinoin.	1925 { Ben Smith. A. A. Purcell.
1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.	1926 { J. Bromley. G. Hicks.
1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.	1927 { Arthur Pugh. W. Sherwood.
1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran.	**1914 {	1928 { John Marchbank. E. Edwards.
1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.	1915 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.	1929 { J. T. Brownlie. J. Bell.
1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	1916 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.	1930 { A. A. H. Findlay. A. Shaw.
1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady.	1917 { John Hill. Arthur Hayday.	1931 { F. Wolstencroft. J. Beard.
1904 { William Abraham. James Wignall.	***1918 { F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1932 { W. Holmes. Charles Dukes.
1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour.	1919 { S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1933 { James Rowan. J. A. Hall.
1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	1920 { J. W. Ogden. J. Jones.	1934 { Alexander George Walkden. John Stokes.
1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	1921 { J. H. Thomas. James Walker.	1935 { Andrew Conley. Andrew Naesmith.
		1936 { William Kean. George Gibson.

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1924 Walter W. Britton.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1912 John T. Smith.	1925 James Duncan.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1926 James B. Connors.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1903 John Coleman.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1904 John H. Richards.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1931 Charles J. Case.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1932 Frank B. Power.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1933 James C. Quinn.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1921 John O'Hara.	1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.	1935 James Maloney.
1910 John J. Manning.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	1936 M. J. Gillooly.

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1911 Wm. Glockling.	1924 John Colbert.
1899 David A. Carey.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1925 Donald Dear.
1900 David A. Carey.	1913 Gus Franco.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1903 James Simpson.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1904 John A. Flett.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1905 William V. Todd.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1933 Fred J. White.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1934 William Dunn.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	1935 J. A. P. Haydon, M. C.
1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1923 James A. Sullivan.	1936 George R. Brunet.

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino.
{ Roberto Haberman.	{ Roberto Haberman.	{ Jose F. Guiterres.
		{ Salustrio Hernandez.

*No convention.

**No delegates.

†Did not attend

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Seranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ont., Can.	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17.
1931	Vancouver, B. C., Can.	October 5-15.
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13.
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 1-12.
1935	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 7-19.
1936	Tampa, Fla.	November 16-27.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1937

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to

aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5.—1. All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by

xxiv CONSTITUTION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

2. All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

3. Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

4. Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

5. All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated shall cause all such proposals to be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced and committees to which they are to be referred and that all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

6. The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Popu-

listic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them untiedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation

not later than August 31, preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body, violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the Convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations,

and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest-period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested in interest-bearing securities and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution and none others.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation

through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention

except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be \$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

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SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the Unions involved the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council the moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of

the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

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SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, department, local councils, and railway system federa-

tions are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event

said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each Department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers, thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the Conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1936

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day—Monday Morning Session

Tampa, Florida.
November 16, 1936.

Pursuant to law, the Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the Municipal Auditorium at 10:00 o'clock, W. E. Sullivan, President of the Central Trades and Labor Assembly of Tampa, presiding.

Preceding the opening of the convention, the Tampa Federal Symphony Orchestra, Maximo Echegaray conducting, presented a musical program.

Chairman Sullivan: The Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor will please come to order.

(The orchestra played the Star Spangled Banner.)

Chairman Sullivan: You will please remain standing with bowed heads in prayer, led by Reverend Adiel Jarrett Moncrief, Jr., of the First Baptist Church of Tampa.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Adiel Jarrett Moncrief, Jr.,
First Baptist Church)

Let us pray. Eternal God, our Heavenly Father, we invoke Thy blessing upon this gathering. Give, we pray Thee, the Divine Presence that minds and hearts may be inspired to do Thy will in the world. We acknowledge with gratitude that Thou art the giver

of every good and perfect gift. We courageously acknowledge our debt to Thee for our presence in this generation and in this favored land.

Our Father, we pray for the peace and prosperity of our country. We pray for her and her relationships with other lands. We invoke Thy gracious blessing upon this body gathered here in the interests of such a large constituency of workers. We thank Thee, our Father, for work. We would be workers together with Thee for the highest and holiest interests of mankind.

Let Thy gracious spirit abide here in Christ our Lord, Amen.

MR. W. E. SULLIVAN
(President, Tampa Central Trades and Labor Assembly)

Delegates, our guests, ladies and gentlemen—I am proud of the fact that I am calling this convention to order, and I shall always remember this day as the most important in my experience. On behalf of the Central Trades and Labor Assembly of Tampa, I extend to you all a sincere welcome. Union leaders of Tampa today see one of their fondest hopes and wishes realized. Many of the visiting delegates come from large centers of population where they have large and important problems to consider. While Tampa is a small city, our problems have been just as large and our work fully as exacting as any place would demand.

We appreciate this convention coming here because we know by your visit hundreds of people who have never been properly acquainted with the organized labor movement will come to know that unionism in Tampa

is unionism of the United States, and they will remember that organized labor in Tampa is affiliated with this great organization which covers the entire country, an organization whose aim is better conditions for the working men and women of the country.

You are certain to enjoy your stay in Tampa and you will learn that Tampa people are the soul of hospitality. Further than that, you will discover that the majority of the business men of Tampa are friendly to organized labor. You will discover that the majority of those who employ labor extend to you a friendly, sincere welcome. I can say in all truth and confidence that that friendly and sincere welcome is extended to you not only from our union members, but from all classes of people who make their homes here.

We are glad this meeting is being staged here because we believe it will be a history-making meeting and we will have had our part in the chapter.

Let me say again we appreciate the opportunity of making you welcome and we wish you every success, progress, and enjoyment while in our city.

Chairman Sullivan: Now I have the honor to introduce to you our City Attorney, Mr. A. E. McMullen, representing our Mayor.

MR. A. E. McMULLEN
(Representing the Mayor of Tampa)

Mr. Chairman, officers, delegates, and members of the convention, ladies and gentlemen—I assure you that in keeping with the good feeling that the people of the City of Tampa have for your organization, it is proper that we should give you a cordial welcome to our city. It was to have been the privilege of our Mayor to have been here at this time to give you this welcome, but he has been ill for some days. He had hoped and fully expected to be with you this morning, but he is still unable to be out. He asked me, however, to say to you that he was sure he would be out soon and he wanted the opportunity to give you further assurance of our pleasure at having you in our midst.

We realize that this convention is for you not really a holiday, that you have tasks to perform, problems to solve, work to do. Still at the same time we must remember the old skit that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, and we hope while you are here we will have the opportunity of giving you those assurances of our good wishes and our welcome at having you come and visit with us.

We have the highest regard for the American Federation of Labor and its purposes and the work that it is

undertaking. We hope that your stay will be profitable as well as pleasant. We hope your stay will be so pleasant that you will come back and visit us again, that you will come down individually or with your organizations in the future and see us. We hope some of your crafts will see our fair community and will be sold, as the carpenters' organization has been sold, and will establish homes among us where you can enjoy coming and being, so that you will want to come back and see Tampa and its surroundings.

I just happened to think of a little story that might illustrate that. We had a Tampa dorky who was in the World War. He got over in Palestine and he was unable to read or write. The captain found him one morning in a very lonely state of mind and he said to him, "Mose, what's the matter?" And Mose said, "I's homesick, Captain. Just where is we?" The captain said, "Why, Mose, we are in Palestine, where Christ was born." Mose said, "You know, I want to write to my Mama, but I can't write. Won't you write a letter for me, Captain?" And the Captain said, "Yes, I will write. What do you want me to say?" And Mose said, "Well, just tell my Mama I's in Palestine where Christ was born, and I wish to Christ I was in Tampa where I was born."

I want to say also to the gentlemen of the press who have come down here that I hope they will enjoy their stay. I am glad they have brought them here. We always like to have them in our midst. Physically, we gave you a rather cool welcome this morning. I hope that is indicative of the fact that our hearts are warm for you. We do have a little cool weather sometimes in Tampa, but I just wonder if some of you men taking off the overcoats that you wore down from the North did not shake the snow off in our streets and cause the cool weather this morning.

Be that as it may, we do feel sincerely honored to have you in our midst. We hope your stay will be pleasant. We hope you will have an opportunity to see our community and its surroundings, and when you have done that we are sure you will be glad that you have come, and we hope that when you are gone you will remember your stay in Tampa as having been profitable and at the same time pleasant.

I thank you.

Chairman Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. McMullen. I now have the honor and privilege to present Mr. E. P. Tallafarro, President of the Tampa Chamber of Commerce.

MR. E. P. TALIAFERRO
(President, Tampa Chamber of
Commerce)

President Green, ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests—I fear that the City Attorney has made the speech for the Chamber of Commerce and that I should make the City Attorney's speech. He has told jokes, he has talked about the weather, and he has talked a great while longer than I propose to talk. Anyway, I am here as President of the Chamber of Commerce to express to you our feelings about having this convention with us.

Annually, the American Federation of Labor is accustomed to gather in conventions to discuss problems vital to the welfare of its affiliates and labor conditions existing everywhere. Annually, it seems customary for the President of the Chamber of Commerce in each convention city, to welcome you in an address which, as a rule, is devoted altogether to the use of superlatives in describing the assets their respective cities have to offer—instead of sincerely and honestly telling their guests how happy, pleased, and gratified they are to have them.

A year and a half service as president of our local organization has convinced me that Presidents of Chambers of Commerce would, in the long run, be much more popular, if brevity was the keynote of their remarks; if the visitors were allowed to see for themselves the wonders we possess and enjoy, without having it rubbed in, our unexcelled climate. Since your Atlantic City convention, you gentlemen have heard much of Tampa and have had ample opportunity to check our city thoroughly. So why bother you with facts and statistics you already know?

All understand that your convention is unique in that it is a working one and little time given for play, and all honor should be accorded for this sincerity and devotion to labor's cause.

Under such leadership as is possessed by your president, Mr. William Green, and your executive committee, Tampa feels sure you will have a most successful gathering, and it is my wish, as President of the Tampa Chamber of Commerce, that this may be the outcome of your deliberations. I thank you.

Chairman Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Taliaferro.

The Honorable David Sholtz, Governor of Florida, is unable to be present this morning. He is attending a convention of the Governors in St. Louis, I believe, and he wishes to be able to address this convention at a later date.

I now have the honor and privilege of presenting to you United States Senator Claude Pepper.

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
(United States Senator, Florida)

Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, members of the American Federation of Labor, and distinguished guests—I am sure that in being about to convene your convention you may have experienced something of the attitude of freedom and the attitude of liberty which was expressed on one occasion by a little Negro boy upon the occasion of an address by his pastor. This preacher was preaching on his favorite subject "The Devil," and he was explaining to the congregation how it was that the good people have the devil tied and bound. He said "Brethren and Sisters, we's got the devil tied, the devil he am tied and bound, we's got the devil tied. But, Brother Jones, the devil ain't tied too tight to git you, and, Sister Smith, the devil ain't tied too tight to git you, neither, and, Brother Robinson, if what I've been hearin about you is so the devil ain't tied too tight to git you." About that time a little black burrhead in the back spoke up and said: "Hell—He jes' as well be loose."

Mr. President, the sentiment which is uppermost in my mind is the point of brevity. I express to you and to your convention the gratitude of the State of Florida that you have honored us by bringing to us in one of our fair cities this great convention. I am personally grateful that I have a few minutes of opportunity to be your associate comrade and companion, and even more than that, Mr. President, I want to take this occasion to express publicly my deep gratitude that I came to the office of the United States Senator with the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, through your distinguished chairman. I shall be glad for you to try me and to judge by my actions whether I be found wanting.

I salute you, members of this great convention, because you have the responsibility of being the articulate voice of the men and women of America who are privileged to earn their daily bread. I honor with you the memory of those of your cause whose shattered bodies and broken hearts are the sacrificial highway along which we have come here today.

I compliment your membership upon the inestimable part which you have played in bringing the tidings of good cheer which came to this nation last Tuesday. What a thrill that election gave to all of us who love the liberal traditions! They say that this Administration has threatened to change the

form of our government. They do not go far enough. This Administration has not changed the form of this government. It has changed the substance of this government, because it has given the national government a heart. We know now that there is a conscience in the heart of this nation.

You did not wield your force in that election as partisans. Labor supported this Administration because it supported the cause for which you have battled all your life, the cause of humanitarianity.

I, as an individual, am grateful for the fact that I am privileged for the first time to come into public office under the stimulus of a political party, which unmistakably is the servant of the liberal tradition in policy, a tradition which had its conception in the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, which became flesh and blood and took on bone and sinew under good old Andrew Jackson, which was woven into the moral fabric of our country under Grover Cleveland, which Woodrow Wilson imbedded into the idealism of the earth, and which now, under the leadership of the incomparable humanitarian who sits in the White House, has become a modern Ark of the Covenant, a covenant of God with man and man with his fellow man.

We are determined that those gains which have been made shall not be lost, and that a reasonable and reasoning liberalism shall have a permanent place in the political philosophy of this nation; but the torch of human political liberty and equality of human economic opportunity is but at the foothills of its reaches of tomorrow.

I am glad also that that liberalism is a militant liberalism, that it is led by men willing to fight for it, sustained in the consciousness that they are right. I am glad that we do not have a leadership accepted by the fellow who sat one day on his front porch in his rocking chair in his little country home, with his face to the wall and his back to the little road that wound in front of his house. Sitting beside him was his good wife. She looked down toward the bend in the road and she saw a train of cars approaching. She said, "Henry, I see a procession coming." Constantly rocking and looking at the wall, Henry said, "Is that so?" The procession came a little closer and the wife said, "Why, Henry, it's a funeral." Still rocking, Henry said, "Is that so?" It came on in front of the house and the wife recognized it and said, "Henry, that's the funeral of old Uncle John Jones over across the creek." And, still looking at the wall, Henry said, "Is that so?" Finally it turned the bend in the road and disappeared from view. The wife turned again to

her husband and said, "Henry, I think that is the biggest funeral I have ever seen." And still rocking, Henry said, "I sure would love to have seen old Uncle John's funeral go by, but I was a settin' wrong."

However, those of us who love that liberalism are earnestly concerned about three fundamental problems which are presenting themselves with more and more telling persistence upon the consciousness of the American people. The first one is one with which you have concerned yourselves for a long time with vigor and determination. It is the problem of how we may preserve the benefits of the machine and continue to lighten the burden of toll upon the backs of those who labor without permitting those instrumentalities to become a Frankenstein which, in its undirected power, shall destroy us.

I know that you are no less concerned than I am by the information that comes to us from nations across the sea which have reached again their pre-depression peak of prosperity, and yet have not been able to solve adequately their pressing problem of unemployment. I know you are concerned about our own experience of our inability, even in good times prior to our depression, to take care of the men and women of America who wanted to work and who had a right to work, and that even in the course of this Administration, in spite of the billions of dollars that we have spent, we have as yet been unable to solve that same pressing problem.

I know, Mr. President, and members of this Federation, that that is perhaps the greatest single problem that faces the people of America, and that upon its solution perhaps shall depend the destiny of the future America.

A second problem is this: How may we invoke the national power with respect to those things which vitally concern us all, without at the same time breaking down the barriers of local sovereignty which must ever exist to stem the tide of excessive nationalism or excessive tendency toward centralization. I love the liberal tradition, I believe in it, and I know that those who do love that tradition, particularly when they parade in the cloak of democracy, have no intention of destroying or impairing the right of local self-government. I challenge your alert interest in that problem, because not only by what you demand but by the public sentiment which you so forcibly arouse will you have a great power, whether you intend it or not, in marking those lines of demarcation so that those who shall guide the destiny of this nation down the labyrinthian path of the future shall not permit us to fall into the chasm of either extreme.

The third problem which confronts us is this: How may the national conscience concern itself about the welfare of the individual man or woman without at the same time breaking down in the spiritual fabric of that individual that which is characteristically American—American initiative, enterprise, and self-reliance, which has made this nation the enviable empire upon the pages of all history. There must never come a time when the pride of an American citizen will fall so low that he shall be satisfied to sit on his front porch and wait for an agent of any Government to come and tell him when and where and how he shall look for a job, the manner in which his private life shall be ordered, and define for him the scope and the character of his ambitions.

The Man who helped the one in need on the road to Jericho did not hold out encouragement to men who were already doing well to fall among thieves. And so, just as justice must be tempered with mercy, so must mercy be tempered with judgment, because, my friends, there is one thing which America must and shall preserve, and that is the spirit of Americanism, the same spirit that actuated those pioneer forefathers of ours who, almost two thousand years ago, gathered in the forests of Germany, their women participating in their councils, and brought into reality the first practical democracy of modern times; the spirit which impelled them across the Channel, where they established later the first constitutional monarchy upon the face of the earth. It was the spirit which actuated the yeomen who followed Good Harold at Hastings, and the Saxon Bishop and the Norman Knight who wrung from King John at Runnymede our charter of liberty. It was the spirit which impelled these forebears across the dangerous sea in frail craft to plant here the seed of the mightiest empire that man has ever known. It was the spirit in the

Embattled farmers who stood
By the rude bridge which arched the
flood;

Their flags to April's breeze unfurled,
And fired the shot heard 'round the
world.

It was the spirit moving through the Declaration of Independence into the Constitution of the United States; the spirit which rescued little Cuba from the oppressor, saved the democracies of the world without a thought of gain, and gave liberty to the Philippines. That was the spirit of which a statesman of an earlier day spoke when he said:

"The torch light of human liberty
lighted at Lexington has fed upon the
hearts of the American people until
today it has become a great white

light blazing from the mountain top
of civilization. Conceived in feeble-
ness, it has grown to strength, that
strength to splendor, until today it
stands before the gaze of a wondering
world unsurpassed in power, unsullied
in honor, the fearless champion of hu-
man liberty, the American United
States.

I thank you.

Chairman Sullivan: Thank you, Sena-
tor Pepper.

I am sure the delegates appreciate
your many words of encouragement
and advice.

It is hardly necessary to present and
introduce to you your President, but
your convention is about ready to be
organized, and it affords me pleasure
to present to this convention William
Green, President of the American Fed-
eration of Labor.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Chairman Sullivan, Senator Pepper,
the distinguished representative of the
Mayor of the City of Tampa, repre-
sentative of the business interests of
this city, and the representatives of
labor—I express to each of you, in the
name and in behalf of the officers and
delegates assembled in this great con-
gress of labor, their deep appreciation
of the cordial welcome you have ex-
tended them. We are deeply touched
by the warmth of your welcome. We
are gratified indeed in that we are
privileged to meet in this very hos-
pitable community. We have been ac-
corded every consideration by the peo-
ple of this splendid city and state, ever
since the delegations from the cities,
towns, and villages throughout the na-
tion began arriving in Tampa, and we
shall carry back with us to our homes
and our families, to our towns and our
cities, the fondest recollection of a
delightful visit spent here.

We are glad to come to this section
of the Southland, and in coming here
we want to express with increasing
emphasis our very deep interest in the
economic, social and industrial welfare
of the working men and working
women of this great section of our
nation. We ask that you accept our
presence here in this city of Florida
as more than a gesture. We ask you
to accept our visit to this city as a
concrete expression of our interests in

all of the people of the South and our determination to give to the working men of this great section of the United States the full support of the American Federation of Labor in their efforts to raise their standards of life and living. If, out of our gathering here the working men not only of the Southland but of the nation, may gain new inspiration and new courage to go forward in the great fight for the realization of human rights, human freedom, and human liberty, we shall feel that our visit here shall not have been in vain.

Men and women of the South, accept my expression of assurance from the working men and women in the North, the East, the Middle West, and in the remote sections of the Pacific Coast, as the hand of fraternity, of friendship and of brotherhood extended to you, with all of the assurance that I can give of the full and complete support of the great economic power of the American Federation of Labor to help you.

This great American Federation of Labor is represented here by trained veterans, men who have given their lives to the cause of labor. They are not susceptible to emotional appeals or to unsound reasoning. These are hard headed men, the veterans of many industrial battles, men who examine a subject analytically and who substitute judgment for feelings. They are not awayed by men who appeal alone to their hearts and to their sentiments. They are influenced by facts and by convincing argument. So that in this great deliberate body every question will be settled upon the basis of facts, of evidence, of argument, and when the question is settled, it will be settled right. That is the record that thus far has been made by the American Federation of Labor.

I could not speak to you this morning, in making response to these addresses of warm welcome, without referring to the subject matters that are occupying our hearts, our minds, and our attention. We are assembled

here at a most important period in the economic, social and industrial development of our nation. We are concerned about these problems that touch closely the lives and the happiness and the welfare of the masses of the people, and it is our determination in this great convention to devote our time and our attention to the consideration of these very vital problems. As I sense the movement and as I visualize the future, I feel justified in expressing the opinion that we are now emerging from a period of economic demoralization lasting over an unusually long period of time, and I think now I can see the sun rising in the new horizon, the dawn of a better day for the working men and women of our country. The days of distress are now behind us. We are now putting our house in order and American labor stands at the threshold of this new day, strong, erect, courageous, determined to take advantage of the economic improvement, to build a higher wage level and a more tolerable condition of employment in the United States of America.

It is the masses of the people who have been and were so deeply affected by the economic demoralization that prevailed throughout the land. They suffered much. They gave of anguish and disappointment during those years. The distress was in the homes of the wage earners. Hunger and suffering was manifest and in evidence there. Do you think we have forgotten them or will forget them? Do you think they are behind us, never again to be remembered? The law of compensation must work. Labor must be paid for the distress it suffers and I pledge to you so far as it lies within my power that every ounce of economic energy that I can mobilize or use, represented by the American Federation of Labor, shall be put forth to secure for the workers of this nation higher wages, improved conditions of employment, and a better day and a better life.

The earnings of industry must be

more equitably distributed. The steady flow of earnings into the hands of the favored few must be diverted into the hands and the homes and the lives of the working people of the nation. For, while we are willing that capital shall realize upon its investment, we are opposed to a financial or economic system that is determined to maintain a policy which diverts the larger part of the earnings of industry and the wealth which labor creates into the hands of the favored few.

And so we are on the verge of a new day in that respect, and we want this convention to make it known to the employers of labor throughout the nation, to those who own and manage industry, that labor is alert, that it is determined, that demands will be made and that those demands must be met, because there must come into the lives of the working people a larger share of the wealth which they create.

Then we are thinking about the economic philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, a philosophy evolved out of a half century of varied experiences. It is not academic. It is practical. It was not the product of yesterday or today. It comes to us as the expression of the best judgment of the men and women of labor who have been fighting the battles of labor for more than half a century in the United States of America. That economic philosophy was sound forty years ago, it was sound thirty years ago, it was sound yesterday, it is sound now, and if I appraise the judgment and sentiment of the responsible, tried veterans of labor, I am of the opinion that they are not ready to discard that economic philosophy developed in so scholarly a way, they are not ready to depart from the road which they have followed into the byways and highways and paths of untried experimentation. Our action will be based upon that economic philosophy evolved by the American Federation of Labor.

We have been grappling with the problem of unemployment, of machine

displacement, of sweat shop conditions in many cities and towns throughout the United States. We will consider those problems here. I am more than ever convinced that labor presented the real solution for unemployment. What better remedy has been proposed than that which has been offered by labor? We have urged its acceptance, not only by the Government, but by the employers of labor. I refer to a real, practical remedy for unemployment, and that is the shorter work-day and the shorter work-week for the men and women who toil. If it is impossible for us to accord to working men and women an opportunity to work and earn a decent living under the long work day and long work hour plan that has been in effect for so many years, then what does common judgment and common sense dictate? I maintain that every man and woman in America able and willing to work, eager and anxious to work is entitled, under our form of government, to an opportunity to earn for himself or herself a decent living. I say to you that we are not measuring up to our responsibility nor are we discharging our duties in a full measure until we develop an economic order that will, in operation, accord to every man and woman willing and able to work an opportunity to do so.

Then if there is not work enough for men and women under the old work day and work hour program, we must make the adjustment. I am more convinced than ever that the day is here when we should not hesitate longer, we should not halt in our decisions nor in the application of a remedy. The day is here when labor presses and demands that industry immediately put into effect the six hour day and the five day week without any reduction in earning power.

Then we are thinking about the children. It is this great movement that is leading in a fight for the protection of the children. We protest against the exploitation of our offspring in industry and industrial processes. For

that reason we have pressed for the acceptance of the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We do that because we want to protect the child from industrial exploitation in Florida, in Georgia, and in Mississippi, the same as we would protect the child from industrial exploitation in the more thickly populated industrial states of the Middle West and the East. Is not a child in the Southland as precious to us as a child in any other section of the country? I maintain that the labor movement of our nation is equally interested in the children of the South as they are in the children of the North. And so, my friends, what plan can be advanced to protect the children of every state and of every nation, other than to vest in the Congress of the United States the power to prohibit child labor in every state, in every city, and in every town throughout the nation? Why should we hesitate? Why should we halt? With millions of adults idle, why should we still continue to want to employ children? We could relieve the unemployment very materially if child labor was abolished, and we are so convinced that that must be done that we in this convention will renew our determination to go out and continue the fight to bring about the acceptance of the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States, so that our children can be protected and saved from industrial exploitation.

Ever since this proposal was made, the American Federation of Labor has carried forward the fight. Never for a single moment have we wavered. We have, through our concentrated, uncompromising efforts, secured the adoption of the child labor amendment to the Constitution by twenty-four sovereign states. We need twelve more. We must have them. They must take their place with the twenty-four that have already expressed themselves, and the American Federation of Labor, if it can do it, if

it lies within its power to do so, will prevail upon these twelve states during the coming winter to ratify the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States. That is a part of our program.

Then along other legislative lines we expect to press for the acceptance and enactment of legislation designed to make labor free and accord to it the widest opportunity to organize and unite its economic strength upon the industrial field, so that it can occupy an equitable position in its bargaining relationship with industry. We will drive forward in our efforts to secure the enactment of legislation which is in accord with the economic philosophy of the American Federation of Labor.

I haven't the time on this occasion to go into our legislative policy in detail. Opportunity will be accorded as committee reports are submitted to this convention to analyze and formulate legislative policies which, in the judgment of this convention, will bring to those we represent the greatest degree of freedom and protection.

On this occasion I cannot refrain from speaking about the internal affairs of the American Federation of Labor. I know we are all thinking about that most seriously. But we cannot afford, when meeting in a great congress like this, to permit internal dissension to be the question of primary importance. Are we to devote all our strength and all our energy in internal conflict? Do the workers whom we represent wish us to be constantly at each others' throats, and while at each others' throats to exclude from consideration the constructive policies of the American Federation of Labor? Remember, my fellow workers, that those we represent are humble working men and women, men and women who are grappling with the real problems of life and living in their homes and in their communities. They are not men and women moved by consum-

ing personal ambitions. They are not attempting to utilize a great movement of any kind for the purpose of advancing their mere political aims or to satisfy a consuming ambition. What they are interested in is their vital problems of life and living, and they are identified with our movement because they believe that to be the means through which they can bring about a solution of our vital problems of life and living.

So in this convention let us hear above the tumult and the strife the voice of the working people, the men and women back in the mills, the work shops, the mines, pleading with us to do something for them so that life will be made better and conditions of labor more tolerable. I have always been taught to believe that the strength of the labor movement was centered in unity, in solidarity, in concord and in cooperation. What is the chief asset of labor? I hear you answer now, our weakness lies in division and discord and our strength in unity, solidarity and cooperation. If that is the case, then what should we say to those who introduce in our movement bitterness, hate, division and discord? My answer to that is this: Woe be to him who strikes a blow at the heart of labor by driving a knife and a wedge into it to divide it!

We can rest securely in the consciousness of this thought, that the American Federation of Labor did not create this year or last year or at any other time the instrumentality through which the labor movement might be ripped asunder. We are the same Federation of Labor that met at Atlantic City, the same Federation of Labor that met first under the inspiration and leadership of the mighty Gompers. We are the same Federation of Labor that was guided and helped by the wise advice of James Duncan, of Peter McGuire, of the other leaders of our labor movement who in the days gone by gave to us of their intellect, their strength,

their courage, and their determination. And here in this fifty-sixth annual convention we are going to keep the faith, the faith of the pioneers, the faith of the leaders. We are going to protect the Ark of the Covenant, the American Federation of Labor, for now when decisions must be made those who are here representing a splendid constituency will decide to remain steadfast and true and immovable with the American Federation of Labor. There is in my judgment no issue that can be developed in the American labor movement which transcends in importance the issue of solidarity and unity, and even at this late hour, when hope seems to be fading and when the outlook seems to be darkened, I still plead for unity and solidarity, speaking for you. We stand ready through our committees to confer with any dissident group for the purpose of healing the breach and settling the difficulty.

Can any fictitious issue be raised that would transcend in importance the issue of solidarity? I was taught at the feet of the philosophers of labor that it was my duty, yes, my obligation as a member of organized labor, to emphasize the necessity of preservation of unity and solidarity in our great labor movement, to find a basis of accommodation when differences arise and strive for the solution of vexing problems, to give here, to give there, if necessary, in order to find a solution, never to occupy, except on a matter of principle, a rigid, inflexible position, never to say, "I demand unconditional surrender from those who differ with me." That may be all right on the field of battle when the die is cast and the issues are cleared and the fight is on and we use force as the arbiter of differences, but I cannot conceive of the application of such a philosophy in the American Federation of Labor.

It is claimed that the issue which has arisen is the issue of industrial versus craft unions. My friends, we

have been functioning for fifty-six years. Why is it that that issue did not split us asunder twenty years ago? The answer to that may be that industrial development has changed the economic order. Well, if it has, the American Federation of Labor has pursued a policy sufficiently flexible to meet any changing conditions which may have arisen. I declare to you now, and publicly repeat what I have stated before, that the American Federation of Labor never was, never has been, and is not now committed to any one policy of organizing the unorganized workers of the nation. We are willing to apply both forms of organization in accordance with circumstances and conditions and in accordance with the best judgment of the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor and of conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Who can say, therefore, in view of these pronouncements and this announced policy, that the American Federation of Labor is against one form and for the other exclusively? No man can throw that into our teeth. We are for the best plan that can be devised in order that we might appeal to the unorganized workers of the nation to come with us and unite with us. Any issue raised upon that assertion is a fictitious issue and arouses within the minds of thinking men a suspicion of the sincerity of those who raise that issue as a smoke screen to deceive us.

The real issue is democracy within the American Federation of Labor. Shall the will of a convention, freely expressed, be the law of the American Federation of Labor? That's the issue. I remind you that at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, all the issues presented by duly accredited delegates to that convention were considered and acted upon and then in democratic fashion a vote was taken. The majority expressed itself, decided what would be the policy of the American Federation of Labor for the year 1936. Who originated and shaped that policy? Not

me—no, the sovereign delegates clothed with the power to vote for and speak for their constituents decided the policy by a majority vote. And if this Executive Council, sitting on the platform with me this morning, has done any one thing during the year 1936 that stands out preeminently above every other act, it is that it heroically and courageously carried out the instructions you gave them at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor. Would you want them to do otherwise? When you decide questions here, is it with a mental reservation that your executive officers, trimming their sails to any passing breeze, might substitute their own judgment for yours? Can they do that? You would not tolerate it for a single moment.

And so in coming to you, in reporting to this fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, we report the fact that we have carried out during the twelve months and the fifty-two weeks of the past year the specific, definite, concrete expression of the fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. We could not do otherwise. We would not do otherwise, and I declare publicly that if you want a President who will do otherwise, then don't elect me as President of the American Federation of Labor.

But when those who participate in the deliberations of a great parliamentary body such as this voluntarily submit the issues for determination by their fellow delegates and associates, do so with an intellectual and mental reservation interpreted thus, if you vote as I wish, if you are with me in my contention, if you will approve my plan and my ideas, I will abide by the decision of the convention, but if you don't, after the fight is over and your will has been registered, then I am going on the outside and organize a rival union for the purpose of putting into effect the will of the minority in the convention—if that happens, what must be our an-

swer? Those of us who have defended democracy and democratic rules, shall we surrender? Must that be the answer? Shall we say that democracy is merely a term and that it possesses nothing vital? I hear you say, never, for if there is one movement in America that believes in democracy, makes it a part of their daily lives and actions, who intend to preserve it here in America, not only in the administration of our economic affairs but in the affairs of the nation as well, a movement so committed to such a vital proposition as democracy cannot and will not compromise with force of any kind whatsoever.

There is the issue—democracy. And what should we substitute for it? Can we substitute force and minority control for majority rule? And if we would, what would be the outcome? Chaos, destruction of our movement, for no movement could live if its policies are determined by a survival of the fittest.

Here the humblest, weakest international union in the American Federation of Labor is accorded the same rights as the most powerful organization, and democracy means much to them. If they were to determine their questions by force, they would lose, but determined by the rule of reason and the application of the principles of democracy, they can win. So what we must consider here and now in our deliberations is, shall the democratic procedure of the American Federation of Labor, pursued for more than half a century, be continued? Shall we modify it? Shall we change it? Shall we require those who become part of our American Federation of Labor to abide by the rule of the majority? I know what your policy will be and what your answer will be.

You cannot risk the life of your own union upon any other basis or upon any other procedure. I ask you, representatives of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, would you tolerate in your own international

union a minority rival organization, organized for the specific purpose of putting into effect by force a decision that was lost at a national or international convention of your deliberate body? Suppose you meet as we meet. Duly accredited delegates are seated. You thresh out your problems, and when your convention is over and the problems have been settled by majority vote, a dissatisfied group goes out and organizes a rival union for the purpose of putting into effect the minority decision. Would you say amen to that? Would you say, all right, you are right and we are wrong? Would you tolerate that? You could not, because if you did you would not live for a single moment, your organization would disintegrate and pass out.

I have dwelt upon this because these are some of the issues involved, and I speak of it all in the spirit of forbearance, of kindness and of consideration. I still plead with those who have acted differently. I ask them to recognize the principles of democracy. I ask them to remain steadfast with the great organized labor movement of America. I ask them to come back with us and take their seats and let us fight out our differences in manly fashion at conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

May I say now in conclusion that during this period of economic dislocation the morale of the masses of the people became greatly impaired. Not only did they suffer because of a lack of earning and a lack of opportunity to work for wages, but they suffered from depression and impaired morale. Children's bodies became ill nurtured. Starving children and anxious parents, wondering what they were going to do in order to stem the tide, were found in great numbers in all our industrial sections. Morale was destroyed, intangible assets greatly impaired, the very basis of our future life as a national unit was assaulted. Now we must build, we must restore. Perhaps we cannot bring about com-

plete restoration of the destroyed values of the children who have suffered so much, but it must be labor. the American Federation of Labor, organized labor, in cooperation with sympathetic groups that must approach the problem of building up the morale of our people, healing the wounds, constructing here a new manhood and a new womanhood equipped and fitted to discharge their duties in a democracy such as ours.

That is a part of our task. We can do that by raising the standard of life and living, by building it up to a higher level, by instilling courage where despair now prevails, by awakening hope where pessimism possesses men and women. That is a part of our job and our task. We must do it and we must do it well.

To you, my friends, I know I can pledge the support of the great masses of the people and of our friends not directly associated with us in this great humanitarian process of rebuilding human lives, restoring morale, increasing the value of intangible assets, making this nation a nation of men and women strong and courageous, devoted to the principles of democracy and the institutions of our Government.

I greet you, I salute you, I am happy to be here at this great convention. It will be one of the best we ever held, and when we go out, we will go out as men and women who, at the sacred altar of trade unionism, have renewed our vows of allegiance to the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, and we will bare our breasts to the enemies within or without, determined that the word "surrender" shall never be found in our vocabulary.

President Green: It now becomes my pleasant duty to duly and officially declare that the Fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is convened in the City of Tampa, and open for the transaction of business.

First of all, may I read a word of greeting from the President of the United States. I extended to the President of the United States a warm and cordial invitation to attend the Fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. Because of engagements previously made it was impossible for him to be here in person. He sends me this message, however, and I am pleased to read it to you this morning.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington

November 13, 1936.

My dear Mr. Green:

I regret very much that it will not be possible for me to attend the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor beginning its sessions in Tampa on Monday. Will you please express this regret to the officers, delegates and visitors to your convention and convey to them my sincere good wishes for a successful meeting?

The return of prosperity has restored hope and happiness to citizens in all parts of the country so it seems to me that your sessions this year will be held under most auspicious circumstances. The spirit of optimism again pervades the land and I trust that your deliberations will be fruitful of results which while promoting security for the individual will, at the same time, safeguard the fundamental interests of the Nation as a whole.

Very sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. William Green,
President,
American Federation of Labor,
Tampa, Florida.

The first order of business is the report of the Credentials Committee.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON
CREDENTIALS**

Delegate Davis, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Tampa, Florida,
November 16, 1936.

To the Officers and Delegates of the
Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the
American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, consisting of three duly elected delegates, who in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report:

We have examined the credentials of 485 delegates, representing 88 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 34 State Branches, 125 Central Bodies, 77 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 3 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

National and International Unions

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Frank Gillmore, 44 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 25 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Joseph Schmidt, Peter Beisel, J. Goldstone, 261 votes.

Barbers' International Union of America, Journeymen—W. C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino, John B. Robinson, Charles T. Crane, 323 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Leo Abernathy, 14 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, Wm. G. Powlesland, 50 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America—International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, William E. Walter, 155 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, 116 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, 270 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, Albert J. Kugler, Adam E. Zusi, 420 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard

J. Gray, John J. Stretch, William J. Moran, John W. Jockel, 650 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, 10 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, W. J. McCain, J. H. Lyons, John J. Dempsey, 160 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—Jerry J. Horan, Oscar F. Nelson, Wm. L. McFetridge, George Scallise, James Bambrick, 350 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Felix H. Knight, John O. Holmgren, Robert Macrorie, Irvin Barney, 583 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Geo. H. Lakey, Wm. J. Kelly, T. M. Guerin, Thos. Flynn, L. B. Parrish, John Howat, 3,000 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—R. E. Van Horn, 70 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, George B. Falconer, John F. Bowen, Jr., Robert K. Harwood, 320 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—George M. Harrison, P. C. Sarrett, J. V. Guerra, 875 votes.

Clerk's International Protective Association, Retail—W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, 103 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—R. L. Janes, 20 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, 25 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 12 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—D. W. Tracy, G. M. Bugnizet, Chas. M. Paulsen, E. D. Bieretz, 1,700 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—F. B. Comfort, Harry Milton, Mathew Taylor, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—John Possehl, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, William P. Walsh, 350 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 53 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, J. F. Watkins, 255 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, John Clinton, James L. Kelley, James M. Kennedy, 207 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International—Pietro Luc-

chi, Samuel Mindel, Harry Begoon, 150 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, A. Adamski, I. W. Hashkins, A. Gordon, D. A. Houck, 406 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, William S. Dixon, 62 votes.

Glass Cutters' League of America, Window—Joseph E. Mayeur, 12 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—M. J. Gillooly, 48 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Elizabeth Christman, 22 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, 222 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Laurence Foley, 50 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United—Max Zaritsky, Michael F. Greene, Alex Rose, Samuel Hershkovitz, 221 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, J. B. Etchison, James Bove, Peter Fosco, 654 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan, 738 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Samuel E. Beardsley, 53 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, George T. Moore, Charles J. Case, 81 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—W. C. Brooks, 60 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, 25 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gaior, M. T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Luther E. Swartz, Charles D. Duffy, 500 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Andrew J. Kennedy, Robert Bruck, 69 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, Michael Dwyer, 406 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—A. O. Wharton, W. F. Robinson, Charles W. Fry, N. P. Alifas, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, 1,137 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljozdal, E. E. Millman, T. F. Holleran, George H. Davis, S. H. Mitchell, 357 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, Joseph A. McInerney, 55 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—John J. Scully, 25 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. S. Maxwell, Earl W. Jimerson, 194 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—John J. Hynes, James J. Ryan, James T. Moriarty, James W. Close, 160 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Lawrence O'Keefe, John H. Wardley, George Haas, 159 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Edward Canavan, C. A. Weaver, C. L. Bagley, Otto J. Kapl, Harry J. Steeper, 1,000 votes.

Newspaper Guild, American—Jonathan Eddy, 5 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Jos. F. Kelley, Harry Kaufman, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, 665 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Matthew J. Burns, Arthur Huggins, 66 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—George Q. Lynch, 26 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, International Union of—Michael Carrozzo, 31 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—M. J. Collieran, John E. Rooney, John H. Donlin, 180 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, Charles M. Rau, Charles Anderson, William Fallon, 330 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal—W. W. Britton, 46 votes.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car—A. Philip Randolph, 12 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, Alex Young, 104 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—Joseph Draby, 13 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Edward F. McGrady, J. Sid Tiller, George A. Freeburn, Edward M. Wilmot, 320 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada.

International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, G. G. Brinkley, H. W. Sullivan, 91 votes.

Quarry Workers, International Union of North America—John C. Lawson, 20 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—Edward McMorrow, Joseph J. Kehoe, Neil McLellan, Matthew J. McLaughlin, Thomas F. Broderick, 757 votes.

Railway Mail Association—J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, 193 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition—George W. Jones, J. M. Gaviak, 40 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Ivan Hunter, Paul Scharrenberg, 200 votes.

Sheep Shearers' Union of North America—A. A. Evans, 9 votes.

Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—George E. Browne, Fred J. Dempsey, Thomas V. Green, 240 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leon De Veze, Chas. A. Sumner, 81 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, P. J. Cullen, 52 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. W. Kaiser, 23 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thomas C. Cashen, John Lundergan, 85 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—William Reznicek, 59 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Jerome Davis, Allie B. Mann, Irvin R. Kuenzli, 127 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, John McLaughlin, George Wilson, John O'Rourke, 1,610 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, H. B. Perham, 350 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—Frank B. Powers, 20 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, J. E. Lentie, Raymond E. Rodgers, 84 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trotter, Frank X. Martel, John Simons, Jack Gill, 733 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, Pierce H. Deamer, Edwin E. Graves, 85 votes.

Departments

Building Trades Department—J. W. Williams, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Railway Employees Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—I. M. Ornburn, 1 vote.

State Bodies

Alabama State Federation of Labor—Dan C. Thompson, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—J. W. Kindred, 1 vote.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—Vic Wood, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—George G. Kidwell, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—John J. Egan, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—Wendell C. Heaton, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—W. C. Jeffries, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—Aug. Rosqvist, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—R. G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Carl H. Mullen, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—J. C. Kane, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—E. H. Williams, 1 vote.

Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Joseph P. McCurdy, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Robert J. Watt, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—George W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Warren S. Welsh, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.

Nevada State Federation of Labor—George Townshend, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Louis P. Marcianite, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Lyons, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—Ben T. Osborne, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—John A. Phillips, 1 vote.

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Prudencio Rivera Martinez, 1 vote.

Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—Cornelius J. Mulcahy, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor
—William Turnblazer, 1 vote.
Texas State Federation of Labor—
B. M. Egan, 1 vote.
Virginia State Federation of Labor—
J. D. Rapp, 1 vote.
Washington State Federation of
Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.
West Virginia State Federation of
Labor—John B. Easton, 1 vote.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor
—J. J. Handley, 1 vote.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor
—Martin Cahill, 1 vote.

City Central Bodies

Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council—
Redmond M. Burr, 1 vote.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—
J. A. Harper, 1 vote.
Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union—
F. S. Key, 1 vote.
Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor As-
sembly—Al Towers, 1 vote.
Benton, Ill., Central Labor Union—
Curtis Mundell, 1 vote.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—
Yelverton Cowherd, 1 vote.
Blismarck, N. Dak., Central Labor
Union—S. S. McDonald, 1 vote.
Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union
—William Tracy, 1 vote.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—
Charles B. Campfield, 1 vote.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor
Union—E. A. Johnson, 1 vote.
Canonsburg, Pa., Central Labor Union
—H. O. Balls, 1 vote.
Charleroi, Pa., Monongahela Valley
Central Trades Council—Joseph Yab-
lensky, 1 vote.
Charleston, S. C., Central Labor Union
—E. R. Jenkins, 1 vote.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor
Union—Joe G. Dobbs, 1 vote.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—
John A. Schoonover, 1 vote.
Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor
—Thos. A. Lenehan, 1 vote.
Cumberland, Md., Trades Council—
John T. Jones, 1 vote.
Dayton, O., Central Labor Union—
John E. Breidenbach, 1 vote.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor
Assembly—Sue Adams, 1 vote.
Des Moines, Ia., Trades and Labor
Assembly—James W. Soutter, 1 vote.
Detroit and Wayne County, Mich.,
Federation of Labor—Myra Komaroff, 1
vote.
East St. Louis, Ill., Trades and Labor
Union—A. L. Wegener, 1 vote.
Edwardsville, Ill., Central Trades and
Labor Council—Theodore Nischwitz,
1 vote.
Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Trades
Council—George F. Cushing, 1 vote.
Elkhart, Ind., Central Labor Union
(Elkhart County)—Simon Van Patten,
1 vote.
Elyria, O., Central Labor Union—
J. E. Will, 1 vote.
Fairmont, W. Va., Monongahela Val-
ley Trades and Labor Council—H. A.
Alltop, 1 vote.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor—
George Stackweather, 1 vote.
Florence, Ala., Tri-Cities Central
Labor Union—Lo Petree, 1 vote.
Fort Smith, Ark., Central Trades Coun-
cil—Vic Wood, 1 vote.
Guernsey County, O., Central Labor
Union—John Owens, 1 vote.
Gulfport, Miss., Central Labor Union
—Holt Ross, 1 vote.
Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Coun-
cil—Milton Doll, 1 vote.
Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union
—Edward M. Foley, 1 vote.
Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union
—Edward Alden, 1 vote.
Jackson, Miss., Central Labor Union
—Fred Patton, 1 vote.
Jacksonville, Fla., Central Labor
Union—T. J. Davis, 1 vote.
Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor
Council of Will County—Tony August-
tino, 1 vote.
Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor
Council—Felix Olkives, 1 vote.
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky.,
Trades and Labor Assembly—Charles
Farrell, 1 vote.
Kewanee, Ill., Trades and Labor As-
sembly—L. German, 1 vote.
Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union
—W. Clay McKenzie, 1 vote.
Lake County, Ill., Central Labor Coun-
cil—Benjamin R. McMahon, 1 vote.
Lansing, Mich., Federation of Labor
—John Reid, 1 vote.
La Salle, Ill., Trades and Labor Coun-
cil—Joseph Marchesi, 1 vote.
Logan, West Va., Central Labor Union
—Arthur Taylor, 1 vote.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor
Council—Kenneth Thompson, 1 vote.
Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union—
Sidney E. Le Bow, 1 vote.
Mercer County, W. Va., Central Labor
Union—E. J. Preston, 1 vote.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—
Walter Hoyt, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—J. F. Friedrich, 1 vote.

Missoula, Mont., Missoula County Central Trades and Labor Council—Samuel H. Rivin, 1 vote.

Nampa, Ida., Trades and Labor Council—H. I. Hansen, 1 vote.

Newark, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly—Edgar E. Baker, 1 vote.

New Castle, Pa., Trades and Labor Assembly—T. Louis Majors, 1 vote.

New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Robert Soule, 1 vote.

Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union—E. J. Shave, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.

Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—E. L. Pickler, 1 vote.

Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—J. Luther Langston, 1 vote.

Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union—John J. Keegan, 1 vote.

Orlando, Fla., Central Labor Union—George Houghton, 1 vote.

Oshkosh, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Harry P. Stoffels, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Pasadena, Calif., Central Labor Union—Louise R. Hoocher, 1 vote.

Pekin, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Allen S. Haywood, 1 vote.

Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Martin Klarish, 1 vote.

Peru, Ill., Trades and Labor Council—Herman Lisse, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Adolph Hirschberg, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council—John J. Kane, 1 vote.

Port Arthur, Tex., Trades and Labor Council—W. F. Hill, 1 vote.

Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.

Port Washington, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Robert W. Powers, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, O., Central Labor Council—Ed. Switalski, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union—M. L. McCarty, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Joseph T. Cahir, 1 vote.

Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Wm. H. Sommers, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Saint Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—Thomas F. Quinn, 1 vote.

St. Petersburg, Fla., Central Labor Union—Phillip A. McMasters, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—John A. O'Connell, 1 vote.

Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—George L. Gooze, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—Claude O'Reilly, 1 vote.

Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—R. L. Burton, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Spartanburg, S. C., Central Labor Union—J. W. Harrison, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union—John F. Gatelee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union—R. T. Wood, 1 vote.

Staunton, Ill., Trades Council—Jack Glasgow, 1 vote.

Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Vernon M. Crofoot, 1 vote.

Tampa, Fla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—W. E. Sullivan, 1 vote.

Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Otto W. Brach, 1 vote.

Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council—John A. Edwards, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Frank J. Coleman, 1 vote.

Waterloo, Iowa, Central Labor Union—Harold P. Haffa, 1 vote.

Wausau, Wisc., Central Labor Union—Arnold Streck, 1 vote.

West Palm Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union—George Knelp, 1 vote.

Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union—G. D. Sexton, 1 vote.

Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—Freeman M. Saltus, 1 vote.

Local Unions

Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.—Paul J. Arias, 1 vote.

Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20289, Bakersfield, Calif.—C. W. Johnson, 1 vote.

Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.—Donald Henderson, 1 vote.

Alaska Cannery Workers' Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.—George Woolf, 7 votes.

Aluminum Workers' Union No. 18738, New Haven, Conn.—John J. McCurry, 1 vote.

Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.—Chas. Gibson, 4 votes.

Architectural Metal Workers' Union No. 18267, (2 votes); Federal Labor Union No. 19619, (1 vote); Cleveland, O.—John Schreier, 3 votes.

Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.—Vicente D. Vigil, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.—Lewis Merrill, 11 votes.

Brass Employees, Specialty, No. 19788, (1 vote); Federal Labor Union No. 18456, (13 votes); Kenosha, Wis.—Cleaners, Dyers and Helpers Union No. 19271, Kenosha, Wis., (1 vote)—Emil Costello, 20 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 20099, Alameda County, Calif.—Marcella Ryan, 1 vote.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 20224, Camden, N. J.—Roy Hawthorne, 1 vote.

Cement Workers, United, No. 18673, Bath, Pa.—J. Earl Kocher, 1 vote.

Chemical Workers' Union No. 20098, Belle, W. Va.—Thomas Cairns, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.—I. J. Fitzgerald, 9 votes.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Union No. 18150, Kansas City, Mo.—W. S. Gross, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18295, Cleveland, O.—Harold E. Greenwald, 3 votes.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Local No. 19989, Los Angeles, Calif.—A. Feinberg, 1 vote.

Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.—Joseph M. Driscoll, 3 votes.

Dry Goods Employees' Union, Wholesale, No. 19932, New York, N. Y.—Arthur Osman, 3 votes.

Exhibition Employees' Union No. 17574, New York, N. Y.—Robert Reynolds, 1 vote.

Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.—Leif Dahl, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17614, Reno, Nev.—Lillie B. Clineinst, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Ill.—Frank Marek, Jr., 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio—Thomas Finnegan, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—William J. Cannon, 10 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18930, Utica, N. Y.—Anthony S. Knopka, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Fla.—George B. Jackson, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wis.—Charles Heymanns, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 19546 (3 votes); Federal Labor Union No. 19806, (25 votes); Milwaukee, Wis.—Erwin Zumach, 28 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19322, Kenosha, Wis.—Andrew B. Cross, 7 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19766, Houston, Tex.—Earle R. Alford, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 19848, Rapid City, S. D.—F. W. Merritt, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 20183, Barberton, O.—Frances Gerhardt, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio—Jesse Waddell, 1 vote.

Filling Station Attendants and Warehouse Employees' Union No. 19094, East St. Louis, Ill.—Fred Olds, 1 vote.

Firemen's Union No. 18966, Birmingham, Ala.—Dan Gales, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.—George Barnes, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 20240, Southern Railway, Memphis, Tenn.—Will Lee, 1 vote.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.—Patrick Gallagher, 7 votes.

Gas Station Attendants' Union No. 18912, Akron, Ohio—H. A. Bradley, 2 votes.

Gasoline Station Operators' Union No. 18378, Cleveland, Ohio—Phil Hannah, 14 votes.

Grocers Warehouse Employees' Union, Independent Wholesale, No. 19572, Cleveland, O.—Ralph P. Laundry, 2 votes.

Hospital and Medical Professionals Association of No. 20094, New York, N. Y.—Claire Rex, 1 vote.

Match Factory Workers, Federal Labor, United, No. 18460, Akron, O.—Donald O. Davis, 1 vote.

Match Workers, Federal Labor, United, No. 18928, Barberton, O.—F. B. Gerhart, 3 votes.

Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.—Morris Fine, 1 vote.

Metal Workers' Union No. 19340, Fabricated, Milwaukee, Wis.—Rudolph Faupl, 7 votes.

Metal Workers' Union No. 19829, Nesco Fabricated, Milwaukee, Wis.—Stanley Joers, 4 votes.

Photographic and Finishing Employees Union No. 18893, New York, N. Y.—Ben Weintraub, 1 vote.

Railway Express Agency Employees' Union No. 20159, Jacksonville, Florida—Cleon S. Williams, 1 vote.

Russian Turkish Bath Rubbers and Workers Union No. 18702, Newark, N. J.—Irving Matlin, 1 vote.

Soap and Edible Oil Workers' Union No. 18409, Long Beach, Calif.—E. F. Prior, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—Frank Welkel, 2 votes.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16456, Milwaukee, Wis.—Aug. J. Scherr, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18198, San Juan, Puerto Rico—Laura Iglesias, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minnesota—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19366, Cleveland, O.—Karl M. Duldner, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19903, Atlanta, Ga.—Marie Hudson, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20074, Chicago, Ill.—Mollie Levitas, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, No. 20104, Jacksonville, Fla.—Homer J. Odell, 1 vote.

Sugar Refinery Employees' Union No. 20037, Crockett, Calif.—W. F. Kelleher, 11 votes.

Technical Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.—Irving Meyers, 1 vote.

Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufrano, 3 votes.

Theatre and Amusement Employees' Union No. 19905, St. Louis, Mo.—John P. Nick, 1 vote.

Ushers, Doormen and Cashiers' Local No. 18784, Racine, Wis.—Steve Thomas, 1 vote.

Warehouse Employees' Union No. 19330, Cleveland, O.—James Kocarek, Jr., 1 vote.

Watchman's Union No. 20078, Chicago, Ill.—Thomas J. Kirby, 1 vote.

Fraternal Delegates

British Trades Union Congress—William Kean, George Gibson, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—George R. Brunet, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

J. N. DAVIS, Chairman,
A. GORDON,
JOHN HOWAT, Secretary.

Chairman Davis: This concludes the report of the committee up to this hour. We move the adoption of the report, and that the delegates whose names have been read be seated in the convention.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Howat, Secretary of the committee.

President Green: That represents a partial report of the committee.

Delegate Frey, Metal Trades Department: I would like to inquire if George Power, whose name has been read as the delegate from the McKeesport, Pa., Central Labor Council, is the same George Power who is an expelled member of the metal trades, who is a member of the Communist Party, and is an organizer for the Lewis committee that is organizing steel workers?

President Green: Do you object to his seating until an investigation can be made?

Delegate Frey: I want to know if this George Power is the same one I referred to as holding other positions. It may be some other George Power.

President Green: The Chair will rule that this delegate and this local union be excluded temporarily from the report of the committee, and it will be referred back to the committee for investigation and a further report.

Delegate Frey: I believe I caught the name of a delegate from a central labor body in Pennsylvania. His name is Irwin.

Chairman Davis: If Delegate Frey wishes to enter a protest we will include that in the hearing.

President Green: That delegate will be excluded from the names just read and referred back to the committee for inquiry.

Delegate Williams: My name was not read by the committee. I am representing a central labor union in Fredericktown, Pa.

Chairman Davis: If we did not re-

port your name it is probably still in the committee's hands. We worked up to the eleventh hour and minute, and worked last night, so that we had very little opportunity of making a complete report. There are ten or twelve names not reported on. They will be taken care of in a subsequent report of the committee.

President Green: I suggest to Delegate Williams that he meet the Chairman of the committee and get the matter straightened out.

APPOINTMENTS

President Green announced the following appointments:

Assistant Secretary of the Convention—Mr. A. M. Farrell, Member Tampa Typographical Union No. 299, Tampa, Florida.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Mr. Jimmy Dodds, Member Musicians Local Union No. 721, Tampa, Florida.

Messenger—Mr. Robert Sullivan, Member Moving Picture Machine Operators' Local, Tampa, Florida.

Secretary Morrison read the names of members of the following committee:

Rules and Order of Business: A. J. Kugler, James Hatch, Daisy A. Houck, J. R. Lyons, George Wilson, E. Lewis Evans, John B. Robinson, Matthew Taylor, John E. Rooney, Max Zaritsky, R. L. Jones, H. W. Sullivan, N. P. Alfias, George W. Jones, Frank Kasten, James Bambrick, James M. Kennedy.

President Green: The Chair will call upon Chairman Kugler to announce a time for this committee to meet.

Chairman Kugler: I will ask the committee members to meet at two o'clock.

Delegate Woodmansee, Springfield, Ill., Central Body: The Labor Press will meet at 10:30 o'clock tonight in the Tampa Terrace Hotel, in the La-Fayette Room. We want all members of the Labor Press and as many of the labor editors here who are not members of the Association to attend.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I call to your attention that the Committee on Credentials reported that there were thirty-four credentials received from State Federations of Labor. In previous years there have been held, during the sessions of the American Federation of Labor convention, conferences of delegates and officers of the various State Federations of Labor while the convention was in progress. These conferences, I think, have resulted in quite a contribution to the organized labor movement of America. I think they have been helpful to the American Federation of Labor and its officers, so when this convention convened this morning, having served for some years at these conferences, I desire to announce that we are going to hold these meetings this year in Tampa while the convention is in session. If they will report to me where I am sitting we will hold a short meeting during the noon hour, and then we can arrange with Secretary Morrison for a meeting place for the week. We will meet in the evenings.

At one o'clock p. m. a recess was declared to three o'clock p. m.

First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Adcock, Alden, Alter, Arias, Adams, Bender, Breidenbach, Cahill, Cahir, Carle, Carrozzo, Christman, Coleman, A. N. Jr., Dahl, Dobbs, Duldmer, Durkin, Evans (A. A.), Finnegan, Foley, Forbes, Gatelee, Gerhardt, German, Gibson, Glasgow, Graham, Hansen, Hawthorne, Haywood, Hefferly, Henderson, Hill, Howard, Hoyt, Hudak, Hudson, Hunter, Irwin, Jackson, Johnson (C.W.), Jones (John T.), Jenkins, Kane (J. C.), Keegan, Kelleher, Klarish, Knopka, Kuenzli, Kirby, Lisse, Majors, Maney, Marehesi, Martinez, Martin, Mayer, Merritt, Minton, Moulin, Marek, Mundell, McCain (U. S.), McKensie, Nischwitz, Odell, O'Neill, Owens, Patten (Simon Van), Powers (Geo.), Price, Prior, Reed, Reid, Reynolds, Reznicek, Rose, Rosqvist, Saltus, Scherr, Schoonover, Schreier, Sexton, Shave, Sommers, Stoffels, Taylor (Mathew), Thomas, Tracy (Wm.) Turnblazer, Vigil, Waddell, Wegener, Weintraub, Will, Williams (Clemson), Williamson, Zaritsky, Zumach.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Gugler, Chairman, and Delegate Alifas, Secretary, reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in Tampa, Florida, Nov. 16, 1936, beg leave to make the following report for your approval, correction or change, and adoption:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m. Reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of this week. There shall be no session on Saturday. Thursday of next week being Thanksgiving Day, the convention will be in session Monday,

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday. This convention, however, will meet on Saturday of next week if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12. Motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate form.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of Minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Reports of Committees on Credentials.
3. Reports of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

A. J. KUGLER, Chairman,
N. P. ALIFAS, Secretary,
JAMES HATCH,
DAISY A. HOUCK,
J. R. LYONS,
GEORGE WILSON,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
JOHN B. ROBINSON,
MATTHEW TAYLOR,
JOHN E. ROONEY,
MAX ZARITSKY,
R. L. JAMES,
H. W. SULLIVAN,
GEORGE W. JONES,
FRANK KASTEN,
JAMES BAMBRICK,
JAMES M. KENNEDY.

Committee on Rules and Order of Business

Secretary Alifas moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

President Green: The Chair thanks the committee for its services, and its

work having been done, the committee is discharged.

The Chair wishes to announce that a very distinguished friend of ours, a member of Congress, will be here tomorrow and will address the convention at eleven o'clock. I refer to our very good friend, Congressman Mead, from Buffalo, N. Y. I ask that all the officers and delegates of the convention, as well as the visitors and friends be here to listen to the inspiring address which I know Congressman Mead will deliver.

I will appoint as a committee to escort him to the convention hall, Vice-President Gainer, of the Letter Carriers; President George, of the Post Office Clerks; Brother Adamski, of the Garment Workers; Brother Bennett, of the Railway Mail Association; President Stengel, of the Federation of Government Employees, and Brother Lundergan, of the Switchmen's International Union. The Congressman is a member of the Switchmen's Union.

Secretary Morrison announced that men were stationed at the rear of the hall where delegates would register.

Appointments

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees:

Committee on Executive Council's Report—A. O. Wharton, Matthew J. McLaughlin, William L. Hutcheson, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, F. A. Fitzgerald, John M. Gillespie, John J. Stretch, Henry F. Schmal, Charles Sumner, George Q. Lynch, Charles Rau, W. S. Dixon, Frank Coleman, Peter Fosco, Irvin Barney, Arthur Huggins.

Committee on Resolutions—Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, Thomas L. Hughes, John Possehl, P. J. Morrin, M. J. Gilcooly, John B. Haggerty, Clarence E. Swick, R. G. Soderstrom, Harry C. Bates, J. C. Lewis, John J. Mara, Fred Baer, Henry W. Strickland, Ivan Hunter.

Committee on Laws—Daniel J. Tobin, Dennis Lane, Thomas F. Broderick, Pietro Lucchi, Charles Anderson, George H. Davis, Thomas Flynn, Wm. P. Walsh, James L. Kelley, Fred J. Dempsey, W. J. Gorman, Dan Haggerty, E. J. Volz, J. P. Watkins, Geo. B. Falconer, J. C. Holmgren, Harry J. Steeper.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, E. J. Manlon, John P. Burke, Frank Gilmore, Patrick H. Reagan, P. C. Sarrett, Oscar F. Nelson, Edward

Canavan, Paul Scharrenberg, Andrew J. Kennedy, James Bove, Chris Lane, John J. Scully, John B. Prewitt, R. E. Van Horn, A. Philip Randolph, Joseph Schmidt.

Committee on Labels—Joseph Obergfell, C. A. Weaver, William Reznicek, Jack Gill, Wm. J. Kelly, Peter Belsel, Anthony Merlino, Robert Bruck, M. S. Maxwell, Alex Rose, I. W. Haskins, W. G. Desepte, Matthew Burns, James A. Taylor, W. E. Bryan, Walter Cowan, Edward M. Wilmot.

Committee on Adjustment—T. A. Rickert, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Edward McMorrow, F. H. Fljozdal, George E. Browne, J. P. McLaughlin, M. F. Greene, D. W. Tracy, H. B. Perham, John H. Wardley, W. F. Robinson, George W. Lawson, Abe Iosenblatt.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Felix H. Knight, Jos. M. Marshall, Thomas C. Cashen, A. Adamowski, James C. Quinn, C. C. Coulter, R. E. Woodmansee, Andrew R. Armstrong, William J. Moran, Frank B. Powers, Jerome Davis, L. B. Parrish, Edwin E. Graves, Laurence Foley, P. J. Cullen, J. E. Lentle, E. E. Evans.

Committee on Education—George M. Harrison, E. E. Millman, L. F. Lindelof, Thomas E. Burke, W. R. Trotter, L. E. Swartz, Leo E. George, Robert Watt, Sid J. Tiller, Otto J. Kapl, Neil McLellan, T. N. Guerin, John J. Dempsey, Wm. L. McFetridge, Leon De Vese, Clarence L. Edwards, Harry Begoon.

Committee on State Organizations—G. M. Bugniet, Patrick Gorman, Jerry Horan, Wm. E. Walter, George A. Freeburn, Frank X. Martel, J. Goldstone, Carl H. Mullen, Joseph A. Mullaney, John Clinton, Joseph E. Mayeur, Berniece B. Heffner, Michael Dwyer, Thomas J. Donnelly, Joseph P. McCurdy, Leo Abernathy, Charles T. Crane.

Committee on Industrial Relations—John Coefield, Charles D. Duffy, Joseph S. Fay, Charles J. Case, Harry Milton, John F. Bowen, John O'Rourke, Joseph J. Kehoe, R. A. Henning, Chas. N. Paulsen, James J. Doyle, James Close, Walter C. Brooks, J. V. Guerra, W. W. Britton, Allie B. Mann, John Lundergan.

Committee on Building Trades—J. W. Williams, Wm. J. McSorley, Jos. Y. Moreschi, Frank Feeney, Charles B. Gramling, M. J. McCain, James J. Ryan, Wm. Fallon, John W. Jockel, George H. Lakey, M. W. Mitchell, Harry Kaufman, E. D. Bleretz, J. M. Gaviak, William McCarthy.

Committee on Shorter Workday—E. J. Gainer, Robert Macorrie, John Simons, James P. Meehan, Lawrence O'Keefe, Robert B. Hesketh, T. F. Holeran, Joseph McInerney, W. G. Pow-

lesland, George Scalise, Adam E. Zusi, Joseph F. Kelley, W. C. Birthright, Elizabeth Christman, Louis P. Marcante, John C. Lawson, Samuel E. Beardsley.

Committee on Legislation—I. M. Ornburn, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, C. L. Rosemund, J. Frank Bennett, James M. Duffy, Richard J. Gray, James T. Moriarty, John Donlin, Charles I. Stengle, Thomas V. Green, Joseph Draby, M. T. Finnan, Arnold S. Zander, Charles W. Fry, Edw. J. Winter.

Committee on International Labor Relations—Thomas E. Burke, Matthew Woll, Andrew Furuseth, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Wm. J. Bowen, John Coefield, Edward J. Gainer, Albert Adamski, Michael Greene, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Millman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madsen, Michael J. Coleran, Edward Flore, Henry F. Schmal, Dennis Lane, Wm. J. McSorley, Edward Canavan.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that the name of President Green be added to the committee on International Relations.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Referring to the Committee on Union Labels, I wish to make my sixteenth annual correction of my initials. It is "C. A. Weaver," not "C. W. Weaver."

President Green: The sixteenth annual request of Delegate Weaver will be complied with.

President Green: I wish to call attention to Section 5, of Article III, of the constitution, which provides: "Resolutions of any character or proposition for changes in this constitution cannot be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent."

Please bear that in mind. Delegates who wish to introduce resolutions will present them to the Secretary, either here at the hall or at his office at the Hotel Floridan, between now and midnight tomorrow.

The next order will be the submission of a condensed report of the Executive Council's Report. Vice-Presi-

dent Duffy has presented this abbreviated report of the Executive Council for a great many years. He has done it in splendid fashion. I now present him to you to read the abbreviated report—First Vice-President Duffy.

Vice-President Duffy read the following:

SUMMARY, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

The introduction to the annual report of the Executive Council affirms the consciousness of our organization to changes in economic, social and political conditions throughout the world. We reiterate our firm belief that unemployment must be met through the application of the shorter work day and shorter work week in industry. We bespeak for the deliberations of the convention earnest consideration, firm decision and deliberate action on all our problems.

Report of Secretary-Treasurer

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer for the year ending August 31, 1936, shows a balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year amounting to \$569,405.99. Receipts and disbursements are listed to show a net of expense over receipts of \$53,548.54 for the year. An extremely heavy demand was made upon our Defense Fund for directly affiliated local unions. The amount received in the Defense Fund was \$125,701.45 while the amount expended in strike benefits to local unions was \$151,656.02—a difference of \$26,954.57.

Membership

Charters Issued. During the past year 238 charters were issued. These cover 3 international unions, 19 central bodies, 175 local trade unions and 41 federal labor unions. The Secretary's report for the year ending August 31 showed 4 Departments which comprise 522 local departments or councils, 49 state federations of labor, 111 national and international unions,

734 city central bodies, 914 local trade and federal labor unions, and 32,906 local unions of national and international unions.

The average total of paid and reported membership for the fiscal year just closed was 3,422,398. The total membership of the Federation for the month ending August, 1936, was 3,586,567—an increase over last year of 541,220 members. This was an increase of 1,459,771 over the average membership for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1933.

Report of Trustees of A. F. of L. Building

An account of receipts and expenditures for the past fiscal year is given and shows a net balance on hand of \$65,294.52.

General Organizing Campaign.

In addition to organizing efforts put forth by the respective national and international unions, the Federation has conducted an aggressive organizing campaign among the unorganized, especially among the cement workers, aluminum workers, gasoline station attendants, chemical workers, distillery workers, agricultural workers, match workers, cereal and flour mill workers, and other miscellaneous groups.

General councils were formed in cement, aluminum, and among gasoline station attendants and other industries. These councils constitute clearing houses of information regarding wages, hours and conditions of employment prevailing in different localities where federal labor unions have been established. Responsible representatives of the American Federation of Labor have been selected to serve as the executive officers of these councils and in a number of instances wage scales have been negotiated between employers and employees. Ten of the local unions in the petroleum marketing industry have agreements with a large number of companies; eleven unions in the aluminum indus-

try have negotiated agreements and nine unions are protected by agreements in the match industry, the chemical industry, the grain processing industry and among the agricultural workers. The union agreements negotiated in specified industries are listed, setting forth the outstanding features of each.

Charters to National Unions.

During the fiscal year just closed charters were issued to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the American Newspaper Guild, and the American Federation of State, Municipal and County Employees. This last named group was originally affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through the American Federation of Government Employees. Later developments showed that the best interests of all concerned would be better served through the issuance of a charter direct and this course was followed. We extend an official welcome to these new national unions.

Trade Union Benefits

Despite the period of economic stress through which we have as an organization as well as a nation been passing, the total amount of union benefits distributed remains practically unchanged. This is viewed as a definite achievement and evidence of the self-reliance of organized workers. We note the fact that changes may seem wise in the future in the event of adequate social security provisions but that time has not yet been reached. It is likewise true that improvements in employment and business activity will eventually be reflected in decreased demands on union funds for such benefits. A detailed report is presented showing that \$26,108,606.16 was paid by national and international organizations to their members in the form of out-of-work, disability, pension, death and sick benefits. Attention is called to the fact, however, that this report is incomplete and does not cover the to-

tal amount paid by all affiliated unions during the past year. We have figures only for national and international unions and their organized units for such amounts as were reported to the American Federation of Labor. Many local unions chartered by affiliated organizations and directly affiliated federal labor unions have established benefit funds out of which benefits were paid locally. In addition, strike benefits paid by local organizations do not appear in this report. The amount involved in these expenditures would probably reach millions of dollars in addition to the amount set forth in our chart.

Committee for Industrial Organization

The dissension which developed within the family of the American Federation of Labor during the past year through the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization is reported in full. There has been confusion in the minds of many as to the real issues involved in this controversy. To clarify the entire matter we submit as a part of the Report of the Executive Council the official correspondence which has passed between the President and officers of the American Federation of Labor and those comprising the Committee for Industrial Organization; press statements given out by the committee showing the avowed aims and purposes of the Committee for Industrial Organization; the declarations of the Executive Council on this subject at its several meetings during the past year; the charges filed by the President of the Metal Trades Department against the committee; the findings of the special session of the Executive Council held for the purpose of considering the charges presented; and a detailed statement of the present status of the case. The efforts made by the special committee appointed for the purpose of considering the matter and conferring with the Committee for Industrial Organization, as well as other efforts which have been put forth in the interest

of peace within our official group are all set forth in our report. These constitute a history of the case and are submitted for your earnest and most sincere consideration and action.

Steel Organizing Campaign.

Pursuant to the instructions of the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor, consideration was given to the inauguration of an intensive organizing campaign among the steel workers. Tentative working plans were drawn up and submitted by the Executive Council. Subsequent developments terminated in the alignment of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers with the C. I. O. by the terms of which the officers of the Amalgamated Association subjected themselves and the organization they represent to the complete control of the chairman of the C. I. O., rejecting the offer of the American Federation of Labor to conduct and manage a campaign of organization in the steel industry. This statement is submitted to the officers and delegates for consideration and action.

Organization of the United Automobile Workers International Union

A charter was granted the United Automobile Workers International Union on August 26, 1935, subject to certain specified terms and conditions of supervision by the American Federation of Labor. On April 27, 1936, the supervisory administration of the A. F. of L. was terminated and the first constitutional convention of this new International union was held in South Bend, Indiana. The subsequent decision of the Automobile Workers International Union to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor and remain in affiliation with the C. I. O. is reported.

Organization of United Rubber Workers of America

A brief history of the organization of the Rubber Workers into an international union is related. This organization was officially chartered on Sep-

tember 12, 1935, after three years of organizing work on the part of the American Federation of Labor. All of the assets which had been acquired during the period of organization of this union were turned over to the new international union. At that time in addition to substantial contributions which have been made from time to time to assist them. Despite these facts, the United Rubber Workers of America elected to withdraw from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and accept membership with the C. I. O.

Gas and By-Product Coke Workers

Subsequent to the organization of federal labor unions of gas and by-product coke workers in twenty manufacturing centers a National Council of Gas and By-Product Coke Workers was organized so that the best interests of these workers might be served. On August 16, 1936, a number of these federal labor unions joined the United Mine Workers of America despite the fact that no extension of jurisdiction over these workers had been sought by this international union and no such grant has been made by the Executive Council.

Radio Workers

The January 1936 meeting of the Executive Council considered the resolution which had been introduced in the Atlantic City Convention dealing with the issuance of a national union charter to radio workers and allied trades. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers applied for jurisdiction over these workers. The Executive Council after mature consideration granted jurisdiction over these workers to the Electrical Workers International Union. A history of the efforts put forth in organizing these workers is presented in our report. Subsequent events are also related which terminated in the organization of a dual organization of radio and allied workers. This organization has steadfastly refused to recognize the authority of the Executive Council or the jurisdic-

tion of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. These facts are submitted for your thoughtful consideration and action.

**Transgression of Jurisdiction of
Federation of Flat Glass
Workers of America**

A report is submitted of the attempt of the Federation of Flat Glass Workers to invade the jurisdiction of other international unions as well as to persuade a federal labor union of chemical workers affiliated directly to the American Federation of Labor to withdraw from this direct affiliation and accept membership with them. Repeated protestations were made to the President of the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America against this practice. This unwarranted and flagrant disregard of the jurisdictional authority of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated international unions is presented for your consideration and action.

Recommendations Governing Presentation of Resolutions, Petitions, etc.

A report and recommendation is submitted by your Executive Council governing the submission of resolutions and/or petitions to subsequent conventions of the American Federation of Labor. The proposed procedure is presented for your consideration and action.

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES

**Jurisdiction Over Workers in Neon
Sign Industry**

A report is submitted by the Executive Council of efforts made to reach an agreement between the organizations at interest in this industry. To date no agreement has been entered into and the Executive Council bespeaks your authorization to give further consideration to this controversy in a further effort to bring about an amicable adjustment.

**Memorandum Submitted by
Lithographers International Protective
and Beneficial Association**

Pursuant to the instructions of the Atlantic City Convention several conferences were held on the contention of the Lithographers International Union that no convention of the American Federation of Labor approved the report of the Special Investigating Committee appointed by direction of the 1915 convention to investigate the jurisdictional dispute between the aforementioned organization, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, and the International Photo-Engravers Union. A detailed report of the entire controversy together with recommendations of your Executive Council is presented for your consideration and action. The Executive Council asks that a clear-cut decision be rendered upon this matter.

Engineers-Firemen

We have reported the endeavors made to compose the differences existing between these two organizations and submit for your consideration the recommendation of the Federation's representative in the conference held on this dispute. The recommendation submitted would meet with the approval of the Executive Council only if it is acceptable to the two organizations at interest. In the event the recommendation is not acceptable, we are willing to continue efforts to reach an amicable adjustment between the unions involved.

Foundry Employees-Moulders

Report is made of the steps which have thus far been taken to bring about the amalgamation of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and the International Molders Union of North America. We recommend continued efforts looking toward this end.

Jurisdiction of Beer Coll Cleaners

The status of the jurisdictional dispute between the Plumbers and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers over

these workers is set forth. Since the last named organization has served notice it will appeal the decision of the Executive Council in this controversy the facts are herewith presented for your consideration.

We report efforts to harmonize jurisdictional differences between the Masters, Mates and Pilots and the Seamen, also the Electrical Workers, Seamen and Longshoremen. We recommend continued efforts to adjust these differences.

Union Label in Ready-to-Wear Men's and Boys' Clothing

Attention is called to the fact that the union label of the United Garment Workers is the only Union label recognized and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor on ready-to-wear, made to measure, and tailored to the trade clothing for men and boys.

Change of Titles

The Metal Polishers International Union applied for a change of title to cover buffers, platers and helpers. Since this did not involve an infringement upon the jurisdiction of any other international union the application was approved. The title of this organization is now "Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union."

The Stove Mounters International Union made application for a change of title to cover stove processors. This change was opposed by the Foundry Employees and the application was denied.

Official Changes

There have been several changes in our official family during the past year. Vice-Presidents, Lewis, Dubinsky, and Hutcheson resigned from the Executive Council. In accordance with the authority vested in the Executive Council by the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Brothers Felix Knight of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, George Brown of the Theatrical Stage Employees, and Edward Flore of the Hotel and Res-

taurant Employees were appointed to serve the unexpired terms of those whose posts had been vacated.

Death of Former Vice-President Jacob Fisher

Official record is made of the passing of former Vice-President Jacob Fisher. Brother Fisher served as Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor from 1918 until he resigned on May 22, 1929.

Gompers Memorial Fund

In response to the appeal issued by direction of the 1928 convention, funds were collected for the erection of a memorial to the late Samuel Gompers. There is a balance in that fund of \$15,835.25. This fund has been maintained separately for the purpose of meeting expenses incident to the erection of the memorial and the landscaping of the plot on which it stands. The immediate purpose of the fund has been accomplished and any demands for funds in the future will occur only occasionally. We therefore recommend that the balance in this fund be transferred to the General Fund and any further expense for the care of the monument be paid from the General Fund.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE A. F. OF L. Building Trades Department

In accordance with the agreement reached during the 1935 convention of the A. F. of L. the committee appointed for the purpose was able to work out a reorganization of the Building Trades Department and set up machinery for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes arising in the building industry. We are pleased to report that peace and harmony prevail in the Department since its reorganization and the Department is functioning to the best interests of the affiliated organizations.

Metal Trades Department

The report of the Metal Trades Department is encouraging indeed. Substantial gains are reported for all its

affiliated organizations, the Department is cooperating with the Building Trades Department and the Union Label Trades Department and in the legislative field there has been joint action with the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor. In one instance an agreement was negotiated jointly by the Metal Trades Department and the Building Trades Department. We are encouraged to expect even more encouraging results during the coming year.

Railway Employees Department

The Railway Employees Department submits a comprehensive report of its activities during the past year. It is a story of progress in the field of organization among these workers and in the establishment of collective agreements with the railroads of the United States. It is encouraging to note that pre-depression wage levels have been restored and an increase in employment during the past year. The report covers efforts to fully restore wages on the Canadian railroads, the enactment of the Railroad Retirement Act, litigation involving the Railway Labor Act, and the National Coordination Agreement. This agreement occupies a unique position in our history in that it represents the first time when management and employees of an entire industry have agreed upon the application of the principle that employees adversely affected by consolidations will be adequately cared for. This is a worthy accomplishment which could serve as an example in other industries.

Union Label Trades Department

The report of the Union Label Trades Department is one of progress in the work for which the Department was created—namely, to carry on an educational campaign for the promotion of the union label, shop card and button. The officers of this Department have worked diligently and have been rewarded for their efforts as is evidenced by the report.

The formation, under the sponsorship

of the Union Label Trades Department, of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor is reported. This organization started with a membership of 2,000,000 and we confidently expect great help through this channel in creating a demand for union label goods.

Porto Rico

The report of activities of the wage earners of the Island of Porto Rico includes, among other things, the announcement of renewed agreements between the agricultural and factory workers unions and the Sugar Producers Association, and between the Longshoremen unions and ship companies.

The Porto Ricans bespeak the continued assistance of the American Federation of Labor, particularly with regard to the extension of federal legislation to Porto Rico which aims to better the economic and social conditions of the people such as the Social Security Law, and the permanent establishment of a workers education center.

Investigation of the American Federation of Teachers

Your Executive Council submits a report on Resolution 154 of the Atlantic City Convention which charged that the American Federation of Teachers is controlled by those hostile to the American Federation of Labor. The committee which considered this resolution held extensive hearings at which all parties at interest were accorded an opportunity to be heard. The committee found that the case is not one to be considered by the American Federation of Labor but should properly be considered and acted upon entirely by the American Federation of Teachers itself. The Executive Council, acting upon the report of the committee investigating the charges contained in the resolution recommended that the charter of Teachers Local No. 5 of New York City should be revoked by the American Federation of Teachers.

Rules of Procedure for Executive Council

Acting in conformity with authority conferred upon the Executive Council by Section 8 of Article 9 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, we adopted a rule for guidance in dealing with emergencies and with administrative problems during the interim between conventions. This rule is contained in its entirety in the report of the Executive Council.

National Legislation

The decision of the Administration in the last session of Congress was to the effect that only bills and legislation suggested by the Administration itself was to receive consideration, which course was followed during the first few months of the Congress. Later, however, we were able to secure the passage of 23 bills which were signed by the President, and 1 Senate Resolution. Notable among the measures enacted which were favorable to Labor were those providing the prevailing rate of wages on government contracts and on all relief work; prohibiting the transportation of professional strikebreakers in interstate commerce; the encompassing of workers employed on public works under state compensation laws; the inclusion of employees in the airplane industry under the Railway Labor Board; additional safety measures protecting life at sea and citizenship requirements of all licensed officers on United States vessels; a law providing that government subsidized shipping corporations must incorporate minimum manning and wage scales and reasonable working conditions; extension of public health service to all seamen on government vessels not in military or naval establishments; appropriations for development of vocational education and direct work relief on useful projects; favorable legislation governing annual and sick leave for government employees; extension of the retirement law for railroad employees of this

country, and others. In addition to securing the passage of bills favorable to Labor, we were able to defeat the proposed enactment of a number of bills hostile to our interests.

Department of Labor

We oppose the establishment or re-allocation of governmental agencies which properly come under the Department of Labor to either other government departments or as independent agencies. The Department of Labor was created to be the agency through which the interests of the workers could be protected and advanced. We therefore hold that in the reorganization of governmental functions now under consideration, those agencies which administer matters which primarily concern labor welfare should be included in the Department of Labor.

Child Labor Amendment

We report continued efforts to secure the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment which has been effected in 24 states. Your Executive Council urges every labor organization in the states where the amendment has not been ratified to work for favorable consideration of this amendment.

Minimum Wage Law

The future of minimum wage legislation seems to hinge upon the pending decision on the Washington State law which was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of that state. The U. S. Supreme Court, however, has granted a review of the law, which is similar to the New York statute which was declared unconstitutional. New York was joined by Massachusetts, Illinois and Washington in appealing for a rehearing which was refused on the New York law.

Fifteen states have minimum wage laws, three of which are inoperative due to lack of appropriations for that purpose.

Workmen's Compensation.

Arkansas and Mississippi are the only two states which have not as yet enacted a workmen's compensation law. Organized labor in those states is urged to render every assistance in securing this legislation.

Of vital concern to wage earners is the coverage of compensation to include occupational diseases. We call attention to the possibility of perversion of the insurance features of this type of legislation to the detriment of wage earners. We urge the establishment of industrial hygiene units in the several states where such agencies are not yet in existence. These units are equipped to make studies of occupational disease hazards and are created to assist labor departments in discovering and correcting dangerous conditions in industry. In the fifteen states where such agencies have been established social security funds have, in part, financed the undertaking.

State Departments of Labor.

We commend state federations of labor for the part they have taken in securing the establishment of state departments of labor in five states. Your Executive Council urges that efforts be continued in the remaining states to set up state labor departments adequately staffed, financed and equipped with full power to administer labor laws and to make rules and regulations supplementing existing laws.

Educational Qualifications in Civil Service.

In accordance with the report of the committee on Resolution 240 representations were made to the Civil Service Commission protesting against the unfair practice of discriminating against workers whose qualifications for service are based on experience rather than formal academic training. Your officers report on the success of their efforts in this direction.

Wages and Hours.

In this section of the report we make the comparison between increased production and wage levels. We call attention to the fact that the index of production for 1935 was 43 percent above the 1932 level while the index of employment was only 28 per cent above 1932. Comparisons are drawn also in costs of living between 1929 and 1935, the average work week, and increase in productivity per man hour during this period. We submit these findings to your thoughtful consideration.

The Social Security Act.

Your Executive Council submits a comprehensive report on this subject explaining the features of the Social Security Act in detail. We have shown particularly just what groups are eligible under its several provisions; the requirements which are stipulated for state participation in federal funds set aside for this purpose; procedure which must be followed and the several agencies charged with the administration of the law; the amount of appropriations provided; etc. We call attention to several problems which have developed under social security and the responsibility of Labor to see that required legislation is enacted in the several states in order to assure the participation of the state in the federal social security provisions. We especially commend this report to your serious consideration and action.

Department of Food Industry Employees

The survey of those organizations concerned in the formation of such a department within the A. F. of L. forced your Council to the conclusion that the time is not at hand for such an undertaking. We recommend postponement of such action leading to the formation of this department until more interest is evidenced by the organizations involved.

Relief

Labor has always believed that the problem of caring for those deprived of an opportunity to earn a living is the responsibility of society. We are glad to report that the tendency of today is an acknowledgement of the fairness of this contention. However, there are problems which must be faced in planning for the future. In our report, your Executive Council has indicated the main problems confronting us showing plainly the need for immediate and long-time planning. An adequate standard must be adhered to in caring for those in need of immediate help. For longtime planning the establishment of additional services may be required. These may be coordinated with existing agencies so that all may function as a unit while at the same time providing different kinds of specialized care as needed.

National Labor Relations Board

We present a condensed history of the work of the National Labor Relations Board from the time of its creation on August 27, 1935, to October 1, 1936. This record shows undisputably the distinct effectiveness of this Board not only in settling cases which were brought before it but in clearly defining the rights of employees with regard to union activity and collective bargaining. We have recited a number of outstanding decisions of the Board which clearly indicate what we may expect in the future from its work unless a decided change of policy is adopted. The U. S. Supreme Court is expected to pass upon the constitutionality of the law which has been challenged.

Unemployment

Your Executive Council has carefully considered the grave need for adequate methods of measuring unemployment. We believe there is need for an unemployment census at the earliest possible date and for periodic censuses in the future so that a check may be kept on the tendency in employment as changes occur. This is necessary in or-

der that we may provide adequately for families during periods of unemployment and to make the industrial adjustments necessary to meet needs as they occur.

Health Insurance

During the past year a comprehensive study was made of all available material on costs of medical care, adequacy of medical services, and methods of pooling the costs of medical care by cooperatives and health insurance legislation. Our report embraces sections on distribution of medical care, costs of illness, sickness or health insurance, a study of German and British health insurance provisions, French compulsory sickness insurance and other countries in which sickness insurance plans are in operation. We have also given attention to the restricted type of sickness insurance found in the United States in certain workmen's compensation laws. On the basis of our study we recommend that the A. F. of L. urge the Federal Government to create a commission to study and recommend plans for coordination and improvement of our provisions for social security and their extension to include compensation and medical care for sickness.

Consumers Cooperatives

We have studied the growth of consumers cooperatives and are keenly conscious of the benefit such a movement can bring to workers. At the same time we are conscious of the possibilities with which such a movement is fraught if Labor organizations do not grow in at least parallel proportion. We have surveyed the cooperative movements in other countries as compared to those in our own land and make pertinent recommendations as to their operation here. We believe it essential that there should be closer cooperation between organized labor and the consumers cooperative movement. Our report on this subject is commended to your careful consideration.

Machine Displacement

We report on Resolution 118 of the San Francisco Convention which called for an investigation of machine displacement. The Executive Council constituted itself a committee to make this investigation. At the May 1936 meeting a report was submitted showing that reports on the special studies authorized by Congress were not yet available. We make this brief report for the record. If a congressional investigation should be finally held through which facts and figures can be obtained we will seek a solution to the problem.

Technological Changes

An attempt has been made to at least approximate changes in average production over specified periods of time though we point out the impossibility of anything really accurate. Our report presents figures which are of interest in this connection. Our welfare has been directly affected by the displacement of men by machines and Labor is vitally concerned that there be a continuing study of technological unemployment. We should make sure that the subject is not dealt with blindly in the years to come. We submit that only by sound and comprehensive fact finding will it be possible to chart the employment opportunities of the future. This section of the report is commended to your most thoughtful consideration and action.

Housing for Wage Earners

We have taken cognizance of the increasing shortage of houses for wage earners which has been developing. Your Executive Council submits a comprehensive report calling attention to the need for immediate consideration of this problem both for the moral and physical well-being of our people. We have presented a history of the fight which has been made to secure the passage of an adequate housing law. We believe it absolutely necessary that such legislation be enacted during the coming session of Congress and plans

are already under way looking to this end.

Information Service of the U. S. Government

Our report under this heading presents the need for an extension of the statistical research program of the federal Department of Labor and other government agencies. In the development of such a program emphasis should be placed on (1) complete coverage of the firms studied to include employment, wages, hours, man-hours, production, prices, financial statistics; (2) coordination of statistical material so that the data collected will cover all these items for identical firms making an illuminating comparison possible. We call attention to the fact that we have in the United States elaborate daily statistics on prices of stocks and bonds in the stock markets yet even monthly or quarterly information on matters vital to the lives of 80 per cent of our population is totally lacking. This section of the report is especially commended to your consideration and action.

Our Public Schools

Your Executive Council submits its conclusions that there should be established and maintained in every central labor union a standing committee on education which shall be responsible for advancing educational opportunities for all. We are fully conscious that there is need for extension of educational facilities to adults as well as children and ask cooperation from all state universities as well as information and counsel from federal and state governments in making adequate educational facilities available. Our demands for this cooperation are based upon the precedent established for business men, farmers, bankers, railway executives, and professional persons.

Vocational Education.

Since the American labor movement was responsible for the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act which author-

ized the federal government to make grants to states for vocational education and training of teachers for this field, we have a continuing responsibility to watch the administration of this law. Organized labor is vitally concerned that the controlling purposes of vocational education shall be the training of men and women to work effectively and intelligently. The misuse of public funds and school institutions by industries in the past elicited such protests from unions that at the request of the 1935 convention of the A. F. of L. the Commissioner of Education authorized an advisory committee to plan against the recurrence of such abuses. This committee formulated regulations safeguarding the use of federal funds in plant training. These are submitted in their entirety in the report.

Workers Education Bureau

There is presented a report of the activity of the Workers Education Bureau for the past year. This account shows the valuable educational work now being conducted by the Bureau and is commended to your consideration.

A. F. of L. Daily Newspaper

Under this title your Executive Council reports on Resolution 150 of the Atlantic City Convention which authorized an investigation as to the advisability of establishing a daily newspaper. This matter was given consideration and, as evidenced by our report, we deem it impossible at the present time to undertake such a publication.

International Labor Organization.

There is submitted a report of the participation of our movement in the work of the International Labor Organization during the past year. Our

report on this subject is comprehensive and interesting indeed since it marks the first year of participation by the United States in this work.

Labor in European Countries.

We call attention to the deplorable conditions obtaining in certain European countries and the need for alertness on our part to see that we in this country are protected against the fascists and revolutionary groups in our midst. We submit our belief that the hope of the labor movement of all countries lies in free constitutional government.

Pan-American Federation of Labor.

There is submitted a brief report of the conditions prevailing in the Pan-American countries and the attempts being made to completely obliterate organizations of workers. Attention is called to the conference to be held in Buenos Aires in the near future.

Conclusion.

In concluding our report for the past year, we remind you of the perplexities of present day problems with which we must deal and the great difficulties involved in directing and conserving the power of our movement. We acknowledge our responsibility to make strong and powerful unions of wage earners. We are conscious also of the fact that with that power must come understanding and social responsibility. We urge for the coming year unprecedented organizing and educational activity that progress for the workers may keep abreast national progress.

President Green: I wish to express to First Vice-President Duffy appreciation for the fine submission of this summary of the Executive Council's report.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

TAMPA, FLORIDA, November 16, 1936.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the
American Federation of Labor, Greetings:*

INTRODUCTION

In submitting this annual report of our trusteeship we are deeply conscious of the degree of economic dislocation existing in our own country and of the disturbed economic, social and political conditions which prevail in many nations throughout the world. While unemployment in our own country is being reduced and significant social and economic changes are taking place, fundamental change and social upheavals are the common experience of people residing in nations abroad. The ultimate outcome of the operation of all the forces which make for social and political changes cannot now be foreseen. We must await patiently the developments which periodically take place before we know or understand what will be the final culmination of events. We know with a feeling of certainty and individual and collective assurance that the real remedy for unemployment can only be found through the application of the shorter work-day and shorter work-week in private industry. Necessary adjustments in the work period as it applies to the number of hours worked per day and the number of days worked per week, must correspond with the technical changes which constantly take place in industry through which the efficiency of the individual worker is constantly increased.

Throughout the fiscal year covered by this report the labor movement has kept abreast of the times and maintained steady progress. The discussion that developed within the family of organized labor is reported in full, together with the present status of the issue. We present detailed reports on housing, consumers cooperatives, health insurance and better medical care. We deal fully and in detail with the problem of organization, unemployment and social security. In dealing with these problems, we are mindful of the fact that the essential requirement for success is a unified labor movement.

In the forefront of all the deliberations of the convention must be patient consideration, firm decision and deliberate action upon all our internal problems. Patience, tolerance and wisdom must be our guide in the development of constructive policy.

SECRETARY-TREASURER MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1935, and ending August 31, 1936.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$569,405.99. Of this total \$510,623.86 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and the balance, \$58,782.13, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$924,390.38, the total expenses, \$977,938.92, amount of expenses over receipts, \$53,548.54.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1936:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1935.....	\$ 622,954.53
Per Capita Tax.....	\$453,817.37
American Federationist	227,649.90
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	124,701.45
Initiation fees	48,795.26
Reinstatement fees	6,916.50
Supplies	13,043.44
Interest	19,462.71
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	9,215.06
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts....	9,836.19
Dividend on Union Labor Life Ins. Stock.....	150.00
Profit on sale of \$75,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	10,312.50
Profit on exchange of \$98,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds....	490.00
Total receipts.....	924,390.38
Transfer from Defense Fund to General Fund.....	50,000.00
Total including Transfer.....	974,390.38
Grand total	\$1,597,344.91

EXPENSES

General	\$683,844.93
American Federationist	134,602.89
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	151,656.02
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	7,835.08
Total expenses.....	977,938.92
Transfer from Defense Fund to General Fund.....	50,000.00
Total including Transfer.....	1,027,938.92
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1936.....	\$ 569,405.99

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	\$ 58,782.13
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	510,623.86
Balance on hand, August 31, 1936.....	\$ 569,405.99

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1936:

Rent	\$ 15,388.00
Refund, Charter and Outfit, Initiation Fees, and Supplies.....	1,411.59
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	7,835.08
Secretary Treasurer's Bond.....	187.50
Insurance	819.00
D. C. Unemployment Insurance Tax.....	1,224.19
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	977.58
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of legislative committeemen	15,242.33
Postage stamps	14,363.17
Newspapers, Magazines and Books (Library)	2,552.70
Printing Bound Proceedings of Atlantic City convention.....	5,423.63
Supplies and Printing.....	28,769.02
Supplies for Resale.....	6,587.45
Miscellaneous expenses	6,080.89
Paper supply and envelopes (Mailing Department).....	4,013.06
Mailing Equipment	2,422.44
Office furniture and fixtures.....	1,559.02
Official stenographers, Atlantic City convention.....	2,284.43
Telegrams and telephones.....	10,057.09
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	500.44
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	2,367.03
Atlantic City Convention:	
Messenger, sergeant-at-arms, assistant secretary and roll-call clerk.....	620.00
Printing roll-call	338.97
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	6,597.10
Stenographers	3,400.87
Rental of office furniture.....	149.26
Printing and supplies	226.77
Telegrams, telephones, stamps, porters, sending out Daily Proceedings.....	852.08
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	529.89
Salaries:	
President	12,000.00
Secretary Treasurer	10,000.00
Office employes	174,019.26
Executive Council meetings.....	24,733.21
Telegrams, typewriter rental, baggage, E. C. meeting.....	636.49
Stenographers attending E. C. meeting.....	1,085.65
President traveling	7,347.61
Secretary Treasurer traveling.....	1,235.02
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits.....	151,656.02
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department	603.87
Union Label Trades Department.....	10.38
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	13.24
Organizers' salaries and organizing expenses.....	293,692.88
Printing and publishing American Federationist.....	134,602.89
Printing and publishing A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.....	6,906.70
Delegates, guest, committee, and officers badges, Atlantic City convention.....	424.50
Expenses, special committees and conferences.....	7,814.06
Legal expenses	8,396.51
Total	\$977,938.92

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1935 and ending August 31, 1936:

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund. . . . \$124,701.45

EXPENSES

	No. of Weeks	Aver. Mem.	
19073 Aluminum Workers, Lemont, Ill.	6 +	67	\$2,949.34
19064 Aluminum Workers, La Grange, Ill.	6 +	14 +	669.68
19306 Casket Makers, Chicago, Ill.	6	15	630.00
19019 Chemical Workers, Barberton, Ohio.	5	289	10,122.00
18300 Cleaners & Dyers, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2	47	658.00
19300 Electrical Factory Workers F. L. U., Kent, Ohio.	6	11	462.00
18344 Federal Labor Union, Syracuse, N. Y.	12	994 +	83,503.00
19401 Federal Labor Union, Tonawanda, N. Y.	11	107 +	8,309.00
18486 Federal Labor Union, Ilion, N. Y.	12	193 +	16,408.00
18482 Federal Labor Union, Syracuse, N. Y.	6	55 +	2,324.00
19189 Federal Labor Union, Seattle, Wash.	6	70 +	2,961.00
18526 Federal Labor Union, Philadelphia, Pa.	10	118	7,910.00
19766 Federal Labor Union, Houston, Texas.	6	57 +	2,408.00
19721 Fertilizer Workers, Glen Carbon, Ill.	1	20	140.00
18362 Gasoline Service Station & Warehouse Emp., St. Louis, Mo.	4	6	168.00
18377 Last Makers, Brockton, Mass.	5	7	245.00
18460 U. Match Factory Workers, Akron, Ohio.	6	25	1,050.00
18758 Pearl Button Wkrs., Hudson Co., N. J.	3	17 +	364.00
18949 Pearl Button Wkrs., New York, N. Y.	4	7 +	308.00
18506 Stamping & Enameling Wkrs., Canton, Ohio.	6	24 +	1,043.00
18346 U. Rubber Wkrs. F. L. U., Mogadore, Ohio.	1	204	1,428.00
19330 Warehouse Emp., Cleveland, Ohio.	1	25	175.00
18255 Wall Paper Mill Helpers, York, Pa.	1	91	637.00
19859 Wire Workers, Worcester, Mass.	1	12	84.00
Amount appropriated for assistance of members of striking unions:			
18300 Cleaners & Dyers, Pittsburgh, Pa.			100.00
19538 Distillery Workers, Pekin, Ill.			500.00
20183 Federal Labor Union, Barberton, Ohio.			500.00
18527 Optical Workers, Chicago, Ill.			300.00
20055 Technical Editorial & Office Assistants, Washington, N. J.			300.00
Workers Education Bureau			5,000.00
Total expenses			<u>\$151,656.02</u>

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1935	\$587,578.43
Transferred to General Fund.	50,000.00
Balance Defense Fund	537,578.43
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1936.	124,701.45
Total	<u>\$662,279.88</u>
Strike benefits	\$144,956.02
Assistance of members of striking unions.	1,700.00
Affiliation Fee (W.E.B.).	5,000.00
Total	<u>151,656.02</u>
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1936	<u>\$510,623.86</u>

STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER; ALSO STATEMENT OF HOW BALANCE ON HAND IS DEPOSITED AND INVESTED.

INCOME		EXPENSES	
1935		Warrants Paid:	
September 30.....	\$ 64,409.17	1935	
October 31.....	84,658.08	September 30.....	\$ 82,562.29
November 30.....	75,816.57	October 31.....	93,981.82
December 31.....	81,449.19	November 30.....	75,714.89
1936		December 31.....	71,724.83
January 31.....	78,569.42	1936	
February 29.....	66,605.67	January 31.....	71,894.33
March 31.....	75,062.50	February 29.....	64,791.97
April 30.....	66,333.19	March 31.....	67,877.42
May 31.....	73,393.05	April 30.....	64,018.35
June 30.....	98,781.66	May 31.....	69,389.65
July 31.....	73,952.09	June 30.....	102,903.77
August 31.....	85,359.79	July 31.....	111,111.03
		August 31.....	101,968.57
Total income for 12 months..	\$924,390.38		
Balance in hands of Secretary		Total expenses 12 months..	\$ 977,938.92
Treasurer August 31, 1935	622,954.53		
Grand total.....	\$1,547,344.91		

RECAPITULATION

Total balance and income.....	\$1,547,344.91
Total expenses	977,938.92
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1936.....	\$ 569,405.99
Secretary-Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%).....	\$225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%).....	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds (4¼-3¼) (\$50,000.00) @ 98 18/32..	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%).....	100,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%).....	1,531.25
Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	\$ 377,882.82
\$27,000 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%).....	\$ 23,355.00
\$98,000 Consolidated Federal Land Bank Bonds (3%).....	89,590.00
Total investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	112,945.00
Riggs National Bank (Subject to check).....	59,578.17
City Bank (Subject to check).....	2,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co. N. Y. (Subject to check).....	2,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock).....	15,000.00
Secretary Treasurer's balance August 31, 1936.....	\$ 569,405.99

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1936.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1936, there have been issued 238 charters to International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number 3 were issued to the following Internationals:

United Rubber Workers of America.
 Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
 American Newspaper Guild.

Central Bodies as follows:

California	New York	Washington
San Mateo County	Nassau and	Mt. Vernon and
Tulare County,	Suffolk Counties	Vicinity
Visalia		Sedro-Woolley and
Redding	Pennsylvania	Vicinity
	Barnesboro and	Shelton and Vicinity
Colorado	Vicinity	
Fremont County		West Virginia
Massachusetts	Texas	Mercer County
Chicopee	Henderson	Grafton
		Wisconsin
Michigan	Utah	Port Washington
Owosso and	Carbon County	
Shlawasse County		Wyoming
	Virginia	Evanston
New Hampshire	Appalachia	Rawlins
Cheshire County		

The following is a statement showing the number of Charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

	1935-1936
International Unions	3
Central Labor Unions	19
Local Trade Unions	175
Federal Labor Unions	41
Total	238

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26th, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a Memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1936. \$118,073.23
 Interest on fund investments. 15,510.89

Total receipts **\$133,584.12**

Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1936. 117,748.87

Balance on hand August 31, 1936. \$15,835.25

Funds deposited as follows:

Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust Account. \$1,266.66
 Riggs National Bank checking account. 7,068.59
 United States Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000.00). 7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1936. \$15,835.25

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1936, we had 914 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 83,153, and a defense fund of \$510,623.86.

The Federation has 1,818 general and district organizers, as well as 38 paid organizers and the officers of the 734 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$124,701.45, initiation fees, \$48,795.26, and reinstatement fees, \$6,916.50.

Charters Revoked, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 3; suspended, 3; reinstated, 15.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 24; suspended, 250; joined national and international organizations, 215; reinstated, 21.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 16; suspended, 118; joined national and international organizations, 10; reinstated, 8.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Plano and Organ Workers International Union of A., suspended.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

The membership of affiliated unions for the year ending August 31, 1936, is 3,422,398, an increase of 377,051 members over the average membership for the twelve months last year. The total membership for the month of August, 1936, is 3,586,567, which shows an increase of paid and reported membership in August, 1936, over the average paid membership of the affiliated unions last year of 541,220 members, and 1,459,771 increase over the average membership of fiscal year ending August 31, 1933.

National and International Unions are required to pay per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership does not include all members who were unemployed during the fiscal year.

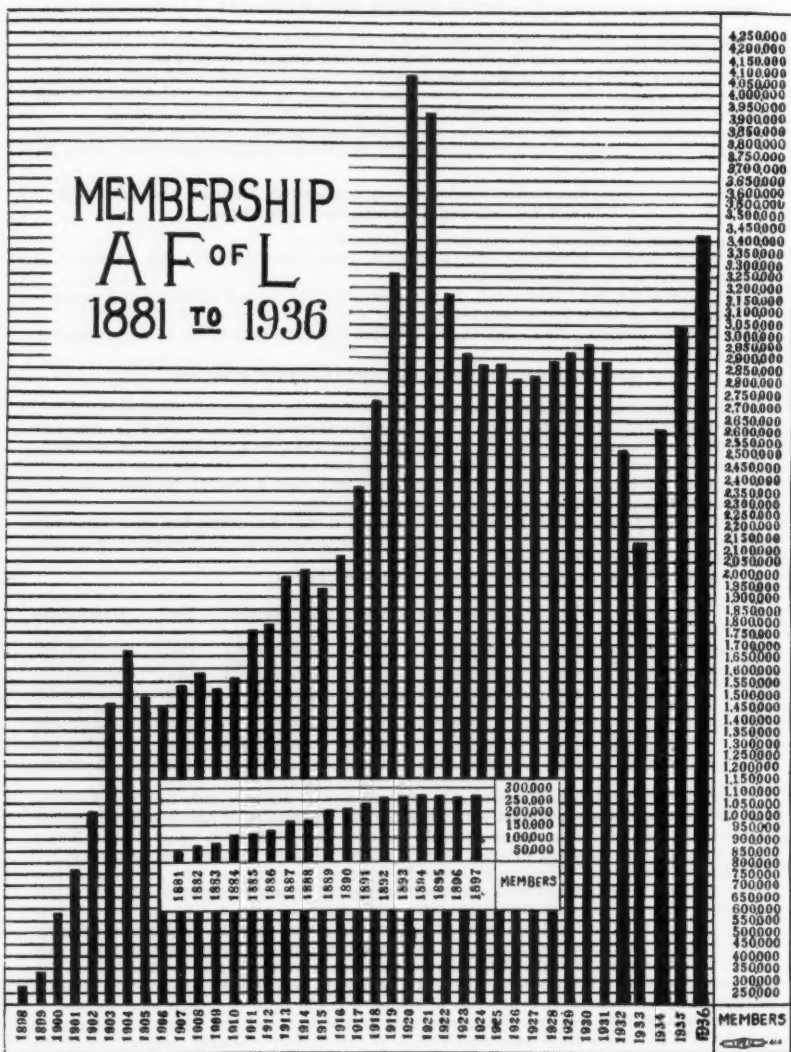
The following is the membership in the past forty years:

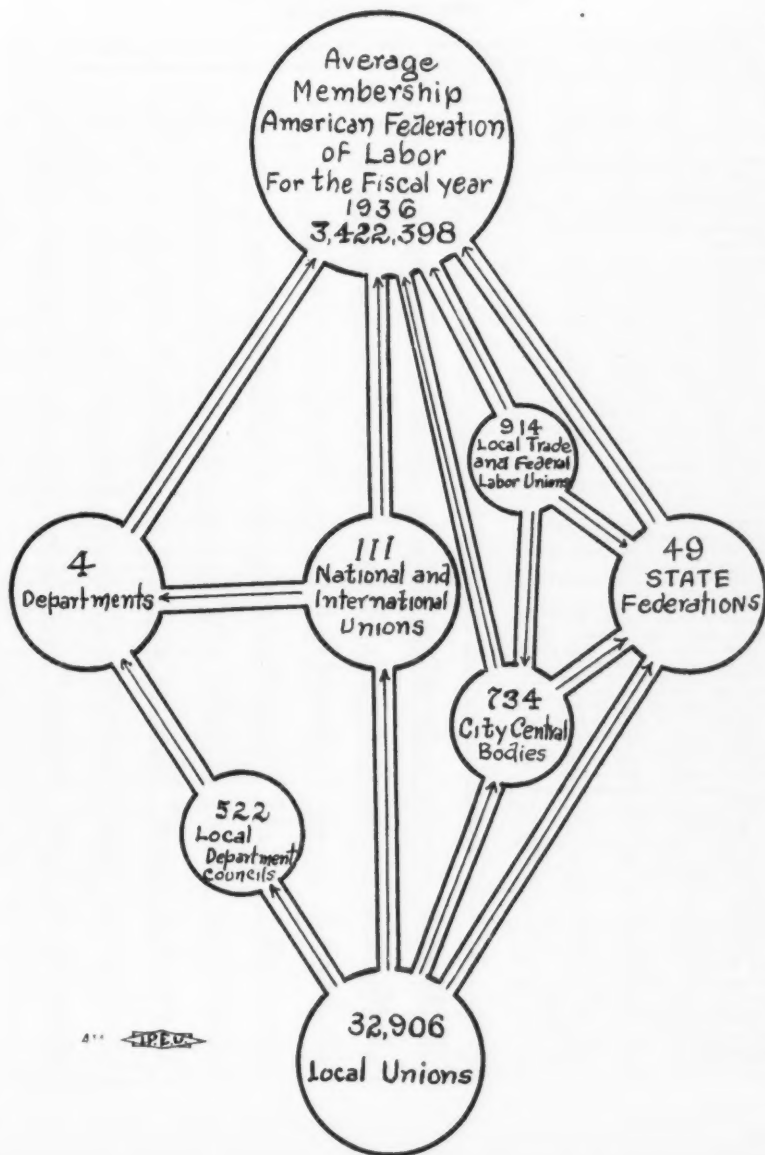
Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897	264,825	1907	1,538,970	1917	2,371,434	1927	2,812,526
1898	278,016	1908	1,586,885	1918	2,726,478	1928	2,896,063
1899	349,422	1909	1,482,872	1919	3,260,068	1929	2,933,545
1900	548,321	1910	1,562,112	1920	4,078,740	1930	2,961,096
1901	787,537	1911	1,761,835	1921	3,906,528	1931	2,889,550
1902	1,024,399	1912	1,770,145	1922	3,195,635	1932	2,532,261
1903	1,465,800	1913	1,996,004	1923	2,926,468	1933	2,126,796
1904	1,676,200	1914	2,020,671	1924	2,865,799	1934	2,608,011
1905	1,494,300	1915	1,946,347	1925	2,877,297	1935	3,045,347
1906	1,454,200	1916	2,072,702	1926	2,803,966	1936	3,422,398

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881 up to and including 1936—56 years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized commencing with the local unions of the national and international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement.

Local unions of national and international organizations, and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 32,906 local unions in 111 national and international unions, and 914 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, a grand total of 33,820 local unions.

The average paid and reported membership of the National and International Unions is 3,339,245, and the average paid membership of the directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor is 83,153, making a grand total paid and reported membership of 3,422,398.





REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1928 up to and including 1936. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

ORGANIZATIONS	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.....	103	115	112	83	45	33	31	43	44
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of Heat and Frost Insulators.....	27	29	33	41	20	20	25	25	25
Automobile Workers of A. Int'l Union United.....								1	190
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs., I. U. of A.....	216	212	200	201	179	159	181	218	261
Barbers' International Union, Jour.....	541	522	512	461	399	320	393	323	323
Bill Posters.....	16	16	16	16	16	16	14	14	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.....	171	172	193	170	150	142	143	153	155
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	326	324	322	275	170	134	192	259	270
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	138	136	139	137	119	107	119	117	116
Brewery Workmen, International Union.....	160	160	160	160	160	160	255	417	420
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.....	50	50	42	33	20	1	14	16	10
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.....	900	900	900	900	567	458	458	650	650
Bridge & Struct. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Assn.....	207	204	209	175	120	100	160	160	160
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.....	5	5	5	4	3	2	1	2	2
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.....	69	92	162	180	180	180	192	275	350
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.....	3,220	3,220	3,032	3,020	2,900	2,058	2,000	2,000	3,000
Carmen of A. Bro. Railway.....	800	800	800	800	800	592	550	550	583
Carvers' Union, International Wood.....	13	12	12	11	9	8	6	4	4
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	175	170	155	155	155	98	70	70	70
Clerks, Bro. of Railway.....	320	969	970	753	608	600	600	725	875
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. of Retailers.....	100	100	100	100	87	50	68	72	103
Clothing Workers A. Amalgamated.....							833	1,000	1,200
Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union.....	82	69	60	58	46	61	d	d	d
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	23	23	23	23	21	20	20	20	20
Coopers' International Union.....	9	8	7	7	6	7	25	29	25
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.....	4	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	4
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.....	19	15	12	17	10	7	10	12	12
Electrical Workers, International Bro. of.....	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,399	941	1,135	1,300	1,700
Elevator Constructors.....	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating.....	320	330	340	340	344	350	350	350	350
Engravers, Friendly Society of.....						1	4	e	c
Engravers Intl. Union, Metal.....	1	1	4	5	5	5	3	3	2
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.....	83	86	89	90	89	87	86	87	88
Federal Employees, National Fed. of.....	226	305	335	381	c	c	c	c	c
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.....	160	168	180	180	180	180	197	235	255
Firemen and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of.....	83	95	90	91	93	92	101	149	207
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of.....	35	35	28	10	7	5	20	32	37
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C. Intl.....	42	28	70	80	38	40	20	30	150
Garment Workers of America, United.....	475	475	472	463	456	395	370	371	406
Glass Cutters League of A., Window.....	3	9	9	10	9	6	10	12	12
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.....	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	62
Glass Workers of A., Fed. of Flat.....							8	100	116
Glass Cutters and Flatners Assn. of A., Window.....	3	3	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Glass Workers, American Flint.....	51	52	49	46	39	36	61	61	48
Glove Workers.....	7	8	8	5	3	5	34	35	22
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of.....						40	83	139	222
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The.....	85	85	85	85	62	50	50	50	50
Hatters of North America, United.....	115	115	115	93	85	85	d	d	d
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Int. Union, United.....							198	214	221
Hodecarriers and Common Laborers.....	753	917	1,027	1,150	900	521	442	523	654
Horsehoers of United States and Canada.....	9	9	7	4	2	1	1	1	1
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.....	385	378	365	337	283	227	378	570	738
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.....	90	89	79	58	50	46	55	86	92
Jewelry Workers' International.....	9	8	8	8	8	8	40	55	53
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.....	303	323	508	475	400	250	1,500	1,600	1,987
Leathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal.....	165	165	165	165	165	81	81	81	81
Laundry Workers, International Union.....	55	55	55	55	55	50	53	60	60
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.....	10	50	50	50	10	8	30	27	25
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of.....	404	450	508	550	550	550	517	500	500
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.....	8	8	8	8	11	12	12	12	6

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.	61	58	56	57	56	52	58	67	69
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	371	377	347	299	270	234	343	400	406
Machinists, International Association of .	745	770	780	776	707	650	820	925	1,137
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of .	350	322	401	408	371	278	312	335	357
Marble Polishers, etc., Intl. Asso. of.	56	64	77	77	77	62	55	55	55
Masters, Mates and Pilots.	31	30	30	30	30	25	20	22	25
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Natl. Asso. of .						1	1	1	1
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.	118	118	125	113	114	111	195	198	194
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.	250	250	250	250	250	175	160	160	160
Mine Workers of America, United.	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	3,083	3,000	3,000	4,000	4,000
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of .	45	40	40	40	21	13	116	146	159
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	232	237	218	152	95	60	88	118	159
Musicians, American Federation of.	967	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Newspaper Guild, American.									5
Oil Field, etc., Workers.	10	16	11	9		3	125	428	405
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.	1,103	1,081	1,062	964	796	593	578	656	665
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.	40	40	40	40	40	23	115	90	66
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	25	26
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of.	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	31
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.	23	23	24	24	22	22	22	21	20
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.	5	5	5	4	3	3	7	2	†
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Intl.).				1	6	6	7	7	8
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C., Oper.	392	392	382	377	353	226	180	180	180
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	340	330
Polishers, Intl. Union of Metal.	60	60	60	58	23	14	35	40	46
Porters, Bro. Sleeping Car.									12
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of .	300	320	352	360	360	360	333	320	320
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.	69	66	58	54	52	45	79	100	104
Powder and High Explosive Workers.	2	2	2						
Printing Pressmen, International.	400	400	400	400	400	353	320	320	320
Printers, Die Stampers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate.	12	12	11	12	11	10	12	14	13
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	50	50	50	50	50	50	69	85	91
Quarry Workers, International.	30	30	30	30	26	21	20	20	20
Railway Employees' Amal. Asso., S. & E.	1,013	997	972	914	817	712	700	734	757
Railway Mail Association.	197	198	198	198	207	200	192	191	193
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn. United State, Tile and Composition.	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
Rubber Workers of Amer., United.									85
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	150	150	150	150	97	60	50	125	200
Sheep Shearers Union of N. A.					1	6	8	11	9
Sideographers, Intl. Assn. of.	1	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.	80								
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.	232	233	240	240	240	240	240	240	240
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.	74	77	75	82	81	82	80	79	81
Stonecutters Association, Journeymen.	58	58	58	58	57	56	56	57	52
Stove Mounters' International Union.	16	14	10	8	7	6	15	20	23
Switchmen's Union of North America.	91	93	92	82	72	63	73	80	85
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.	72	68	67	58	28	17	26	45	59
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.	38	42	52	63	70	70	85	120	127
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of .	894	955	988	920	820	713	955	1,370	1,610
Telegraphers, Commercial.	35	38	38	38	35	22	20	20	20
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.	350	390	410	410	370	350	350	350	350
Textile Workers of America, United.	300	300	300	300	275	150	387	792	1,000
Tobacco Workers Intl. Union of America.	32	42	24	24	25	26	83	104	85
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.	40	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Typographical Union, International.	758	764	776	775	761	738	731	734	733
Upholsters, International Union of.	107	107	107	101	65	65	65	65	85
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.	6	6	6	6	5	5	6	6	5
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
Centrals.	792	803	804	728	619	618	686	730	734
State Branches.	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor unions.	485	468	397	376	339	711	2,184	1,750	1,246
Total vote of Union.	29,385	30,406	30,678	29,906	26,092	22,554	28,105	31,866	35,420

†Suspended. a Amalgamated with Hod Carriers. b Amalgamated with Window Glass Cutters League of America. c Withdrew affiliation. d Amalgamated and title changed to United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Intl. Union.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

SLEEPING CAR PORTERS INJUNCTION FUND

Receipts from January 13, 1933 to and including March 31, 1933.....	\$660.00
*Amount forwarded to M. P. Webster, President	660.00

Fund deposited in Mt. Vernon Savings Bank.

UNION LABELS

There are now 52 labels and 10 cards issued and used by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor	Garment Workers, United	Papermakers
Bakers and Confectioners	Garment Workers, Ladies	Photo-Engravers
Bill Posters and Billers	Glass Bottle Blowers	Piano and Organ Workers
Boilermakers	Glove Workers	Plate Printers
Blacksmiths	Hatters and Millinery Wkrs.	Potters
Bookbinders	Horseshoers	Powder Workers
Boot and Shoe Workers	Iron and Steel Workers	Pressmen, Printing
Brewery Workmen	Jewelry Workers	Sheep Shearers
Brick and Clay Workers	Lathers	Stereotypers and Electrotypers
Broommakers	Laundry Workers	Stove Mounters
Carpenters and Joiners	Leather Workers	Tailors
Brotherhood	Machinists	Textile Workers
Carvers, Wood	Marble Workers	Tobacco Workers
Cigarmakers	Metal Polishers	Typographical
Coopers	Metal Workers, Sheet	Upholsterers
Draftsmen's Unions	Metal Engravers	United Wall Paper Crafts
Electrical Workers	Molders	Weavers, Wire
Fur Workers	Painters	

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS, BUTTONS, EMBLEMS

Actors	Firemen, Stationary	Musicians
Barbers	Hotel and Restaurant	Stage employes, Theatrical
Clerks, Retail	Employes	Teamsters
Engineers, Operating	Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor labels: Brushmakers; Coffee, Spice and Baking Powder Workers; Flour Mill Workers; Horse Nail Workers; Suspender Makers; Sausage Seasoning and Spice Workers.

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation of the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and of all our affiliated bodies and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank Morrison

Secretary Treasurer American Federation of Labor.

* The full amount of this fund was paid over to the Sleeping Car Porters from the General Fund, American Federation of Labor, pending the reopening of the Mt. Vernon Bank. The Mt. Vernon Bank consolidated with the Washington Mechanics Savings Bank and released 40% of deposits. We, therefore, transferred \$264.00, which amount represents 40%, to the General Fund of the A. F. of L. The remaining 60% or \$396.00 will be transferred as it is released by the Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1936.

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1935.....		\$57,417.86
Rents		\$33,358.00
Interest:		
U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	\$ 187.50	
Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	1,300.00	
		1,487.50
Sale of waste paper.....		62.04
Refund Premium Fire Insurance.....		100.74
Total receipts		35,008.28
Receipts and balance.....		92,426.14

EXPENSES

Maintenance:

Pay roll (building employes).....	\$15,832.20
Taxes	2,759.44
Electricity	1,411.58
Fuel (coal)	1,064.55
Supplies	1,074.58
Upkeep and repairs.....	784.26
Plastering and painting.....	2,277.50
Cleaning windows	431.25
Insurance (liability)	134.30
Insurance (fire)	600.00
Water rent	184.70
Hauling ashes and trash.....	188.00
Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.).....	21.46
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	276.99
D. C. Unemployment tax.....	90.81
Total expenses	27,131.62
Balance on hand August 31, 1936.....	\$65,294.52

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance.....	\$92,426.14
Expenses	27,131.62
Balance on hand August 31, 1936.....	65,294.52

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.....	\$ 1,218.31
Rlggs National Bank.....	12,546.83
\$40,000 Consolidated Federal Farm Loan Bonds, 3¼% received in exchange for \$40,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds, 5% plus premium, ¾% \$300.00.....	\$38,050.00
\$6,000.00 3¼% U. S. Treasury Bonds @ 99 21/32.....	5,979.38
\$10,000.00 U. S. Savings Bonds.....	7,500.00
	51,529.38
Balance on hand August 31, 1936.....	\$65,294.52

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JOHN P. FREY,

Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

GENERAL ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN

During the entire year since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor was held, an aggressive general organizing campaign among the unorganized has been carried on. National and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have carried on organizing efforts within their respective fields of jurisdiction. In addition, the American Federation of Labor has conducted an organizing drive among those employed as cement workers, aluminum workers, gasoline station attendants, chemical workers, distillery workers, agricultural workers, match workers, cereal and flour mill workers, and other miscellaneous groups.

Federal labor unions established in cement, aluminum, gasoline station attendants and other industries have been consolidated into general councils. These councils have served as a clearing house of information regarding wages, hours and conditions of employment prevailing in different localities where federal labor unions in these industries have been established. Responsible representatives of the American Federation of Labor have been selected to serve as the executive officers of these councils. Wage scales have been negotiated between employers and employees in a number of instances.

The following detailed report shows the extent of the organizing campaign which has been carried on among these varied and miscellaneous industries:

Of the 915 local trade and federal labor unions whose total membership at the end of the fiscal year numbered 90,990 the major portion has been distributed among industries of every description. Where there was the slightest inclination on the part of the workers to become organized, no field was neglected or escaped the attention or action of the American Federation of Labor. The Federation is carrying on organizing work through its special organizers, volunteer organizers, state federations of labor and city central bodies in all fields, in all sections and in all industries. Of the directly affiliated unions 206 are organized in the major industrial groups including aluminum, canning, cement, chemical, match, petroleum marketing and grain processing industries. The last paid membership in these groups numbers 27,649.

Total Number of Unions Directly Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in Specified Industries in October, 1935, and their Last-Paid Membership

<i>Name of Industry</i>	<i>Number of Union</i>	<i>Last Paid Membership</i>
Agriculture	40	3,842
Aluminum	18	4,512
Canning	22	3,757
Cement	28	3,750
Chemical	20	1,707
Dairy	10	364
Match	7	2,857
Petroleum Marketing	25	3,460
Wheat Flour, Corn Products, Feed Manufacture, Cereal, Grain Elevators	36	3,400
Totals	206	27,649

The organizing work carried on in these fields without cessation included not only the organization of new unions, but also the difficult and continued effort to negotiate agreements with employers covering wages, hours and employment conditions. Ten of the local unions in the petroleum marketing industry have agreements with a large number of companies; eleven unions in the aluminum industry have negotiated agreements, and nine unions are protected by agreements in the cement industry. Many agreements were also negotiated in the match industry, the chemical industry, the grain processing industry and among the agricultural unions.

During the fiscal year 1935-1936, charters were issued to 175 local trade unions and 41 federal labor unions, a total of 216 directly affiliated local unions chartered during the fiscal year 1935-1936.

On August 31, 1936, we had 914 local trade and federal labor unions, with an average membership for the fiscal year of 83,153. The monthly membership paid on by our directly affiliated local unions was as follows:

September 1935.....	97,187
October 1935.....	102,042
November 1935.....	79,356
December 1935.....	85,185
January 1936.....	76,846
February 1936.....	71,356
March 1936.....	78,597
April 1936.....	73,583
May 1936.....	75,421
June 1936.....	91,942
July 1936.....	75,335
August 1936.....	90,990
Total	997,840
Average	83,153

During the fiscal year 1935-1936, the Federation paid to our directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions a total of \$146,656.02 in strike benefits and strike assistance. The unions to which this aggregate sum was paid are as follows:

19078 Aluminum Workers, Lemont, Ill.....	\$2,949.34
19064 Aluminum Workers, La Grange, Ill.....	669.68
19306 Casket Makers, Chicago, Ill.....	630.00
19019 Chemical Workers, Barberton, O.....	10,122.00
18300 Cleaners & Dyers, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	658.00
19300 Electrical Factory Workers F.L.U., Kent, O.....	462.00
18344 Federal Labor Union, Syracuse, N. Y.....	83,503.00
19401 Federal Labor Union, Tonawanda, N. Y.....	8,309.00
18486 Federal Labor Union, Ilion, N. Y.....	16,408.00
18482 Federal Labor Union, Syracuse, N. Y.....	2,324.00
19169 Federal Labor Union, Seattle, Wash.....	2,961.00
18526 Federal Labor Union, Philadelphia, Pa.....	7,910.00
19766 Federal Labor Union, Houston, Tex.....	2,408.00
19721 Fertilizer Workers, Glen Carbon, Ill.....	140.00
18362 Gasoline Service Station & Warehouse Em., St. Louis, Mo.....	168.00
18377 Last Makers, Brockton, Mass.....	245.00
18460 U. Match Factory Workers, Akron, O.....	1,050.00
18758 Pearl Button Wkrs., Hudson Co., N. J.....	364.00

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

18949 Pearl Button Wkrs., New York, N. Y.....	\$308.00
18506 Stamping & Enameling Wkrs., Canton, O.....	1,043.00
18346 U. Rubber Wkrs. F.L.U., Magadore, O.....	1,428.00
19330 Warehouse Emp., Cleveland, O.....	175.00
18255 Wall Paper Mill Helpers, York, Pa.....	637.00
19859 Wire Workers, Worcester, Mass.....	84.00
<i>Amount appropriated for assistance of members of striking unions:</i>	
18300 Cleaners & Dyers, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	100.00
19538 Distillery Workers, Pekin, Ill.....	500.00
20183 Federal Labor Union, Barberton, O.....	500.00
18527 Optical Workers, Chicago, Ill.....	300.00
20055 Technical Editorial & Office Assistants, Washington, N. J.....	300.00
	<hr/>
	\$146,656.02

The balance in the defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions as of August 31 is \$510,623.86.

Union Agreements Negotiated in Specified Industries

CHEMICAL WORKERS UNIONS

Chemical Workers Union 18394—Belle, W. Va.

Agreement with Belle Alkali Chemical Co.

At present plant is shut-down due to financial conditions.

Borax Workers Union 18640—Long Beach, Calif.

Agreement negotiated with Pacific Coast Borax Co. of Wilmington, Calif., which expires in February, 1937.

Specific rates of pay for each classification are listed.

The agreement contains the seniority rule.

Chemical Plant Workers No. 18760—Joliet, Ill.

Agreement negotiated with Blockson Chemical Co. It is now a union shop.

The agreement provides for a check-off system and a 40 hour-week, 8 hour-day. Overtime paid for at the rate of time and one-third.

This agreement expires Oct. 31, 1936.

Chemical Workers Union 19019—Barberton, O.

Agreement negotiated with Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., Columbia Chemical Division, Barberton, O., on April 8, 1936, as a result of strike.

This agreement contains no change in wages, but does contain a provision for overtime.

Chemical Workers Union 19405—La Salle, Ill.

Agreement negotiated with Carus Chemical Co., which expires May 31, 1938.

This agreement contains provision for the check-off system, and seniority rule.

The agreement also contains a wage scale for each classification, and a 7 hour day, 42 hour week.

ALUMINUM WORKERS UNIONS

Aluminum Workers Union 18292—Fairmont, W. Va.

Signed agreement with Fairmont Aluminum Co. on December 2, 1935, renewable December 2, 1936.

This agreement provides for an increase of from 5¢ to 8¢ per hour for most employees.

This agreement also contains a seniority clause.

Aluminum Bronze Powder Workers No. 18332—New Kensington, Pa.

Agreement with the Aluminum Company of America, renewable October 14, 1936.

In August, an increase of 3 cents an hour was secured for all employees.

Aluminum Workers Union 18356—New Kensington, Pa.

Agreement with the Aluminum Company of America renewable on October 14, 1936.

In August an increase of 3 cents an hour was secured for all employees.

Aluminum Workers Union 18738—New Haven, Conn.

Signed agreement with the United Smelting and Aluminum Co., renewable January 2, 1937.

This agreement provides for an 8 hour-day, 40 hour-week, with overtime paid at the rate of time and one-half.

Specific rates of pay are listed for each classification in the agreement.

A seniority clause is included, as well as provision for a Board of Arbitration.

Federal Labor Union 18780—E. St. Louis, Ill.

Agreement negotiated with the Aluminum Company of America, renewable on October 14, 1936.

In August an increase of 3 cents an hour was secured for all employees.

Aluminum Workers Union 18302—Massillon, O.

Agreement with the Enterprise Aluminum Co.

Aluminum Workers Union 19078—Lemont, Ill.

Agreement with the Aluminum Products Co.

Aluminum Workers Union 19104—Alcoa, Tenn.

Agreement with the Aluminum Company of America, renewable in October, 1936.

In August, an increase of 3 cents an hour was secured for all employees.

Aluminum Workers Union 19256—Massena, N. Y.

Agreement negotiated with the Aluminum Company of America, renewable on October 14, 1936.

In August, an increase of 3 cents an hour was secured for all employees.

Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers Union 19388—Louisville, Ky.

Agreement with the Reynolds Metal Co.

Aluminum Workers Union 19737—Badin, N. C.

Agreement with the Aluminum Company of America, renewable on October 14, 1936.

In August, an increase of 3 cents an hour was secured for all employees.

GASOLINE STATION OPERATORS UNIONS

Gasoline Station Operators Union 18378—Cleveland, O.

Negotiated an agreement with the following companies:

Cities Service Oil Co. of O.

Socony Vacuum Oil Co.

National Refining Co.

Pocahontas Oil Corp.

Canfield Oil Co.

Sears-Roebuck & Co.

Firestone Auto Supply & Service Stores.

Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

B. F. Goodrich Co.

Sinclair Refining Co.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Shell Petroleum Corp.
 Tank Car Service Stations, Inc.
 Carload Gas Stations Co.
 Gulf Refining Co.
 Sun Oil Co.
 Commercial Oil Co.

This agreement expires on May 16, 1937.
 No hours are listed in this agreement.

The agreement specifies the following wage rates:

Managing operator \$112.50, per month, with an additional \$5.00 for a second full-time operator and \$2.00 for each additional full-time operator.

Senior operator—\$102.50 per month.

Junior operator—\$82.50 for the first 6 months of employment and \$90.00 per month thereafter.

Specialized operators—Class A \$127.50 per month, Class B \$102.50 for the first 3 months of employment and \$117.50 thereafter.

Part-time employees—46¢ per hour.

A closed shop agreement is also in effect with the Associated Independent Dealers, Inc., of Cleveland, a trade association comprising approximately 300 independent dealers.

Gasoline Filling Station Employees 18617—Milwaukee, Wis.

Agreement negotiated with Shell Petroleum Co., Standard Oil Co. of Ind., Wadham's Oil Co., Sinclair Refining Co. which expired in September of 1936, when a strike not endorsed by A. F. of L. was called because of broken agreement. Workers accepted company's proposal on September 28th, 1936.

Gas Station Employees Union 18912—Akron, O.

Agreement negotiated with the Goodrich Tire & Rubber Co., which expires on June 10, 1937.

This agreement provides for the following wages:

Service station salesmen—\$115.00 per month.

Senior Helpers—\$97.50 per month.

Junior Helpers—\$82.50 for the first 6 months and \$90.00 thereafter.

Specialized operators—\$120.00 minimum.

Maintenance and gas deliverymen—\$135.00 per month.

Extra men, porters, car washers—rates listed in agreement, and the following hours—48 hour-week, with one week vacation with pay for employees working one year or more.

Seniority clause is also included.

Filling Station Employees Union 18990—Indianapolis, Ind.

First agreement was negotiated with the Standard Oil Co. of Ind., Lubrite Oil Co., and Shell Petroleum Corp.

A new agreement was negotiated with Socony-Vacuum Co., Standard Oil Co. of Ind., and Shell Petroleum Corp. in May, 1936, to be effective until May 1, 1937.

This agreement provides for the following wages:

Service station managers—\$105.00 per month.

Senior station helpers—\$90.00 per month.

Junior station helpers—\$80.00 for the first six months and \$85.00 thereafter.

Part-time helpers—38¢ per hour.

Tank truck drivers—\$110.00 for the first 6 months, \$115.00 thereafter.

Warehousemen, maintenance men and oil burner maintenance men—\$87.00 for the first 6 months, \$92.00 thereafter.

This agreement also provides for a 48 hour week.

Gas Station Attendants' Union 19079—Racine, Wis.

An agreement was negotiated with Thompson's Gasoline Alleys, L. L. Coryell & Son Oil Co., Racine Consumers' Coop. Oil, Home Coop. Oil in October, 1935.

Another agreement was negotiated in January, 1936, with the Standard Oil Company of Indiana and the Wadham's Oil Co. providing for a 48 hour week and the following wages:

Station operators, man in charge, \$100.00 a month minimum.

Station helpers—minimum \$85.00 a month.

The agreement contains the seniority clause.

This agreement expires November 15, 1936.

Filling Station Employees Union 19570—San Francisco, Calif.

Agreement negotiated with the following companies:

Barret Tire Co., Valla Tire Co., Cartman Tire Co., Hughson's Service, Cox Tire Co., Phoenix Service, Crowe Tire Co., Benson & Boyd, Good-year Service, Inc., Edson Vulcanizing, Gurley-Lord, Inc., Golden State Tire Co., Roy W. Johnson, Greenberg Tire Co., Kahn & Keville, Hoyal-Re-groving, Keaton Tire Co., Lanning Tire Shop, Lambert Sales Co., Mission Service, McKales, Inc., Mission Tire Co., Mission Vulcanizing, Sunset Tire Co., Pacific Tire Sales, Trent Re-groving, Paul's Tire Shop, Valencia Tire Service, Reed Tire Co., Mark Morris Tire Co., Thompson Tire Co., California Tire Co., Tire Service, Inc., Vogue Tire, U. S. Tire Co., Claremar Service, Inc., Fritchett Service, which expires May 31, 1937.

This agreement provides for a 48 hour week, 6 hours a day and overtime paid for at one and a half.

Wages are as follows:

Managers—minimum \$130.00; \$5.00 for first full-time operator; \$2.00 for every additional full-time man; 25¢ per day for each part-time operator.

Senior operator—\$100.00 a month minimum.

Junior operator—\$85.00 a month minimum.

Rates of pay for each specialized operator are listed in detail.

Gasoline Station Attendants Union No. 19689—Terra Haute, Ind.

Agreement negotiated with Gaseteria, Inc.

Filling Station Attendants Union 19624—Worcester, Mass.

Contract with Shell Eastern Petroleum Co.

Gasoline Station Operators Union 19802—Minneapolis, Minn.

Agreement negotiated with Oil Companies in Minneapolis, which expired September 30, 1936. Strike was threatened and agreement was continued after arbitration award.

This agreement provided for the following wages and hours:

Managing operator—\$110.00 per month—48 hours weekly.

Senior operators—\$100.00 per month—48 hours weekly.

Junior operators—\$87.50—48 hours weekly.

Part-time operators—\$75.00

Washers—\$60.00—48 hours weekly.

Gas and oil drivers—\$115.00—40 hours weekly.

Warehousemen—\$35.00 a week—40 hours weekly.

Inside workers—\$110.00 per month.

Yardmen—\$95.00 per month.

Maintenance men—\$125.00 per month—40 hours weekly.

The seniority clause is included.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Gasoline Station Attendants Union 20248—Toledo, O.

Agreement negotiated with Sears-Roeback & Co. on October 6, 1935, which expires October 5, 1937.

This agreement provides for the following wages:

Managing operators—minimum \$120.00 monthly, \$5.00 a month additional for each 2nd full-time operator and \$2.00 a month for each additional full-time operator.

Senior operators—\$110.00 a month.

Junior operators—\$90.00 for first 6 months, and \$97.50 for next 6 month period.

Specialized operators: Class A—\$15.00 above minimum salary of managing operators—\$135.00; Class B—\$110.00 during first three months and \$125.00 thereafter.

Part-time operators: Extras 50¢ an hour.

It provides for a 48 hour week, 6 hours a day.

It also provides for 2 weeks vacation with pay for employees with one year or more of service.

The seniority clause is included.

CEMENT WORKERS UNIONS

Cement Workers Union 18457—White Cottage, O.

Negotiated agreement with the Columbia Division of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. of White Cottage, O., in April, 1936. The agreement to continue for one year.

This agreement provides for an increase in wage rates ranging from one (1) cent per hour for the higher paid employees to four (4) cents per hour for the lower paid employees. This establishes a fifty (50) cent minimum rate.

The agreement further provides for a 40 hour week; time and one-half for overtime and Sundays and holidays: All work to be scheduled on an eight (8) hour basis; seniority rights; pay on Friday when the regular pay day falls on Saturday or Sunday; during plant shutdowns, the work shall be so divided that all employees will work an equal amount of time in the various departments affected by the shutdown; no cessation of work during negotiations for settlement of any differences between company and union.

Cement Plant Employees Union 19347—St. Louis, Mo.

Agreement with the Alpha Portland Cement Co. of St. Louis, Mo., negotiated July, 1936, and continuing in effect until March 1, 1938, and each year thereafter unless sixty (60) days notice is given in writing by either party prior to the expiration date.

This agreement provides for regular monthly meetings with union representatives; seniority rights, six hour shifts of work until such time as increased production warrants an increase in the hourly shift. Time and one-half for overtime.

Cement Mill Employees Union 19527—Ormrod, Pa.

Reached an agreement with the Lehigh Portland Cement Co. of Ormrod, Pa., on April 28, 1936. This agreement to continue in effect until March 1, 1937, and each year thereafter unless 60 days' notice is given in writing by either party prior to the expiration date.

Agreement provides for meetings between management and union representatives; seniority rights; six hour shifts of work; overtime for holidays, Sundays and emergency work above the ordinary schedule. No increase in present rates. No cessation of work during arbitration of differences.

United Cement Workers Union 18421—Oglesby, Ill.

Agreement reached with the Lehigh Portland Cement Co. of Oglesby, Ill., April 30, 1936. Agreement to remain in effect for one year.

The agreement provides for seniority rights; check-off upon presentation of signed authorization; six hour day at present time; agreement by the company to call on the Plant Committee of the union for workers as needed.

Cement Workers Union 20066—Oglesby, Ill.

Agreement with the Marquette Cement Manufacturing Co. of Oglesby, Ill., entered into January 11, 1936, and in force until November 1, 1936, and each year thereafter unless thirty (30) days' notice is given prior to any yearly expiration.

The agreement provides for seniority rights, a guaranteed 36-hour week as far as possible; six-hour shifts of work; time and one-half for all holidays; check-off upon presentation of proper authorization. The present scale of wages shall prevail.

United Cement Workers Union 20266—Utica, N. Y.

Entered into agreement with the Utica Hydraulic Cement Co. of Utica, N. Y., on October 2, 1936; agreement expires May 1, 1937.

This agreement provides for a rate of 22¢ per car for rock loaders; 50¢ per thousand for tying bags; and 38¢ per hundred for loaders; all other labor is increased 15% above the wage existing October 2, 1936.

The agreement further provides for closed shop; meetings with union representatives; seniority rights; eight hour day; time and one half for overtime, Sunday and holiday work.

Cement Workers Union No. 20059—Coplay, Pa.

Reached an agreement with the Coplay Cement Manufacturing Co. of Coplay, Pa., in August, 1936. The agreement remains in force until March 1, 1937.

It provides for seniority rights; regular monthly meetings with representatives of the union; six-eight hour shifts, as the work demands; time and one half for overtime work and for holidays. No increase in wages at this time.

Cement Plant Workers Union 18387—Birmingham, Ala.

Agreement negotiated with the Lehigh Portland Cement Co. of Birmingham, Ala., July 8, 1936, expiring April 30, 1937.

The agreement provides for the hiring of employees through the union Plant Committee; seniority rights; the check-off upon proper authorization presented to the company; six-hour day until production warrants a longer day. No stipulation as to wages.

Cement Plant Employees 19338—Buffalo, Iowa.

Are endeavoring to negotiate an agreement at this time with the Dewey Portland Cement Co. of Buffalo, Iowa.

The outcome of these negotiations is still undetermined.

MATCH WORKERS UNIONS

United Match Factory Workers Union 18460—Akron, O.

Agreement with Palmer Match Co.

Employees were locked out March 5, 1936, but this lockout was ended May 26, 1936, with a satisfactory settlement.

United Match Workers Union 18565—Wadsworth, O.

Agreement negotiated with the Diamond Match Co. on July 6, 1936, which terminates on July 9, 1937.

This agreement provides for an increase of 3 cents an hour for employees receiving 50¢ or less per hour and 2¢ for those receiving more than 50¢ an hour.

The agreement provides for 8 hours a day, 40 hours a week with the exception of maintenance men, whose week shall be 44 hours, 8 hours a day; engineers and firemen and their assistants, whose week shall be 48 hours and not to exceed 148 in any 4 consecutive weeks; and watchmen, whose week shall be 56 hours, 8 hours a day.

The agreement contains a seniority clause.

Match Workers Union 18734—Springfield, Mass.

Agreement negotiated with the Diamond Match Co. on July 6, 1936, which terminates on July 9, 1937.

The terms of this agreement are identical to those in the agreement negotiated with United Match Workers Union 18565. (See above.)

United Match Workers Union 18928—Barberton, O.

Agreement negotiated with the Diamond Match Co. on July 6, 1936, which terminates on July 9, 1937.

The terms of this agreement are identical to those in the agreement negotiated with United Match Workers Union 18565. (See above.)

Federal Labor Union 20121—Cloquet, Minn.

Agreement negotiated with the Berst-Forster-Dixfield Co., which expired on September 1, 1936.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNIONS

Vegetable Packers Union 19115—Yuma, Ariz.

This agreement was negotiated by the union with various shippers and packers in and about Yuma, Ariz. It terminates January 2, 1937.

The agreement provides minimum rates for lettuce and carrot packing and for other fruits and vegetables. It provides for hourly rates, eliminating piece rates; for payment in cash or company checks and not scrip; time and one-third for work after ten o'clock at night. Under this agreement the employers recognize Vegetable Packers Union 19115 as the collective bargaining agency for the workers and agree to perform no acts of discrimination against union employees.

Agricultural Workers Union 20027—Findlay, O.

Agreement dated June, 1935, with Beet Growers Association of Findlay, O., covering working conditions and scale of wages for beet pulling and topping for 1935-1936 season.

Federal Labor Union 20185 and other Beet Workers Unions of Colorado—Fort Morgan, Colo.

Through the Beet Workers Conference called by the Colorado State Federation of Labor, this union was successful in negotiating a contract for the season of 1936 increasing wages per acre.

FLOUR, CEREAL AND CORN PRODUCTS WORKERS UNIONS

Grain and Mill Workers Union 19634—Cincinnati, O.

Negotiated an agreement with Early and Daniel Co. of Cincinnati, O., on August 1, 1935. The agreement continues for one year and then from year to year unless change is desired by either party thereto.

Agreement specifies 40 hour week for day crew with 36 hour week guaranteed. Week to consist of five days of 7 hours each, with 5 hours' work on Saturday. Time and one-half for overtime. Forty hour week for night crew of 5 nights of 8 hours each.

Pay increased 5¢ per hour for all employees on hourly rate making minimum rate 55¢ per hour.

Seniority rights recognized; company agrees to meet with committee of employees from time to time; both parties agree to arbitrate differences without cessation of work.

Grain and Mill Workers Union 19634—Cincinnati, O.

Agreement negotiated with Ubiko Milling Co. of Cincinnati, O., June 12, 1936, and continuing for one year.

Forty hour week with guarantee of 36 hours per week. Time and one-half for overtime for all work over schedule. Double time for Sundays and holidays.

Minimum rate of 50¢. Recognition of union as bargaining agency. Agreement as to mediation of all disputes.

Flour Mill Workers Union 20053—Huntington, W. Va.

Negotiated an agreement with Gwinn Brothers Co. of Huntington, W. Va., on November 2, 1935.

This agreement provided for 40 hour week; time and one-half for overtime; recognition of the union; 100% closed shop; use of the American Federation of Labor union label; 42½¢ minimum rate.

Flour Mill Workers Union 19854—Belleville, Ill.

Negotiated an agreement with the Richland Milling Co. of Belleville, Ill., in December 1934. This agreement continues from year to year and is still in effect.

Minimum wage of 40¢ per hour; maximum hours, 40 per week; time and one-half for overtime; closed shop.

Flour and Cereal Workers Union 19697—Milwaukee, Wis.

Negotiated agreement with the Krause Milling Co. of Milwaukee, Wis., on April 1, 1936. This agreement to be in force for one year.

The agreement is the same as that in effect for 1935 providing for union recognition as the sole bargaining agency; 40 hour week consisting of 5 days of 8 hours each; overtime rate of time and one-third, except for Sundays and holidays when time and one-half shall be paid; seniority rights shall be recognized; no agreement as to wages.

Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers Union 19184—Buffalo, N. Y.

Agreement negotiated with the Blackrock Mills, Allied Mills, Maritime Mills, Eastern State Mill, Cooperative G. L. F. Mills, all of Buffalo, N. Y.

on September 24, 1936, for one year.

Copies and terms of agreement not yet sent in.

Federal Labor Union 19147—Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Negotiated agreement with the National Oats Co. of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, May 19, 1936. This agreement to continue in force until a new one is made and signed by both parties.

The agreement provides for an increase in wages in November, 1936; a minimum number of guaranteed working hours for older employees and a thirty hour week guarantee to all employees during the slack seasons.

Federal Labor Union 18850—Granite City, Ill.

Agreement negotiated with the Union Starch and Refining Co. of Granite City, Ill., in August 1934 and continuing in force from year to year. This

agreement provides for a five day week of 8 hours each. Time and one-half for overtime and for Sunday and holiday work. There is to be no union discrimination.

Federal Labor Union 18619—Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Agreement with Penick and Ford, Ltd., of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, December 31, 1934, to continue from year to year. This agreement provides for 6 day week, check-off system and seniority rights.

Flour, Feed and Cereal and Elevator Workers Union 19152—Minneapolis, Minn.

Strike agreement reached with Pillsbury Flour Mill, Northwestern Consolidated Flour Mills, Minneapolis Milling Co. and Atkinson Milling Co. The strike agreement provided for recognition of union as the bargaining agency for the employees. Membership of union has increased from 200 to approximately 1,500 or 1,700 as result of strike.

Federal Labor Union 19169—Seattle, Wash.

Entered into agreement with Fisher Flouring Mills Co. in January 1936, as a means of settling the strike of Federal Labor Union 19169 and Weighers, Warehousemen and Cereal Workers Local 38-117, I. L. A., against the Fisher Flouring Mills. Agreement expired October 1, 1936. Union recognized as bargaining agency. Company agreed to stop all practices of discrimination. Question of hours and wages to be referred to mediator within fifty days of date of agreement.

Flour, Feed and Elevator Workers Union 19140—Toledo, O.

At present time negotiating agreement with the National Milling Co. of Toledo, O., with the assistance of the Federal Representative. Agreement not completed at present; terms of wages, hours, conditions of employment not available.

CHARTERS TO NATIONAL UNIONS

We are pleased to report the issuance of charters during the fiscal year to three international unions as follows:

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on June 2, which pays per capita tax upon five thousand members.

For a number of years the Sleeping Car Porters were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through directly chartered local unions. We cooperated in every possible way in organizing the sleeping car porters into local unions, until finally the local unions in number and membership were sufficiently strong to warrant the issuance of a national union charter.

The American Newspaper Guild on July 23, which pays per capita tax upon six thousand members.

Prior to the issuance of a charter to the American Newspaper Guild we gave our moral support to and aided and cooperated with its officers in every way within our power to attain the objects for which they were striving.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, October 16, with a membership of 12,017.

Through an agreement and understanding entered into between this organization and the American Federation of Government Employees it became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through the American Federation of Government Employees. However, it later developed that the best interests of

the State, County and Municipal Employees would be served and the interests of the American Federation of Government Employees would not be injured by the issuance of a charter direct as a national union to the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

We are glad to welcome these three national unions into the family of national and international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

Notwithstanding the economic distress constantly faced by organized labor during the past year, the total amount of union benefits distributed remains practically unchanged. This, in the opinion of the Executive Council, represents a definite achievement and is evidence of the resourcefulness and self-reliance of organized workers.

The policies followed in the distribution of trade union benefits may be altered in the event social security provisions are found to be adequate and firmly established. However the period when that can be definitely determined has not yet arrived. The improvement in employment and business activity which is in evidence should eventually be reflected in decreased demands for the payment of union benefits.

The following detailed report shows that \$26,108,606.16 was paid by national and international labor organizations to their members in out-of-work, disability, pension, death and sick benefits. These millions of dollars included in this detailed report, however, do not cover the total amount paid by all national, international and local unions during the past year. It represents the amount paid by national and international organizations and other organized units which reported to the American Federation of Labor. Local unions chartered by organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and federal labor unions chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor have established benefit funds out of which benefits were paid locally. In addition, strike benefits were paid by local organizations which do not appear in this report.

For this reason there should be added to the total amount set forth in this report of benefits paid to members of organized labor, many millions of dollars more paid by organizations not reporting and by local unions chartered by international unions which have established and maintained benefit funds for the protection of their membership.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1935

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Actors and Artists of America, Associated	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID						
Air Line Pilots Association	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			1.25 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,500
Ambestos Workers, Int. Asso. of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID				8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	
Heat and Frost Insulators and Pipefitters, Int. Union of						1,975.80	1,975.80	.70 per hr.			
Am. Union of Painters and Decorative Painters, Int. Union of						30,721.00	179,604.25				
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Int. Union of Am.	33,900.00	114,953.25									
Barbers' Int. Union of Am.	104,500.00	48,394.00					183,094.00				
Bill Posters and Billers of Am., Int. Union of											
Blacksmiths, Int. Alliance of	11,763.50						11,763.50	.88 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of Am., Inter. Brotherhood of	* 301,336.34	* 1,978.75	7,000.00			250.00	310,265.09	Contract Shops Mech. .90 hr. Helpers .75 hr. Outside Contr. .80 hr. Mach. 1.25 hr. Helpers 1.0 hr. Railroad Mech. .82 hr. Helpers .56 hr. Men 35.00 wk. Wom. 10.50 wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	14,000
Bookbinders, Inter. Brotherhood of	* 75,050.00	* 6,445.00	* 44,117.00			300.00	125,812.00	8 hours	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	11,000
Broom and Shoe Workers' Union	20,080.00						20,080.00	8 hours	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	42,000
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of Am., Int. Union of the United	7,880.00	6,372.00	2,210.00			264,963.91	281,395.91	35.00 per wk.			
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' Int. Union of Am.	200,525.40				450,791.22		651,316.62	1.25 hr.			
Bridges and Structural Iron Workers, Int. Asso.	21,550.00			87,033.12			78,003.12	1.25 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs.	14,000
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International	366.80						366.80	5.25 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	
Building Service Employees, Int. Union of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID						
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	1 130,500.00						130,500.00	.80 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	52,000
Carpenters and Joiners of Am., United Brotherhood of	450,227.98			105,807.00	9,600.00		565,644.98	1.10 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	110,000
Carrers' Asso. of North Am., International	1,950.00						1,950.00				
Clerks, Nat. Fed. of Post Offices	55,000.00	13,873.60			2,824.34	2,953.00	71,197.94	2,000 annually	8 hours	40 hrs.	40,000
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	270,728.59						270,728.59				

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1935—(Continued)

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1935—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Hol. Carriers, Bldg. and Com. Laborers Un. of Am., Int.	32,300.00						32,300.00	Com. Laborers, 40 to 60 hr. Semi-skilled, 1.10 hr. 10.00 per day.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days.	
Horse Shoers of U.S. & Canada, Int. Union of Journeymen.				BENEFITS	PAID				8 hours		
Hotel & Restaurant Employees, Int. Alliance and Barkeepers Un. of Am., Int.	82,337.83	48,674.70				225,680.86	386,722.39		8 hours		
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of Jewelry Workers' Union, Int. Laborers' Int. Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.	37,341.76						37,341.76	9.45 day.	8 hrs.	40 hrs.	8,100
Leather Workers' Union, Int. Union of Leather Workers, United Int. Un. Letter Carriers, Nat. Assn. of Rural, Lithographers Int. Pro. & Ben. Assn. of U. S. and Canada.	207,828.94	1126,586.52	75,000.00	BENEFITS	PAID		334,415.46	2,097.42 ann. 1,800.00 ann. 45.00 to 50.00 wL	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days.	50,000
Longshoremen's Assn., International Maintenance of Way Employers, Brotherhood of	294,535.67	16,500.00	255,350.00	BENEFITS	PAID	23,700.00	634,555.67	30 per hr. 312.577 per hr. Foreman 117.00-148.00 per mo. 6.20 day.	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days 48 hrs. week.	55,000
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Hides and Fur Workers, Hatters and Tricasso Helpers, Int. Assn. of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, Nat. Organisation Master Mechanics & Foremen of Navy, Harbors and Naval Stores, Nat. Assn. of Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	3,334.00	180.00	10,011.00			1,370.75	14,865.75		8 hours	40 hrs.	5,500
Metal Workers, Int. Assn. Sheet Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Int. Union of United Millers' Un. of N. Am., Int. Musicians, Am. Fed. of Newspaper Guild, American Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, Painters, Draftsmen and Shipbuilders of Am., Brotherhood of						4,180.00	1,830.00	140—245 mo. 12.58 day.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days.	132
	21,150.00					2,000.00	23,150.00				
	48,000.00					2,550.00	50,550.00				
	43,231.00	3,749.50				4,376.25	7,585.75	4.10-6.25 day.	8 hours		3,507
	1,000,000.00						1,000,000.00	5.00 day	7 hours	35 hrs.	380,000
	212,157.21	77,633.55	117,648.60				407,439.60	57¼ per hr.	8 hours		
						25,176.88	25,176.88				
	111,414.25				1,500.00		112,914.25	1.02¼ per hr.	7 hrs., 50 min.	40 hrs.	66,353

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1935—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	10,312.97					9,646.50	19,959.56	48.00 wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,712
Pattern Makers' League of North America.	\$ 14,751.33					4,640.03	19,591.36	40.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,100
Pavers, Hammermen, Flag Laying, Bridge and Stone Carving, Bricklayers, Asphalt Pavers, Int. Union of	NO	INTER-NATIONAL	NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			11.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	4,500
Paving Outlets' Union of the U. S. of Am. and Canada.	3,066.00					650.36	3,666.36	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,000
Plasterers' Int. Asso. of the U. S. and Canada, Operative.	39,700.00				5,600.00		45,300.00	9.20 per day	8 hours	5 days	16,239
Pumblers and Steam Fitters of American States, United Association of Canada, United	129,940.00	105,820.00				1,026.00	236,786.00	10.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	33,000
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' Int. Union, Metal	18,000.00	\$ 4,000.00	\$ 3,000.00		\$ 700.00	12,000.00	37,700.00	.55 per hr.	8 hours	44 hrs., 6 days	3,265
Porters, Bro. of Sleeping Car, Pottery, Nat. Brotherhood of Operative	22,625.00	4,888.44					27,513.44				
Printer and High Exploiting Potter and Glass United Printers', Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of N. Am., International Plate	NO	INTER-NATIONAL	NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			62½ per hr.	8 hours		700
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of N. Am., Int. Paper, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers' Union of U. S. and Canada, Baggage Cartage Workers, Int. Union of Quarry Workers, Int. Union of North America.	244,044.14	44,995.09	531,975.90	183,381.00		10,503.06	1,014,902.19	41.50 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs.	27,200
Railway Employees of America, Ananalogous Asso. of Street and Electric Railway Nat. Association of Road and Warehouse Workers' Assn., United State, Tile and Composition Rubber Workers of Am., United Seamen's Union of Am. Int.	778.74			750.00		2,000.00	14,000.00	4.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	10,000
Sheep Shearers' Union of N. Am. Stenographers, Int. Asso. of Ship Employes and Moving Men, Maritime Council of the U. S. and Canada, Int. Alliance of Theatrical	NO	INTER-NATIONAL	NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID	5,829.60	10,179.60	.55 per hr.	7 hours	35 hrs., 5 days	1,700
	\$ 744,433.13	\$ 61,131.43		105,000.00	8,450.00		919,014.56				
	56,891.00					10,503.06	1,014,902.19	41.50 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs.	27,200
	8,600.00					2,000.00	14,000.00	4.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	10,000
						5,829.60	10,179.60	.55 per hr.	7 hours	35 hrs., 5 days	1,700
							919,014.56				
						1,000.00	173,661.50	2,272.50 ann.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	19,700
						115,770.50	8,600.00	1.25 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	3,800
						220.00	4,051.24	3.50 per day	8 hours	56 hrs., 7 days	
									8 hours	6 days	

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1935—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of N. Am., Int.	\$ 3,111.75	124,830.67	401,161.13	7,106.16		\$ 9,081.40	495,293.11				1,530
Signetters' Assn. of N. Am.,	10,700.00						10,700.00	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	5 days	
Stone Mounters' Int. Union...	9,000.00						9,000.00	.73 per hr., day rate .90 per hr., piece rate	8 hours	44 hours	1,833
Switchmen's Union of N. Am.	175,375.00				27,200.00		203,075.00	6.64 per day, maximum for overtime	8 hours	48 hrs., 8 days	
Tailors' U. of Am., Journeymen	3,905.00	3,287.00					7,192.00		8 hours	40 and 44 hrs.	
Teachers, Am. Fed. of											
Transfers, Chauffeurs, Stable-											
men, and Helpers of Am., Int.											
Production Workers' Union, Am.	372,135.00						372,135.00				
Telegraphers' Union of N. Am.,	1,325.00					2,510.00	374,645.00	6935 per hr.	8 hours	6 days and 2 hrs.	400
The Commercial							1,325.00				
Textile Workers of Am., United	12,765.00					210,000.00	222,765.00	13.20 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 8 days	90,000
Tobacco Workers' Int. Union...	1,650.00	15,556.00					17,206.00	40-70 hr.	7-8 hrs.	40 hrs.	9,000
Typographical Union, Int.	685,152.89	65,875.52	234,759.57	2,366,257.56		585,181.63	3,287,086.00	44.73 per wk.	8 hrs.	33.89 hrs.	45,946
United Brotherhood of Carpenters						35,000.00	35,000.00	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	30 hrs.	7,230
Wall Paper Crafts of N. Am.,	3,500.00		5,000.00				8,500.00	1.10 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	
United											
Weavers' Pro. Ass., Am. Wire	400.00	500.00				6,240.00	7,140.00		7 and 8 hours	30 to 40 hrs.	193
Brotherhood Locomotive Eng.	1,412,188.61				123,549.96		1,535,738.57				
Brotherhood of Locomotive	1,062,013.11	15,290.83		4,770.00	\$ 852,893.33	175,154.10	2,113,126.37				
Bremen and Rigmen.											
Order of Ry. Conductors of Am.	1,777,514.21	135,706.79		602,763.92	1,754,941.36	49,957.45	4,340,883.76				
	955,213.15				20,000.00	137,554.12	1,113,767.27				
Total	\$12,650,302.94	\$1,047,010.93	\$3,356,276.11	\$3,684,954.04	\$3,376,275.71	\$1,990,786.53	\$26,108,606.16				1,784,042

Recapitulation:

Includes disability benefits.	
Includes old age pensions.	
Includes sick leave benefits.	
* Paid by local unions.	
* Includes Sick Benefits	
* Includes unemployment benefits.	
Total	\$26,108,606.16

Death Benefits	\$12,650,302.94
Sick Leave	\$1,047,010.93
Unemployment Benefits	\$3,356,276.11
Old Age Benefits	\$3,684,954.04
Disability Benefits	\$3,376,275.71
Miscellaneous	\$1,990,786.53
Total	\$26,108,606.16

**FORMATION OF THE COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION,
THE POLICY WHICH IT HAS PURSUED AND THE DEVELOPMENTS
WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE ITS FORMATION**

The Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held from October 7th to 19th, 1935, considered and acted upon organization plans and procedure submitted by legal, authorized delegates in attendance at the convention.

Two reports dealing with this particular subject were submitted by the Committee on Resolutions. These reports and the action taken thereon were as follows:

Majority Report of Committee on Resolutions—Your committee had referred to it 21 resolutions dealing with the subject of Industrial Unionism; nine of these resolutions, Nos. 24, 27, 31, 74, 79, 93, 107, 126 and 222—call for the issuing of a charter establishing an industrial union for a specific industry. One of these resolutions—No. 24—was withdrawn upon the request of the delegate introducing it. These resolutions will be reported upon individually.

The remaining resolutions call for the setting up of industrial unions to replace existing national and international unions. These are Resolutions Nos. 30, 36, 40, 50, 51, 73, 105, 112, 120, 133, 163, 189 and 231. Two of these were introduced by International Unions—The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and the United Textile Workers of America. Two were introduced by the delegates of State Federations of Labor of California and of Wisconsin. The others were introduced by federal labor unions, in some instances by a single delegate, and in one instance by delegates representing some forty-two federal labor unions.

Your committee finds, upon examining these resolutions, that the introducers either misunderstood the declaration adopted last year by the San Francisco convention, or desire that the policy established in that declaration should be set aside and existing international unions merged into industrial organizations organized for the several industries.

The declaration adopted by the convention last year was specific upon the question involved. It was recognized that in many industries large numbers of so-called mass production workers were employed, the skill they required being of an entirely different character from that of those who become craftsmen through years of apprenticeship. In many mass production industries, the newly employed workers within a few months become as competent to perform the specialized operation required to do the work, as they ever will be. This is in marked contrast to the skill required of craftsmen who, in addition to their years of apprenticeship, require additional time before they master all of the knowledge required to round out complete mastery of their craft.

The declaration of the San Francisco convention provided that the workers classified as "mass production employees" should be granted charters in the mass production industries which would include all of the mass production workers employed in such industries. So that there might be no misunderstanding, and for the purpose of differentiating between craftsmen and mass production workers, the declaration adopted last year included the following language:

The American Federation of Labor is desirous of meeting this demand. We consider it our duty to formulate policies which will fully protect the jurisdictional rights of all trade unions organized upon craft lines and afford them every opportunity for development and

accession of those workers engaged upon work over which these organizations exercise jurisdiction. Experience has shown that craft organization is most effective in protecting the welfare and advancing the interests of workers where the nature of the industry is such that the lines of demarcation between crafts are distinguishable.

So that there might be no infringement upon the rights of the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, provision was made in the declaration to protect these rights. The final paragraph of the declaration reading:

That in order to protect and safeguard the members of such national and international unions as are chartered, the American Federation of Labor shall for a provisional period direct the policies, administer the business, and designate the administrative and financial officers of the newly organized unions.

The convention could not have done otherwise than reaffirm the rights and the jurisdiction given to the national and international unions which had been chartered by the American Federation of Labor, many of which had become international unions before the Civil War and had maintained a continuous existence since that time.

It was principally these great international unions which had brought the American Federation of Labor into existence. When the American Federation of Labor was organized, and these unions accepted charters, and when national or international unions have been organized since 1881, a contract was entered into between the American Federation of Labor and the national and international unions.

This contract called for loyalty to the purposes and policies of the American Federation of Labor. In return, the national and international unions were guaranteed two specific things; first, jurisdiction over all workmen doing the work of the specific craft or occupation covered by the organization; secondly, guaranteeing to the national or international unions complete autonomy over all of their internal affairs.

The American Federation of Labor could not have been organized upon any other basis of relationship between the national and international unions and the Federation. It is recognized that where a contract is entered into between parties, it cannot be set aside or altered by one party without the consent and approval of the other.

For these valid and vital reasons, your committee recommends non-concurrence with Resolutions Nos. 30, 36, 40, 50, 51, 73, 105, 112, 120, 133, 163, 189 and 231, and reaffirmation of the Declaration of the San Francisco Convention upon this subject.

Minority Report of Resolutions Committee on Organization Policies—

During the fifty-five years the American Federation of Labor has existed its declared purpose has been to organize the unorganized industrial workers of the nation. The contributions from its numerous affiliates have been made in the belief that organization would be advanced for the purpose of adding economic strength to the various units and that the organization policies would at all times be molded to accomplish the main purpose of organizing the unorganized workers in the industrial field.

During the existence of the American Federation of Labor and since the date many of the charters were granted to national and international unions upon craft lines, the changes in industrial methods have been such that the duties of millions of industrial workers are of a nature that did not exist at the time many national and international charters were issued. This makes it apparent that jurisdiction over these new classes of work

could not have been anticipated and included in the jurisdictional outlines of charters issued to national and international unions at a time when the work that is now performed by these millions of industrial workers did not exist.

We refuse to accept existing conditions as evidence that the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor have been successful. The fact that after fifty-five years of activity and effort we have enrolled under the banner of the American Federation of Labor approximately three and one-half millions of members of the thirty-nine millions of organizable workers is a condition that speaks for itself.

We declare the time has arrived when common sense demands the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor must be molded to meet present day needs. In the great mass production industries and those in which the workers are composite mechanics, specialized and engaged upon classes of work which do not fully qualify them for craft union membership, industrial organization is the only solution. Continuous employment, economic security and the ability to protect the individual worker depend upon organization upon industrial lines.

In those industries where the work performed by a majority of the workers is of such nature that it might fall within the jurisdictional claim of more than one craft union, or no established craft union, it is declared that industrial organization is the only form that will be acceptable to the workers or adequately meet their needs. Jurisdictional claims over small groups of workers in these industries prevent organization by breeding a fear that when once organized the workers in these plants will be separated, unity of action and their economic power destroyed by requiring various groups to transfer to national and international unions organized upon craft lines.

To successfully organize the workers in industrial establishments where conditions outlined herein obtain, there must be a clear declaration by the American Federation of Labor. It must recognize the right of these workers to organize into industrial unions and be granted unrestricted charters which guarantee the right to accept into membership all workers employed in the industry or establishment without fear of being compelled to destroy unity of action through recognition of jurisdictional claims made by national or international unions.

It is not the intention of this declaration of policy to permit the taking away from national or international craft unions any part of their present membership, or potential membership, in establishments where the dominant factor is skilled craftsmen coming under a proper definition of jurisdiction of such national or international unions. However, it is the declared purpose to provide for the organization of workers in mass production and other industries upon industrial and plant lines, regardless of claims based upon the question of jurisdiction.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is expressly directed and instructed to issue unrestricted charters to organizations formed in accordance with the policy herein enunciated. The Executive Council is also instructed to enter upon an aggressive organization campaign in those industries in which the great mass of the workers are not now organized, issue unrestricted charters to workers organized into independent unions, company-dominated unions and those organizations now affiliated with associations not recognized by the American Federation of Labor as bona fide labor organizations.

Submitted by:

CHARLES P. HOWARD,
DAVID DUBINSKY,
FRANK B. POWERS,
JOHN L. LEWIS,
A. A. MYRUP,
J. C. LEWIS.

The minority report of the Committee on Resolutions was lost by a vote of 10,933 in favor and 18,024 against.

The question was then submitted upon the adoption or rejection of the majority report of the Committee on Resolutions. The majority report was approved and adopted by the convention.

The Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor completed its work and adjourned on October 19th, 1935.

On November 10th, 1935, an announcement of the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization was made in the following press release:

Press Release by Committee for Industrial Organization

(For release to morning papers, Sunday, November 10, 1935)

A meeting was held today at the offices of the United Mine Workers of America by representatives of seven international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A committee was formed to be known as the "Committee for Industrial Organization." The following individuals were named as members of the Committee:

John L. Lewis, *President*,
United Mine Workers of America.

Charles P. Howard, *President*,
International Typographical Union.

Sidney Hillman, *President*,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

David Dubinsky, *President*,
International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

Thomas F. McMahon, *President*,
United Textile Workers of America.

Harvey C. Fremming, *President*,
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.

M. Zaritsky, *President*,
Cap & Millinery Department, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

Thomas H. Brown, *President*,
International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

This committee will work in accordance with the principles and policies enunciated by these organizations at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is the purpose of the Committee to encourage and promote organization of the workers in the mass production and unorganized industries of the nation and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Its functions will be educational and advisory and the committee and its representatives will cooperate for the recognition and acceptance of modern collective bargaining in such industries. Other organizations interested in advancing organization work along the lines of industrial unionism will be invited to participate in the activities of the Committee and name representatives to join in its work.

John L. Lewis was named Chairman of the Committee and Charles P. Howard, Secretary. Offices will be established by the Committee and facilities provided for carrying on its work. Mr. John Brophy, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has been named Director to supervise the work of administration.

The following names of the officers and members of the Committee for Industrial Organization and the location of its official headquarters appear upon the stationery and official publications of this organization:

OFFICERS:

Chairman, John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers of America
Secretary, Chas. P. Howard, International Typographical Union.

MEMBERS:

Sidney Hillman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; David Dubinsky, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Thomas F. McMahon, United Textile Workers of America; Harvey C. Fremming, Oil Field, Gas Well & Refinery Workers; Max Zaritsky, Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Int. Union; Thos. H. Brown, Int. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers; Glen W. McCabe, Federation of Flat Glass Workers.

DIRECTOR: John Brophy.

EDITOR: Len De Caux.

Address: 45 Rust Building, 15th & K Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The aim and purpose of the Committee for Industrial Organization, as set forth in its Official Publication No. 1, is as follows:

Its purpose is that outlined in the minority report of the Resolutions Committee submitted to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City. That is, it has been formed for the purpose of encouraging and promoting the organization of the unorganized workers in mass production and other industries upon an industrial basis. Its aim is to foster recognition and acceptance of collective bargaining in such basic industries; to counsel and advise unorganized and newly organized groups of workers; to bring them under the banner and in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor as industrial organizations.

The Committee for Industrial Organization is already serving as a clearing house for information and advice, and as a means of pooling the experience of different groups, through personal contacts, correspondence and publications. Reports from interested organizations on their problems and experience are welcome.

It is the desire of this Committee to further in every way the efforts of groups of workers in autos, aluminum, radio and many other mass production industries to find a place within the organized labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

Here, in its first official pronouncement, the real objective of the organization is made clear and definite. With amazing frankness its official representatives declare that, "its purpose is that outlined in the minority report of the Resolutions Committee submitted to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City. That is, it has been formed for the purpose of encouraging and promoting the organization of the unorganized workers in mass production and other industries upon an industrial basis."

There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this declaration of purpose. In effect, it proclaims that even though the minority report referred to was defeated by a decisive vote at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, this organization is formed for the purpose of imposing its provisions through concentrated, organized effort on the part of the Committee for Industrial Organization. This constitutes a challenge to majority rule and democratic pro-

cedure in the American Federation of Labor. It proposes to substitute minority rule by setting up an organization within the American Federation of Labor, designed to force its acceptance and to impose its will regardless of decisions of conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

All the organizations which are associated with the Committee for Industrial Organization were represented in the Atlantic City convention. Their representatives participated in its deliberations and submitted the issue of future organization policies to the convention for determination. The officers and delegates in attendance at the convention considered, debated and acted upon the issue presented. They decided the matter in accordance with democratic procedure, parliamentary rule and after mature deliberation.

By every known test of parliamentary law those who participate in the deliberations of a deliberate body, who submit to its rules, laws and procedure, and who offer questions of organization policies for determination, are bound by its decisions and are under obligations to submit to its findings when arrived at by a majority vote.

In a communication dated November 23rd, the President of the American Federation of Labor issued a solemn warning against the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization, pointing out its grave implications and the discord, division and confusion within the ranks of organized labor which in all probability would result from the activities of said organization. This communication was addressed to the official representative of each of the organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization. The communication referred to reads as follows:

Washington, D. C.,
November 23, 1935.

Mr. John L. Lewis, *President*,
United Mine Workers of America,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I learned through press reports recently of the formation of an organization called the Committee for Industrial Organization. It was stated therein that representatives of your organization participated in the conference when such organization was formed and that the international union you represent is to be a component part of it.

Officers of national and international unions would undoubtedly view with feelings of apprehension and deep concern any attempt on the part of a group of local unions to organize within the organization they represent a movement for the avowed purpose of promoting the acceptance or rejection of a principle or a policy which had been considered and decided upon at a convention representative of all the members of said national or international union. Some officers and members within national and international unions, as well as within the American Federation of Labor, regard separate movements formed within the main organization structure as dual in character and as decidedly menacing to its success and welfare. When organizations within organizations are formed for the achievement and realization of some declared purpose, no one can accurately prophesy or predict where such a movement will lead. It could and may be diverted from its original purpose.

Experience has shown that organizations thus formed are productive of confusion and fraud with serious consequences. A line of cleavage between

such a movement and the parent body may be created and the breach between those who sincerely and honestly believe in different forms of organization could be definitely widened. Bitterness and strife would inevitably follow.

It has been the fixed rule, both within the American Federation of Labor and national and international unions affiliated with it, to decide upon organization policies by a majority vote at legally convened conventions. The widest opportunity must be accorded the officers and delegates who participate in these conventions to present their point of view, to deliberate profoundly and to decide judiciously grave and important questions of organization and administrative policies. When a decision has thus been rendered, it becomes the duty of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor to comply with it and they should be permitted to do this free from the interference and opposition of those who constitute the minority. Those who disagree with the action of the majority are accorded the right to urge the acceptance of their point of view at succeeding conventions.

I deem it my official duty, as President of the American Federation of Labor, to express my feelings of apprehension over the grave consequences which might follow from the formation of an organization within the American Federation of Labor, even though it might be claimed that said organization is formed for the achievement of a laudable purpose. My conscience and my judgment lead me to advise against it and emphasize most vigorously the danger of division and of discord which may follow.

My loyalty and devotion to the principles and ideals of the American Federation of Labor inspire me to transmit this communication to you. I ask you to accept it in the fraternal spirit in which it is sent.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. GREEN, *President*,
American Federation of Labor.

Herewith follows a reply to this communication which was submitted by Charles P. Howard, Secretary of the Committee for Industrial Organization:

Washington, D. C.,
December 2, 1935.

Mr. William Green, *President*,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

Your letter dated November 23rd was delayed in reaching me as I have been absent from my office for several weeks. Please be assured your communication is accepted in the fraternal spirit in which it was intended.

In reply permit me to say that while I entertain a high regard for you, both personally and as President of the American Federation of Labor, and respect your opinions, I am compelled to disagree with the conclusions which your letter indicates you have reached as to the propriety and ethics of the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization and my participation in the committee's activities.

Before making detailed reply to the issues you raise, permit me to say I bow to no one in my loyalty to the American Federation of Labor, the organization for which I have the honor to speak, and the welfare of the wage workers of our country. It has been my endeavor to serve their best interests and in this activity I have not departed from that purpose.

However, I would not be frank with you if I failed to say that I consider

organization of the unorganized millions of wage workers as being so essential that it overshadows almost every other consideration.

I do not agree with the outline of the rights of a minority, as set forth in your letter. Where the question is one of internal policy a labor organization is no different from any other democratic body. It is not unethical or improper for a minority to endeavor to have its proposals adopted by the majority through proper discussion of the issues and by an effort to convert those whose interests are most affected—the rank and file of the workers.

To confine the effort to conventions of the American Federation of Labor would be to presume that only the officers and delegates are to be considered and that the members of national and international unions, who support the Federation as well as the millions of unorganized to whom we would make appeal, should have no direct interest or influence in making the fundamental policies of the American Federation of Labor. My experience does not justify acceptance of such a restriction upon the rights of minorities.

Again I must disagree with your statement that when a decision upon internal policies has been adopted by majority vote in a convention that the rights and privileges of the minority are confined to urging "acceptance of their point of view at succeeding conventions." Such a restriction would prevent minorities from engaging in educational campaign so essential where the vital interests of millions of workers are involved. The application of such a policy in national and state governmental affairs would estop minorities in Congress and state legislatures from appealing to the people to have a minority policy adopted—except through changes in official personnel.

During the years I have been a delegate to conventions of the American Federation of Labor I have observed the strongest cohesion in a controlling group for the purpose of determining every question from election of officers to selection of the city in which the convention is to meet the following year. At times, it has been necessary to use official influence to prevent this group from defeating for reelection those who represented a minority opinion.

Much to our regret, some of us have had the conclusion forced upon us that the merits of proposals are not the determining factor in rendering decisions. Proposals having to do with fundamental policies have been adopted or rejected by combination rather than by converting the delegates. It is my earnest belief that a labor organization should be the very last place on this earth where such conditions should be permitted to exist.

Permit me to call your attention to the declared purposes of the Committee for Industrial Organization:

We propose to "encourage and promote organization of the workers in the mass production and unorganized industries of the nation and *affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.*" That declaration does not include the possibility of dual organization or constitute a menace to the success and welfare of the American Federation of Labor. If the first purpose of the Federation is to organize the unorganized, such an activity should cause no apprehension or concern.

We propose to work for "the recognition and acceptance of collective bargaining in such industries" where collective bargaining does not now and has not existed. In this declared purpose I find no logical reason for apprehension. If the workers in these industries are not organized for collective action they must continue to suffer from low wages and long hours and they will continue to constitute a menace to conditions established by organized workers.

It is *not* the intent, aim or purpose of the Committee for Industrial Organization to "raid" the membership of any established national or international union.

It is *not* the intent, aim or purpose to infringe upon the rightful jurisdiction of any chartered national or international union.

It is *not* the intent, aim or purpose to attempt to influence any national or international union to change its form of organization from craft to industrial.

It is *not* the intent, aim or purpose to use any unethical or coercive method in conducting the educational campaign which has for its purpose organization upon an industrial basis the millions of workers in mass production industries who have not been and can not be organized upon a craft basis.

It is *not* the intent, aim or purpose to take any action that will invite or promote organization that in any way can be considered dual to the American Federation of Labor. Quite the contrary is true. We seek to alter a policy which now invites such dual organization.

A knowledge of your training and experience in the United Mine Workers of America, and my respect for your tolerance and fairness, causes me to say that your apprehension is based upon a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the aims and purposes of our committee.

It is my humble opinion we should be much concerned lest these millions of unorganized workers will be organized outside the American Federation of Labor and that they will be organized under a leadership that accepts some of the "isms" foreign to the philosophy of cooperative trade unionism. Any agency within the Federation that can assist in organizing the unorganized workers in mass production and other industries and retain their confidence sufficiently to lead them along constructive lines, will justify its existence and perform a real service.

There has been no departure from the organization policies adopted by majority vote in the convention of the American Federation of Labor. There is a difference of opinion as to interpretation and application of the convention's action. Our experience with court decisions has taught us any declared purpose can be defeated by unsympathetic interpretation and administration.

As the author of the report adopted by the San Francisco convention and reaffirmed at Atlantic City, I am in a fair position to know what was intended by some of the proponents of the policy adopted by the convention upon the subject of industrial organization. We had no thought that when charters were granted to the workers in those industries enumerated in the report they would be restricted.

We believe the Executive Council failed to carry out the instructions of the convention. It is the condition thus created which makes necessary some agency within the Federation that has a sympathetic attitude toward organization of the workers in these industries upon the only basis that will be accepted by them or effective for their protection.

It is the purpose of the Committee for Industrial Organization to endeavor to meet the situation and render a necessary service. Our activities should not cause the least apprehension upon the part of anyone who above other considerations desires to see these workers enjoy the benefits of organization.

I have endeavored to reply frankly to the issues raised in your letter, and I am confident you will understand there is no intention to offend any of those who disagree by expressing my opinions upon a subject which I consider of utmost importance.

With personal regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely and Fraternally,

(Signed) CHARLES P. HOWARD,
Secretary of the Committee.

The President of the American Federation of Labor made answer to this communication as follows:

Washington, D. C.,
December 12, 1935.

Mr. Charles P. Howard, *President*,
International Typographical Union,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I have debated with myself, since receiving your letter dated December 2nd, the wisdom and necessity of making a reply thereto. After much thought I am irresistibly driven to the conclusion that I should write you again.

The nature of your answer to the letter I sent you on November 23rd leads me to the conclusion that I failed to make clear the point which I sought to emphasize and the potential danger to economic solidarity which is involved in the procedure outlined for the Committee for Industrial Organization, as enunciated in the press statement given wide publicity when the Committee was formed. I had no thought of dealing with the merits of differing forms of organization. Instead, I sought to emphasize the implications involved and the danger of discord, division, misunderstanding and confusion which would inevitably arise from an attempt to achieve your purpose through the formation of an organization within an organization without the consent and guidance of the parent body. It is a question of methods employed and policies followed and not the merits of the cause espoused or proposal advanced which should be considered.

I cannot believe that you would give support to a movement or be a party to it, if you were conscious of the fact that such a movement would prove to be injurious to your own organization and menacing to the success of the American Federation of Labor. Can you not see the evil consequences which will follow the formation of an organization within the American Federation of Labor, the possibilities of cleavage and division and the development of hate and bitterness which will take place? Can the great organized labor movement rightfully function if its members are to be engaged in a constant and continuous conflict with each other from one convention to the next? How can you expect unorganized workers to respond to an invitation to join an organization which is being daily denounced and condemned by responsible representatives of a substantial number of those associated with it?

I deem it my duty to emphasize the note of warning, sounded in my letter dated November 23rd and as I repeat it now, against the formation of an organization within the American Federation of Labor. I am confident it will lead to serious consequences. It is bound to invite counter-action and reprisals from those who are uncompromising in their opposition to the purpose for which the organization with which you are associated is formed. We may attempt to reason otherwise or we may try to convince ourselves that cleavage and division will not occur, but experience, which after all is the best teacher, has shown that unity, solidarity and cooperation cannot be maintained where an organization, within an organization, is formed for the declared purpose of promoting a policy which is in conflict with the one adopted by a majority vote in a legally convened convention representative of the entire membership of the organization itself.

I ask you, I entreat you, to give proper and favorable consideration to the sentiments which I have herein expressed and to the views which I have so sincerely announced.

With every good wish, I am

Faternally yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN, *President*,
American Federation of Labor.

The officers of the organizations which make up the Committee for Industrial Organization, through formal replies made to these communications, refused to accede to the suggestion of the President of the American Federation of Labor that the Committee for Industrial Organization cease its activities and dissolve its organization.

At the first meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which was held following the announcement of the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization, special consideration was given to the formation and activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization. The Executive Council adopted the following declaration as expressive of its attitude toward the Committee for Industrial Organization and its judgment regarding the activities and policies of the committee:

Miami, Florida,
January 23, 1936.

At the meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor held at Miami, Florida, beginning January 15, 1936, careful thought and consideration were given to the formation and activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization which was formed at Washington, D. C., on November 10, 1935.

All available facts and information, correspondence, printed publications and pamphlets relating to the organization, policies and procedure of the Committee for Industrial Organization were examined and considered, and without forming a definite opinion regarding the character, purpose and objective of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the members of the Executive Council, nevertheless, find that there is a growing conviction among an ever increasing number of affiliated unions and those outside of the labor movement that the activities of this Committee constitute a challenge to the supremacy of the American Federation of Labor and will ultimately become dual in purpose and character to the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council, while freely recognizing the right of officers and members of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to entertain and express their own opinions regarding organization and administrative policies which should be pursued, insists that policies adopted at conventions of the American Federation of Labor should be respected, observed and carried out. Any other procedure must inevitably lead to internal strife, discord and division within the ranks of organized labor.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the Committee for Industrial Organization should be immediately dissolved, that it should cease to function as assembled reports, facts and information indicate, and that the officers of the several organizations which constitute the Committee for Industrial Organization cooperate fully with the Executive Council in the application and execution of the organization policies adopted by an overwhelming majority of the duly accredited delegates who were in attendance at the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, from October 7 to 19, 1935.

In order to achieve this purpose and to prevent confusion, division and discord within the ranks of organized labor, the Executive Council authorizes a committee of its members to meet and confer with representatives of the organizations which make up the Committee for Industrial Organization, and to present to them the recommendations and the point of view entertained and expressed by members of the Executive Council who attended the Miami meeting.

The Executive Council directs that conferences as herein referred to, be held at the earliest date possible and that said committee report the results of the conferences together with such recommendations as it may decide to offer, to the next meeting of the Executive Council.

Without forming a definite opinion regarding the character, purpose and objective of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the members of the Executive Council found that there was a growing conviction among an ever increasing number of affiliated unions and those outside the labor movement that the activities of the Committee constitute a challenge to the supremacy of the American Federation of Labor and that it would ultimately become dual in purpose and character to the American Federation of Labor. The Council did not make any definite findings. It rendered no decision. It did not pass judgment upon the character or composition of the Committee for Industrial Organization. It expressed apprehension over the outcome of the activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

This statement, prepared and approved by the Executive Council, was mailed to the representatives of each of the organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization in a letter sent them under date of February 7th.

The committee appointed by the Executive Council, composed of Vice-Presidents Harrison, Weber and Bugniazet, conferred with the representatives of some of the organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, and addressed an official communication to the representatives of others with whom it could not because of circumstances over which it had no control, confer. This committee officially requested the representatives of the organizations which make up the Committee for Industrial Organization to end its activities, to dissolve the committee, and to unite with all the other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the development and promotion of cooperation, unity, uniform action and solidarity within the ranks of organized labor. The request of the committee representing the Executive Council was rejected and most emphatically denied.

The Executive Council then directed that the President of the American Federation of Labor address a written invitation to the officers of the organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization to meet with the Council on July 8th and on succeeding days, for the purpose of learning from each of these representatives the reasons for their refusal to comply with the request of the committee to terminate the affiliation of their respective international unions with the Committee for Industrial Organization, and to then consider and determine what further action the Council should take in the premises. The invitation referred to reads as follows:

Washington, D. C.,
June 20, 1936.

Mr. John L. Lewis, *President*,
United Mine Workers of America,
712 Tower Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The reply which was made to the communication sent Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy by a committee of the Executive Council of which Vice-President George M. Harrison is Chairman, was submitted to all members of the Executive Council for their information and consideration.

In the communication received from Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy, the Executive Council Committee was definitely advised that the International

Union United Mine Workers of America refused to comply with the official request of the committee to end its affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

In view of this answer, the members of the Executive Council direct me to ask and invite you to meet with them at an official meeting which will be held in the Executive Council Chamber at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, at 10:30 o'clock on Thursday morning July 9th.

The Council wishes to learn from you the reasons for your refusal to comply with the request of the committee to terminate the affiliation of your International Union with the Committee for Industrial Organization and to then consider and determine what further action it should take in the premises.

I sincerely hope you will find it convenient to respond to this invitation to meet with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the morning of July 9th.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. GREEN, *President,*
American Federation of Labor.

A similar communication was addressed to the officers of each international union affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization. This invitation was rejected. The representatives of the organizations to whom it was addressed refused to come, meet and confer with the Council. Each and every request made by the Executive Council to the representatives of the organizations holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization was refused and each and every invitation to meet with it was rejected. The Council could not confer or discuss the question at issue with the representatives of the organizations holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization, because they refused to meet with it when invited to do so.

The Council met, waited for the appearance of some representatives of the organizations which make up the Committee for Industrial Organization, and hoped that even though each had submitted a written rejection of the invitation extended them to meet with the Council, that some of them would change their minds and appear. None came. The Council therefore was blocked completely in its efforts to promote a settlement of the differences which had arisen, through conference and discussion.

One of the first official protests against the activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization was made by President D. W. Tracy of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. In his official communication in which he submitted said official protest, he charged the organization called the Committee for Industrial Organization with dual unionism and dual union activities. Here-with follows the official protest filed by the President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

Washington, D. C.,
February 27, 1936.

Mr. William Green, *President,*
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Green:

This is a formal protest by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to the American Federation of Labor against the dual unionism

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activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization of which John L. Lewis is chairman.

I don't have to recount to you the jurisdictional rights of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. For 45 years this organization has operated under the charter of the American Federation of Labor. That charter has given this organization jurisdiction over the rights of the workers in the electrical manufacturing field. The recent meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at Miami reaffirmed that jurisdiction and ruled that radio manufacturing was a branch of electrical manufacturing.

Article XXIX of the constitution of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Section 1, reads:

The charter issued this organization by the American Federation of Labor states such was granted "for the purpose of a thorough organization of the trade."

(a) The manufacture, assembling, construction, installation or erection, repair or maintenance of all materials, equipment, apparatus and appliances required in the production of electricity and its effects.

Our express charges against the Committee for Industrial Organization adhere in the following: that the Committee on Industrial Organization has abetted and unduly influenced the National Radio and Allied Trades to reject the proposal of affiliation with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; that the Committee has taken this action arbitrarily; that this action is in open defiance of the order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor made at Miami in January, this year, which granted an orderly way by which the radio manufacturing union could achieve all its major demands.

For five months Mr. John L. Lewis and his associates have been carrying on a revolt in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor under the guise of an educational campaign. Repeatedly Mr. Lewis and his associates have denied that they will establish a dual movement. In their hurried, arbitrary espousal of the case of the National Radio and Allied Trades there is instance, plain and unmistakable, of the setting up of a rival organization in radio manufacturing and electrical manufacturing fields over which the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has and always has had jurisdiction.

The fact is that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has always had and does now have complete jurisdiction over the electrical manufacturing and radio manufacturing field. It is also a fact that the Committee on Industrial Organization has endorsed a separate organization in this field against the claims of an old and established union. This cannot be interpreted as anything else but dualism.

Sincerely,

(Signed) D. W. TRACY,
International President.

In the meantime, the Federation of Flat Glass Workers, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the United Automobile Workers and the United Rubber Workers accepted membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization.

On July 15th, 1936, John P. Frey, President of the Metal Trades Department, formally filed charges against the Committee for Industrial Organization, alleging that it was a dual organization functioning within the American Federation of Labor as such, and in its administrative activities clearly competing as a rival

organization within the American Federation of Labor. The charges submitted by President Frey are as follows:

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT
American Federation of Labor
General Offices
400-403 A. F. of L. Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

July 15, 1936.

To the Members of the Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

I herewith submit charges against the Committee for Industrial Organization, its officers, and the following organizations and their officers affiliated with it:

United Mine Workers of America—John L. Lewis, *President*
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—Sidney Hillman, *President*
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—Harvey C. Fremming, *President*
International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers—Thomas H. Brown, *President*
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—David Dubinsky, *President*
United Textile Workers of America—Thomas F. McMahon, *President*
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—M. Zaritsky, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America—Glen McCabe, *President*
Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers—M. F. Tighe, *President*
International Union United Automobile Workers of America—Homer Martin, *President*
United Rubber Workers of America, S. H. Dalrymple, *President*
International Typographical Union—Charles P. Howard, *President*

1. The Committee for Industrial Organization is a dual organization functioning within the American Federation of Labor as such and in its administrative activities it is clearly competing as a rival organization with the American Federation of Labor.

The final authority in the American Federation of Labor on questions of jurisdiction is the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. The Committee for Industrial Organization has set itself up as a dual authority, and is now engaged in an effort to determine questions of jurisdiction and to make decisions which are in direct conflict with those of the Executive Council and conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The organizations which participated in the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization and which now holds membership therein, are engaged in fostering, maintaining and supporting this dual movement and of fomenting insurrection within the American Federation of Labor.

3. Each of the organizations herein named which holds membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization has violated the contract which each of them entered into with the American Federation of Labor when it was granted certificates of affiliation. The section of the contract which I charge as having been breached reads as follows:

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Provided, That the said union do conform to the constitution, laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor, and in default thereof, or any part, this certificate of affiliation may be suspended or revoked according to the laws of this Federation.

4. That the Committee for Industrial Organization is acting in violation of and in opposition to the decision of the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor and that its acts constitute rebellion against the administrative organization policies adopted by majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at said convention.

5. These charges are filed against the Committee for Industrial Organization and the officers and organizations herein named who compose it.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) JOHN P. FREY, *President*,
Metal Trades Department,
American Federation of Labor.

The officers of each of the organizations against which charges were filed by President Frey were acquainted with said charges and by direction of the Executive Council were requested to meet with the Executive Council at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., at 2:30 P. M., on August 3rd, 1936. The officers of the organizations involved replied on July 21st, 1936, stating that they refused to meet and make answer to the charges filed by President Frey, as requested by the Executive Council.

The Executive Council then proceeded, at a meeting held in the city of Washington beginning August 3rd, 1936, to consider the charges filed by President Frey and the evidence offered in support thereof. No representatives of any of the organizations against which charges had been filed were present to make answer to said charges or to submit evidence in opposition thereto. The Council concluded its hearings on said charges on August 4th. It then arrived at a decision which is embodied in a resolution which reads as follows:

Be It Resolved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in session in Washington, D. C., August 5, 1936:

WHEREAS, information in the form of formal charges was brought officially to the attention of the Executive Council by John P. Frey, President of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, on July 15, 1936, that twelve American Federation of Labor unions named in said charges had violated the constitution and laws of the American Federation of Labor by setting up a dual union called the Committee for Industrial Organization and by inaugurating a state of rebellion against the American Federation of Labor and hence had breached their contractual obligation in the charter or certificate of affiliation of each of said unions; and

WHEREAS, by direction of the Executive Council President Green of the American Federation of Labor transmitted on the 16th ultimo a copy of said charges to each of the twelve unions named therein, giving each union the opportunity to be heard in defense by the Executive Council in Washington on August 3, 1936, and informing each union of the penalties the Executive Council was authorized to impose in the event the charges were proved; and

WHEREAS, this communication was answered by a letter dated July 21, 1936, to President Green, signed by John L. Lewis as Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, and by the representatives of each and all of the international and national unions holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization, declining on behalf of all of said twelve

unions to take advantage of the opportunity accorded them to present evidence in defense; and

WHEREAS, none of the said twelve unions appeared before the Executive Council at its session in Washington, August 3, 1936, to which they had been invited; and

WHEREAS, John P. Frey presented evidence in support of said charges before the Executive Council and further evidence was submitted in support of said charges by Edward Bieretz, Vice-President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and

WHEREAS, the Executive Council, on the basis of the evidence so submitted, finds:

1. The Committee for Industrial Organization is a dual organization functioning within the American Federation of Labor as such and in its administrative activities it is clearly competing as a rival organization with the American Federation of Labor.

Despite the fact that the final authority in the American Federation of Labor on questions of jurisdiction is the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the Committee for Industrial Organization has set itself up as a dual authority, and is now engaged in an effort to determine questions of jurisdiction and to make decisions which are in direct conflict with those of the Executive Council and conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The organizations which participated in the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization and those which now hold membership therein, are engaged in fostering, maintaining and supporting this dual movement and in fomenting insurrection within the American Federation of Labor.

3. Each of the organizations herein named which holds membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization has thus violated the contract which it entered into with the American Federation of Labor when it was granted a certificate of affiliation, as follows:

Provided, that the said union do conform to the constitution, laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor, and in default thereof, or any part, this certificate of affiliation may be suspended or revoked according to the laws of this Federation.

4. The Committee for Industrial Organization and the unions comprising it are by the organization campaigns now being conducted, acting in derogation of the charter rights of national and international unions which are loyal to the American Federation of Labor, and the acts of said Committee and of the unions comprising it constitute rebellion against the administrative organization policies adopted by majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at the two latest conventions of the American Federation of Labor, specifically with regard to the organization of mass production industries as expressed in the majority report of the Resolutions Committee adopted by the Atlantic City convention, 1935, and in the declaration of organization policy unanimously adopted at the San Francisco convention, 1934, for the organization of mass production industries (as contained in the report of said convention on page 586), a resolution and policy strongly endorsed and supported by Delegate John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers in his speech on the floor of the convention in favor of said resolution, in which he stated that the resolution was not in conflict with the constitutional provision that:

No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national, international, trade, or federal labor union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed

is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions.

WHEREFORE, pursuant to its inherent and constitutional authority and upon the aforementioned findings of fact, the Executive Council orders and directs that each union affiliated with the so-called Committee for Industrial Organization withdraw from and sever relations with said Committee for Industrial Organization and so announce said withdrawal as its choice between the American Federation of Labor and the said Committee for Industrial Organization on or before September 5th, 1936. Any union so announcing its withdrawal from the Committee for Industrial Organization or any organization substituted therefor, by a communication to that effect addressed to the President of the American Federation of Labor on or before September 5th, 1936, and adhering to said withdrawal, shall not thereafter be affected by this order but will be forgiven its breach of its contractual obligation as expressed in its charter, and said contract will remain in full force and effect. Any union now affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, not announcing its withdrawal therefrom on or before September 5th, 1936, shall thereupon by this order automatically stand suspended from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying all and any privileges and benefits of membership and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The following named organizations are affected by this decision of the Executive Council:

United Mine Workers of America
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America
International Union, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
United Textile Workers of America
Federation of Flat Glass Workers
Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers
International Union United Automobile Workers of America
United Rubber Workers of America

The International Typographical Union and the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union were not included in this decision of the Executive Council; consequently, it did not apply to these two named organizations.

The Executive Council found from an examination of all available facts and information that the International Typographical Union, whose president served as the secretary of the Committee for Industrial Organization, was not affiliated with or a member of said organization. Mr. Charles P. Howard, President of the International Typographical Union, acted only in an individual capacity. This fact and all information available in connection therewith will be submitted to the convention for its information and consideration.

The Executive Council also found that even though the Cap and Millinery Department of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, was affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, that the International Union was not in any way connected with the Committee for Industrial Organization. The Council, therefore, did not regard the charges filed by President Frey as applying to the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. All facts and information in connection with the relationship of this organization to the Committee for Industrial Organization are avail-

able for the consideration of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention.

The entire decision of the Executive Council was transmitted to the officers of each of the organizations involved, in a letter sent them dated August 6th.

A summary of the decision shows that the Executive Council found on the basis of the evidence submitted that:

The Committee for Industrial Organization is a dual organization functioning within the American Federation of Labor as such, and in its administrative activities it is clearly competing as a rival organization with the American Federation of Labor.

Based on this finding of facts and in conformity with its decision, the Executive Council ordered and directed that each union affiliated with the so-called Committee for Industrial Organization withdraw from and sever relations with said Committee for Industrial Organization and so announce said withdrawal on or before September 5, 1936.

The unions affected by said decision were, therefore, given thirty days in which to make their choice as to whether they would withdraw from the Committee for Industrial Organization which had been declared a dual organization by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and remain with the American Federation of Labor, or continue their affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization and sever their relationship with the American Federation of Labor. These organizations made their choice. They decided to remain with the Committee for Industrial Organization. They refused to respond to the decision of the Executive Council upon the charges filed against them. They automatically severed their relationship with the American Federation of Labor on September 5th, 1936, at the expiration of the thirty day period given them by the Executive Council in which to make their choice. They elected to remain in affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The record shows that during the ten months period intervening between November 10, 1935, when the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed, and September 5, 1936, when the organizations holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization severed their relationship with the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council and the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor appealed to the officers of the organizations comprising the Committee for Industrial Organization on numerous occasions to dissolve said organization, to terminate it, and thus to end the division, discord and confusion which were being created within the American Federation of Labor through the establishment and existence of said organization. Urgent, sincere requests and invitations were extended to these representatives to meet with the Executive Council for the purpose of acquainting the members of the Executive Council with the reasons why they refused the Executive Council's request and why they insisted upon maintaining the Committee for Industrial Organization. Each and every request, numerous as they were, for conference and for dissolution of the Committee for Industrial Organization extended by the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor, was rejected, except that Charles P. Howard, Secretary of the Committee for Indus-

trial Organization, met with the Executive Council at the meeting which it held at Miami, Florida, beginning January 15, 1936. With this exception, no favorable response was made to any request to meet and confer during all the ten months period submitted by the Executive Council.

On October 8, 1936, the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union Convention held in New York City adopted a resolution which read as follows:

Resolved, by the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, in convention assembled, this eighth day of October, 1936, that we call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to permit the organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization to be represented in the next convention as a part of the American Federation of Labor, where the matter will be submitted to the judgment of labor's highest authority; and, be it further

Resolved, that we propose to the Executive Council that pending the rendering of judgment by the convention as aforesaid, it name a sub-committee to meet with a like sub-committee of the Committee for Industrial Organization for the purpose of jointly exploring the possibilities of reconciling the existing differences and of finding a formula by which the hopes of all workers for the unity of the labor movement and the organization of the workers in the mass production industries may be realized; and be it further

Resolved, that our international President be and he hereby is instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the American Federation of Labor and to the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, and to render all possible assistance in any effort that can be made to reconcile the differences and to bring about unity in the American labor movement.

This resolution was submitted by President Zaritsky of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor through its President at a meeting held in Washington on October 9, 1936, and was interpreted as a request for a conference by Mr. Zaritsky who has been personally identified with the Committee for Industrial Organization. The Executive Council responded promptly to this request. It agreed to meet with a committee representing organizations holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization, and appointed Vice-Presidents Harrison, Woll and Knight as a committee of the Executive Council for that purpose.

The announcement of the acceptance of the invitation that a committee of the Executive Council meet with a committee representing organizations holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization, was announced in an official communication addressed to President Zaritsky which read as follows:

October 13, 1936.

Mr. M. Zaritsky, *Secretary-Treasurer*,
United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers'
International Union,
245 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I am directed by the Executive Council to submit the following reply to the resolution adopted by the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers'

International Union convention on October 8th, a copy of which you transmitted to me in your letter of October 9th:

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor interprets the resolution unanimously adopted by those in attendance at the convention of the Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers International Union on the 8th day of October as an expression of a sincere desire for peace within the family of organized labor and the establishment of solidarity within the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council sincerely desires to heal the breach within the American Federation of Labor for which it is in no way responsible. It will willingly supplement every previous appeal made for the removal of the cause for internal strife and division within the family of organized labor, by participating in conferences for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of reconciliation and of terminating the split within the American Federation of Labor which has been so unjustifiably created.

Without commitments or stipulations, a committee of the Executive Council is prepared to meet with a committee representing organizations holding membership with the Committee for Industrial Organization for the purpose of jointly exploring the possibilities of reconciliation and of seeking a formula which might be applied to the solution of differences.

In making this reply to the resolution adopted by the Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union convention the Executive Council is inspired by a keen sense of obligation to all the membership of organized labor and of its responsibilities and duties to exercise every effort possible to preserve both solidarity and unity of action within the organized labor movement.

I will await a reply from you advising if and when a committee representing the organizations holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization will meet with a committee representing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

With all good wishes, I beg to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

(s) WILLIAM GREEN, *President,*
American Federation of Labor.

The committee appointed by the Executive Council stood ready and prepared to meet with a committee representing organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization "for the purpose of jointly exploring the possibilities of reconciliation and of seeking a formula which might be applied to the solution of differences." So far as the Executive Council has been able to learn, no response was made by the organizations holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization to the resolution presented by President Zaritsky, designed to promote understanding through conferences to be held by committees representing the Executive Council and the organizations holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The Executive Council followed a policy of conciliation during all the months which have intervened since the adjournment of the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor. It has endeavored patiently to find a way by which differences which arose within the family of organized labor could be composed. It has, however, firmly dealt with an emergency which arose within the American Federation of Labor as a result of the formation of an organization which it found, from an examination of all the facts and evidence,

was dual to the American Federation of Labor. It could not, without sacrificing the prestige, honor and principles of the American Federation of Labor, do less than it has done. It met a serious situation bravely and courageously and it made answer to a challenge to the supremacy and authority of the American Federation of Labor.

All these facts and information are herewith submitted to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for their consideration and action.

REPORT UPON INSTRUCTIONS OF ATLANTIC CITY CONVENTION REGARDING THE INAUGURATION OF A STEEL ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN

The Atlantic City convention directed that the Executive Council "inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct an organizing campaign among the iron and steel workers at the earliest possible date." Pursuant to these instructions the Executive Council at the first meeting it held following the adjournment of the Atlantic City convention, at Miami, Florida, January 15th to 29th, 1936, considered a plan of organization submitted by the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, after which it formulated and adopted the following declaration:

The President be directed to advise the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers that we examined the plan submitted and find it is not satisfactory nor practical, and that in the judgment of the Council cannot be executed as proposed.

The President be directed to prepare and submit to affiliated international a plan for the organization of the steel industry in accordance with the action of the Atlantic City convention upon the following basis:

Said plan shall contain an approximate estimate of the financial needs to conduct the campaign on the basis of per capita cost per month to all affiliated organizations, also number of organizers each organization will assign;

The financial and other arrangements to be based on a campaign to last one year, with authority to continue for any portion of an additional twelve months;

The campaign to be under the direct supervision of the President of the American Federation of Labor;

Each directly interested organization shall be required to agree to a uniform initiation fee in this campaign, not to exceed \$3.00 during the campaign;

The jurisdiction of affiliated organizations to be recognized. Joint councils to be set up in each locality as part of the organizing campaign in conjunction with the cooperation of state and central bodies, all to be under the central control of designated organization campaign chairman and President of the American Federation of Labor.

If the response to the proposal is satisfactory, the President will institute the joint organizing program at the earliest possible date;

The President to report the progress made to the next meeting of the Executive Council.

The instructions of the Executive Council were promptly carried out. A letter was addressed to all national and international unions by the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor under date of March 2, 1936, appealing for

contributions to an estimated needed fund of \$750,000 to be used in the furtherance of an organizing campaign in the steel manufacturing industry, and for the assignment of organizers whose services would be utilized in carrying on organizing work. A number of organizations responded immediately pledging varied amounts. Preliminary plans for the campaign were considered. It was the purpose of the Executive Council to carry out the instructions of the Atlantic City convention to inaugurate an organizing campaign in the steel industry as promptly and as expeditiously as possible.

On February 22, 1936, the Committee for Industrial Organization, through its Chairman and Secretary, advised the President of the American Federation of Labor that they considered that a fund of a million and a half dollars should be raised to launch an organizing campaign on a requisite scale in the steel manufacturing industry, and that eight unions holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization would contribute \$500,000 providing the American Federation of Labor would contribute \$1,000,000 to the organizing fund.

This offer was made conditionally that the Executive Council would organize and launch the campaign in conformity with the stipulations and conditions made prerequisite to the contribution of \$500,000 to a \$1,500,000 steel organizing campaign fund. The stipulations upon which this contribution from the Committee for Industrial Organization was offered, are as follows:

- (1) Organization must be along industrial lines. Past experience has shown that large numbers of steel workers can be brought into one organization by united and well-timed effort, but that organization breaks up and disappears when the workers are threatened with division into a multitude of craft unions. We, therefore, require assurance that all steel workers organized will be granted the permanent right to remain united in one industrial union.

- (2) The leadership of the campaign must be such as to inspire confidence of success. There must be placed in charge a responsible, energetic person, with a genuine understanding of the steel workers' problems, who will work in conjunction with an advisory committee representative of the unions supporting the drive.

While the Executive Council solicited all national and international unions for contributions and was willing and anxious to receive contributions from all national and international unions to a steel organizing campaign fund, for obvious reasons, the Executive Council, which was instructed by the Atlantic City convention to inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct an organizing campaign among the iron and steel workers, could not accept conditional contributions to such a fund, nor could it surrender its right to formulate plans for an organizing campaign in the steel industry in accordance with its best judgment, circumstances and conditions as they existed and the traditional organizing policies of the American Federation of Labor.

At the next meeting of the Executive Council which was held beginning May 5, 1936, a definite plan for organizing steel workers was formulated. This plan was transmitted to the officers and delegates in attendance at a convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers which was then in session at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania. The Amalgamated Association of Iron,

Steel and Tin Workers was recognized by the American Federation of Labor as having jurisdiction over those employed in the iron, steel and tin manufacturing industry. The plan referred to read as follows:

Washington, D. C.,
May 8, 1936.

To the Officers and Delegates in attendance at the
Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron,
Steel and Tin Workers,
Canonsburg, Pennsylvania.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

It is the plan and purpose of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry out the instructions of the San Francisco and Atlantic City conventions of the American Federation of Labor to inaugurate a campaign of organization in the iron and steel industry. At each meeting of the Executive Council held since the adjournment of the Atlantic City convention special consideration has been given to these instructions and to the development of plans and policies designed to carry into effect the detailed and specific instructions of the supreme authority of the American Federation of Labor.

The instructions given to the Executive Council by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor herein referred to were as follows:

That the Executive Council shall at the earliest practical date inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct a campaign of organization in the iron and steel industry.

Preliminary steps to the inauguration of an organizing campaign were taken at the first meeting of the Executive Council which was held following the adjournment of the Atlantic City convention, at Miami, Florida, beginning January 15th. The Executive Council makes the following stipulations in connection with the origination and execution of an organizing campaign in the iron and steel industry:

1. In conformity with the decisions of the San Francisco and Atlantic City conventions, the Executive Council must exercise the right to manage, promote and conduct the campaign, and as hereinafter outlined. There can be no division in administration and conflict in authority recognized in the conduct and administration of the organizing campaign.

2. The character of the campaign and the administrative policy pursued shall and must be in accordance with the organization policy of the American Federation of Labor as expressed and decided upon at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor. While it is the purpose of the Executive Council to apply the broadest and most comprehensive industrial policy possible, due regard and proper respect for the jurisdictional rights of all national and international unions will be observed in the execution of an organizing campaign.

3. The Executive Council will accept contributions from national and international unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of carrying on an organizing campaign, but said contributions must be made unconditionally. The Executive Council cannot carry out the instructions of the Atlantic City convention to "manage, promote and conduct" this campaign of organization by accepting conditional contributions from any source whatsoever, and which the Executive Council deems in conflict with the instructions

and intent of the convention action and with the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor.

4. The organizing campaign will be launched and carried forward by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in cooperation with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and the representatives of other organizations interested, affected and involved. The Executive Council will use such funds and assign such organizers as may be made available. All details in connection with the organizing campaign will be arranged through conference and agreement by the representatives of all the organizations who may be called upon to "cooperate in the organizing campaign and who may be directly interested."

The plans and purposes of the Executive Council and the stipulations upon which said plans are based are predicated upon the presumption that the Executive Council may be permitted to inaugurate and carry forward an organizing campaign in the iron and steel industry free from interference on the part of any group or groups either within or outside the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted by direction of the Executive Council.

(Signed) *WILLIAM GREEN, President,*
American Federation of Labor.

On the same date when the communication just quoted was transmitted to the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Chairman Lewis of the Committee for Industrial Organization sent a telegram, obviously intended to circumvent the efforts of the Executive Council to formulate and manage an organizing campaign in the steel industry in conjunction and in full cooperation with the officers and members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. The telegram sent by Chairman Lewis of the Committee for Industrial Organization to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers Convention, read as follows:

Washington, D. C.,
May 8, 1936.

To the Officers and Delegates in Attendance at the Convention
of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers,
Canonsburg, Pa.

I refer to the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in Washington today on the question of an organizing campaign in the iron and steel industry. As Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization I feel it pertinent to point out to you the following obvious facts in connection therewith.

A. The statement is a rehash of the ancient and futile resolutions adopted from time to time by the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, which have resulted in the frittering away of years of valuable time without contribution to the cause of collective bargaining in the iron and steel industry.

B. The statement of the Executive Council is obviously filled with venom and malice toward the nine major organizations of the American Federation of Labor which comprise the Committee for Industrial Organization and seeks to exclude these organizations from assisting or contributing to the cost of an organization campaign in your industry.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

C. The policy of the Executive Council as expressed in the statement would immediately fill your industry with a horde of organizers attached to craft unions, fiercely competing, with each other for the new members who might be organized and for the few dollars which might be taken in as initiation fees and dues collections. It would set aside your claim to industry jurisdiction.

D. The policy of the Executive Council would preserve the leadership of the organizing campaign in the hands of men who through the years demonstrated their utter incapacity to establish stable organization and modern collective bargaining in the mass production industries. The policy of the Executive Council as expressed in their offer to your convention today is one that could be heartily endorsed by the managements of the operating steel companies because it is obvious on its face that it is inadequate futile and conceived in a mood of humiliated desperation on the part of men who for years past have trifled with the destinies of one half million men employed in your industry and have materially stayed the progress of the American labor movement.

In this telegram I reaffirm the offer made to your convention by letter from the Committee for Industrial Organization and reiterated verbally on the floor of your convention by an accredited representative of our Committee. If your convention will accept this opportunity for constructive assistance in the organization of the exploited workers in the iron and steel industry the Committee for Industrial Organization will from time to time as conditions warrant and justify cooperate with your organization to the extent of the expenditure of a half million dollars. The details of this are fully set forth in the official communication of the Committee. Your convention is at the cross roads of the economic destiny of the workers in the steel industry and grave responsibility devolves upon every officer and every delegate to the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Upon each of you rests the power of decision. It rests with you as to whether your union and its present membership will open the door of opportunity to the untold thousands of steel workers who are anxious to be given the privileges and benefits of modern collective bargaining; on the other hand a refusal of this offer by your convention will place upon the convention the responsibility of closing the doors of opportunity and of substantially staying the progress of the American labor movement.

JOHN L. LEWIS, *Chairman*,
Committee for Industrial Organization.

When the Executive Council learned of the transmission of the telegram by the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization just quoted, it directed that a telegram reading as follows be immediately dispatched to Chairman Tighe of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers Convention:

Washington, D. C.,
May 11, 1936.

In your letter dated May eighth received this morning you enclose copy of a telegram which you received which was signed John L. Lewis, Chairman, Committee for Industrial Organization STOP After considering the copy of the telegram referred to the Executive Council directed me to send you the following message STOP *First* The charge made that QUOTE The Statement of the Executive Council is obviously filled with venom and malice QUOTE is unwarranted by the facts STOP There is nothing contained in the statement of the Executive Council which could be even remotely considered as QUOTE venom and malice QUOTE *Second* The charge that the Council attempted to exclude any organization from contributing to the cost of an

organizing campaign in the iron and steel industry is untrue STOP Every national and international union including the nine organizations referred to in the telegram signed by John L. Lewis Chairman, was officially invited and requested by the Executive Council to contribute to the fund to be used in organizing iron and steel workers and to advise as to the amount each organization would contribute and the number of organizers each would assign STOP *Third* The declaration of the Executive Council sent you as an answer to the inquiry of your Committee was unanimously adopted by all members of the Council who were present STOP This included the vote of Vice-President Dubinsky whose organization is included in the nine referred to by President Lewis STOP This means that the President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor approved and voted for the declaration made by the Executive Council STOP This telegram is sent you by direction of the Executive Council as a matter of information.

WILLIAM GREEN, *President*,
American Federation of Labor.

Following the adjournment of the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, which received reports of a committee sent to Washington to confer with the Executive Council and the representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization, and gave consideration to letters and telegrams sent to the convention, the Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers adopted a declaration relating to a contemplated plan of organizing iron, steel and tin workers.

This Board, after a session lasting one week, sent a telegram to the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization asking for a conference, to which they received the following reply:

June 1, 1936.

Answering your request, I will be glad to meet with your committee from the Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association in our Washington offices at 8 o'clock Wednesday evening, June 3.

May I suggest that it will be a complete waste of time for all concerned for your committee to attend this meeting unless you are prepared to carry out the instructions imposed upon your officers by the recent Canonsburg convention. The policy of fluttering procrastination followed by your board is already responsible for the loss of some weeks of time and must be abandoned.

I am fully advised concerning your secret conference with Green in Coshocton last week and know, as you must now know, that he has nothing to offer you except meaningless words and further delay.

Hundreds of thousands in the iron and steel industry are anxious to help in an honest effort to establish collective bargaining in the industry. These men are going to be given the opportunity to become organized, either with or without the benefit of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Your executive board must decide whether it will cooperate or obstruct. If you do not yet know your own mind, please stay at home. If you are prepared to accept the help of the Committee for Industrial Organization, which is the only agency which can or will aid your organization and the workers in the steel industry, you will be made welcome.

(Signed) JOHN L. LEWIS,
Chairman.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Following the receipt of this telegram a committee representing the Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, quickly responded by starting for Washington for the purpose of holding a conference with the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization. A conference was held immediately at which the following agreement was signed by the representatives of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and the Chairman and his associates representing the Committee for Industrial Organization:

Text of the Agreement

The memorandum of agreement between the Amalgamated Association and the C. I. O. read as follows:

1. AFFILIATION

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers hereby agrees to affiliate with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

2. STEEL WORKERS' ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee shall be composed of such persons as are named by the chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, in accordance with authority granted to him by the Committee for Industrial Organization. The Steel Workers Organizing Committee shall consist of a chairman and secretary-treasurer and such additional members as are deemed necessary by the chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, two of whom shall be from the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

3. POWERS

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee shall be a policy committee, to meet periodically at the call of the chairman of the committee as conditions and circumstances warrant.

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee shall have power to handle all matters relative to the organizing campaign other than the issuance of charters. The committee and the officers of the Amalgamated Association shall have exclusive power to deal with the steel companies in order to reach agreements, but this shall not abridge the rights of the Amalgamated Association in the execution of current wage agreements.

The Amalgamated Association shall not take any action affecting the organizing campaign without first consulting and obtaining the sanction of the chairman of the committee. The committee shall not interfere with nor attempt to direct the other duties of the officers of the Amalgamated Association.

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee may establish such advisory committees, consisting of representatives of labor organizations who may contribute funds to the committee for prosecution of the campaign.

4. FINANCES

The Committee for Industrial Organization shall contribute such sums of money, up to five hundred thousand dollars (\$500,000), as conditions of the organization campaign warrant. The disbursement of funds shall be made by the secretary-treasurer, subject to rules promulgated by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

5. DUES AND INITIATION FEES

The steel workers' organizing committee shall have power to grant dispensation from the payment of initiation fees to all persons joining the Amalgamated Association, during such time as it seems advisable. If the committee changes this policy all initiation fees collected shall be placed in its treasury for campaign purposes.

Dues shall be fixed as \$1 monthly per member, and dues payments shall begin upon a date fixed by the committee. If deemed necessary by the committee, money collected as dues shall be used in the campaign.

Nothing contained in this paragraph shall abridge the rights of the Amalgamated Association in its relations with lodges now working under wage agreements with employers.

6. TERMINATION OF CAMPAIGN

The details incident to the termination of the campaign of organization and the disbanding of the committee shall be within the province of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and the Committee for Industrial Organization, acting jointly.

For the Committee for Industrial Organization

JOHN L. LEWIS,
Chairman.

JOHN BROPHY,
Director.

PHILIP MURRAY,
THOMAS KENNEDY,

For the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers

THOMAS G. GILLIS,
Vice-President.

EDWARD W. MILLER,
Vice-President.

JOSEPH K. GAITHER,
Vice-President.

LOUIS LEONARD,
Secretary-Treasurer.

By the terms of this agreement, the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers subjected themselves and the organization they represent to the complete domination and control of the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization. They rejected the offer of the American Federation of Labor to organize, conduct and manage a campaign of organization in the steel industry and accepted membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The following letter is quoted as evidence of the direct and definite control exercised by the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization over the administrative affairs of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. President Tighe, in a very frank but rather tragic way, admitted in a letter sent to President P. J. Morrin of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, that complete control had been established by the

Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization over the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers International Union. The letter referred to reads as follows:

AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORKERS.

Pittsburgh, Pa.,
July 31, 1936.

Mr. P. J. Morrin, President,
International Association of Bridge
and Structural Workers,
Suite 1615-1620, Syndicate Bldg.,
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Brother Morrin:

I have your letter of July 30 and note what you say in it in reference to the present campaign for organizing the steel industry.

In answer to same, there must be some misinformation given you, as the campaign for organizing the steel industry is practically in the hands of the Committee for Industrial Organization, our organization having two members on said committee.

The committee for organizing the steel industry is in the hands of Mr. Philip Murray, Vice-President of the United Miners' organization. They have taken full control of the work, selected the organizers and are supposed to collect such finances as they in their judgment deem advisable. All that the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers are supposed to do is issue charters to such mills as these organizers institute lodges in, but not until the work has been completed by the above named committee does the Amalgamated have jurisdiction over them.

If the Committee for Industrial Organization has undertaken to organize the fabricating departments, I have no such knowledge at the present time, having attended but one meeting of the C. I. O. at Washington, D. C., a week past, but on another matter than organization work.

Due to physical disability for the past year, I have not taken active interest in the work and especially so in the present unfortunate and deplorable mix-up in the movement, which in my judgment could not have come in a more inopportune time. However, it is here and we will have to meet it, with the hope that some solution will be advanced that will bring peace and harmony to the cause.

Any complaint made of jurisdiction encroachments should be directed to the President or Secretary of the Committee for Industrial Organization, for it is this Committee that is directing the campaign.

With assurances of my highest consideration and very best wishes, I am

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

(Signed) M. F. TIGHE,
President.

Thus, the purpose of the Executive Council to inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct an organizing campaign among the iron and steel workers as directed by the Atlantic City convention was completely thwarted by the Committee for Industrial Organization.

It was the intent and purpose of the Executive Council to concentrate the moral, material and economic forces of organized workers and all their friends behind an irresistible organizing campaign in the steel industry and to mobilize the entire strength and resources of organized labor in a determined drive to

achieve the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to organize those employed in the iron, steel and tin manufacturing industry. The Executive Council labored under no illusion; it possessed a keen sense of appreciation of the strength and opposition of the steel corporations to organization and to the exercise of the right of the steel workers to belong to a union of their own choosing. There can be but one leadership in the inauguration and management of an organizing campaign in the steel industry. The American Federation of Labor endeavored to supply and assume that leadership. It was prevented from doing so. Another organization with another leadership urged the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers to reject both the plan of organization and the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, and to accept its leadership and the \$500,000 which it offered. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers deserted the American Federation of Labor, accepted the offer and the leadership of the other organization, and subjected itself by agreement to the dictatorial control of the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

These facts and this information are presented to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for their consideration and action.

CONTRIBUTION MADE TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

A charter was granted the United Automobile Workers International Union by the American Federation of Labor on August 26, 1935. It was formally transferred from the supervisory administration of the American Federation of Labor to newly elected officers of the United Automobile Workers International Union at the first convention of this organization which was held at South Bend, Indiana, on April 27, 1936.

The American Federation of Labor organized the federal labor unions which make up this international organization. It inaugurated organizing work in the automobile manufacturing industry in 1932. There was not a single local organization existing in the automobile industry when the American Federation of Labor began its organizing work. Hundreds of federal labor unions composed of automobile workers were formed. These were merged into the United Automobile Workers International Union when the charter for an international union was issued.

The American Federation of Labor expended approximately \$250,000 in organizing this new union of United Automobile Workers.

Early in July, 1936, this organization became a member of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Following the decision of the Executive Council upon charges filed against organizations holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization, it elected to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor and to remain in affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization. This action was taken by the officers of the United Automobile Workers International Union, notwithstanding the devoted service and assistance given this organization by the American Federation of Labor.

CONTRIBUTION MADE TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED RUBBER WORKERS OF AMERICA

The American Federation of Labor inaugurated an organizing campaign in the rubber manufacturing industry in 1932. When this campaign started, there was no organization of any kind in the rubber manufacturing industry. Federal labor unions were established, organizers were assigned by the American Federation of Labor to carry on organizing work, and a headquarters was established at Akron, Ohio, the city in which was very largely centered the rubber manufacturing industry.

When a sufficient number of federal labor unions were formed, a charter was issued to the United Rubber Workers of America by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. This charter was presented to the first convention of the United Rubber Workers, which was held at Akron, Ohio, beginning September 12, 1935. It was presented to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. The direction and administration of the affairs of the United Rubber Workers International Union was transferred to these newly elected officers, and the supervisory administrative services given by the American Federation of Labor were withdrawn.

The record shows that the American Federation of Labor spent approximately \$200,000 in organizing and establishing this international union of rubber workers. When the charter was granted, a headquarters, with office furniture and equipment, was turned over to these newly elected officers by the American Federation of Labor. In addition, almost \$2,000 which had been accumulated by the Rubber Workers Council which had been formed by the American Federation of Labor, was turned over to the new international union of rubber workers. Later, a financial contribution of \$1,000 was made, and following that another contribution of \$1,000, to assist them in a strike which had been inaugurated in Akron.

Notwithstanding this assistance and financial help given this International Union of United Rubber Workers, its officers elected to withdraw from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and accept membership with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

CONTRIBUTION MADE TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GAS AND BY-PRODUCT COKE WORKERS

The American Federation of Labor organized federal labor unions of gas and by-product coke workers at the following cities:

Boston, Massachusetts
Cambridge, Massachusetts
Lowell, Massachusetts
Malden, Massachusetts
Manchester, New Hampshire
Nashua, New Hampshire
New Haven, Connecticut
St. Louis, Missouri
Chicago, Illinois
Granite City, Illinois

Buffalo, New York
Terre Haute, Indiana
Toledo, Ohio
St. Paul, Minnesota
Duluth, Minnesota
Racine, Wisconsin
Portland, Oregon
Seattle, Washington
San Antonio, Texas
Montreal, Canada

These federal labor unions were established at manufacturing plants where workers were employed in the manufacture of gas and coke by-products. The American Federation of Labor spent approximately \$11,000 in organizing work and in the payment of strike benefits to these gas and by-product coke workers.

These organizations were directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of ultimately creating a national union of gas and by-product coke workers. The National Council of Gas and By-Product Coke Workers was organized so that the efforts of the members of these federal labor unions could be coordinated in order to establish uniform rates of pay and improved conditions of employment. On August 16, 1936, a number of these federal labor unions composed of gas and by-product coke workers left the American Federation of Labor and became affiliated with the International Union United Mine Workers of America. No application for an extension of jurisdiction by the United Mine Workers over these gas and by-product coke workers was made to the Executive Council. Consequently, no grant of jurisdiction was made by the Executive Council to the United Mine Workers over these gas and by-product coke workers located in the cities and towns named.

RADIO WORKERS

The Atlantic City convention referred a resolution directing "the President of the American Federation of Labor to call a convention of delegates from all federal labor unions in the radio industry and install a national union charter in accordance with Article IX, Section 2, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor" to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

When the Executive Council met at Miami, Florida, January 15 to 29, 1936, this resolution was considered by the Executive Council. Mr. James B. Carey appeared and requested the Executive Council to grant a national charter to the radio workers organization, said organization to be called the "National Radio and Allied Trades."

President D. W. Tracy of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers applied to the Executive Council to grant the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers jurisdiction over radio workers. After taking into consideration the request for a national charter submitted by representative Carey and the application for the extension of jurisdiction over radio workers submitted by President Tracy, the Executive Council awarded jurisdiction over workers employed in radio manufacturing plants to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. This action of the Executive Council was as follows:

That the directly affiliated local unions in the radio industry be transferred to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and that organization be requested to carry on an aggressive campaign with the full support of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor had organized and established fourteen federal labor unions of radio workers employed in radio manufacturing plants. Following the establishment of these federal labor unions, an organization called the National Council of Radio Workers was formed under the direction and

supervision of the American Federation of Labor. All the federal labor unions composed of radio workers were members of it. Through this Council organization activities were carried on in radio manufacturing plants. The American Federation of Labor gave to all this organizing work a full measure of support.

When the Executive Council decided to place these federal labor unions of radio workers under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the officers and members of these federal labor unions of radio workers objected, and notwithstanding the Council's request through letters and conferences, they refused. It was the opinion of the Executive Council that the economic and industrial interests of these radio workers could be best served through affiliation with a strong, established International Union such as the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Following the action of the Executive Council awarding jurisdiction over radio workers to the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, a call for a convention of radio workers was issued by certain representatives of the federal labor unions of radio workers and of other independent unions, for the purpose of organizing a dual, independent organization outside the American Federation of Labor.

Pursuant to this call, the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America organization was formed at Buffalo, New York, March 21-22, 1936. It was created by representatives of federal labor unions composed of workers employed in radio manufacturing plants, directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and by the representatives of independent unions not connected with the American Federation of Labor. The leaders of this movement to organize an independent organization of National Radio and Allied Trades refused to accept and abide by the decision of the Executive Council which granted jurisdiction over workers employed in radio manufacturing plants to the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The American Federation of Labor organized the federal labor unions in the radio manufacturing industry. When a campaign of organization was started in this field, no semblance of organization existed in the radio industry. Many thousands of dollars were spent by the American Federation of Labor in organizing federal labor unions composed of radio workers. Notwithstanding this fact, those who participated in the formation of a dual organization and who persuaded the federal labor unions of radio workers to desert the American Federation of Labor and join with this dual organization have refused to recognize the authority of the Executive Council or the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers over radio workers employed in the manufacturing industry.

These facts and this information are submitted for the consideration and action of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention.

FEDERATION OF FLAT GLASS WORKERS OF AMERICA—TRANS- GRESSION OF JURISDICTION

The Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America has attempted to invade the jurisdiction of other international unions affiliated with the American Fed-

eration of Labor, and in addition has prevailed upon a federal labor union composed of chemical workers to surrender its federal charter and to accept membership in the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America.

This action on the part of the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America is a violation of the jurisdiction granted this organization by the American Federation of Labor.

Specifically, the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America attempted through the use of force to impose its jurisdiction upon workers over whom the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada had been given jurisdiction. The forced methods used by this organization at the Owens-Illinois Glass Company at Toledo, Ohio, compelled the workers to remain in idleness for several weeks. It also sought to invade the jurisdiction of the Glass Bottle Blowers' organization at Connellsville, Pennsylvania. It was prevented from doing so because the workers affected and involved voted against affiliation with the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America.

In another instance, the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America exercised jurisdiction over the members of Chemical Workers Federal Labor Union No. 19019 at Barberton, Ohio. These workers were persuaded to give up their membership in the federal labor union and accept membership in the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America. President McCabe was repeatedly advised against this action and was told that the jurisdiction of the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America did not under any circumstances cover chemical workers who were members of this federal labor union. This is a flagrant case of disregard of the jurisdictional authority both of the American Federation of Labor and of international unions affiliated with it.

RECOMMENDATIONS GOVERNING PRESENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS, PETITIONS, ETC.

Pursuant to instructions of the Atlantic City convention, the Executive Council submits the following report regarding the introduction of resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals to be considered by conventions of the American Federation of Labor:

1. That all resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention.

2. All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

3. Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

4. Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

5. All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated shall cause all such proposals to be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced and committees to which they are to be referred and that all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

6. That the President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

JURISDICTION OVER WORKERS IN NEON SIGN GLASS INDUSTRY

The four organizations whose interests are involved in this industry, the Electrical Workers, the Painters, the Flint Glass Workers and the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, upon the request of the Executive Council each appointed one representative to serve as a committee to investigate the industrial conditions under which neon signs are made. The four organizations agreed to the President of the American Federation of Labor appointing the fifth member of the committee to act as the chairman.

The committee thus created has held several conferences and visited various plants in this industry. No agreement was reached. The matter was again referred to the Executive Council for consideration and decision.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to give further consideration to this controversy, and to continue to hold conferences and to exercise all efforts possible to bring about a settlement of the jurisdictional differences which have arisen.

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY LITHOGRAPHERS' INTERNATIONAL PROTECTIVE AND BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION

The instructions of the Atlantic City convention have been carried out by the Executive Council. Several conferences have been held. Proposals and counter-proposals were offered, but no acceptable basis of understanding was reached.

The representatives of the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association contended that no convention of the American Federation of Labor approved the report of the special investigating committee appointed by direction of the 1915 convention to investigate the dispute between the Lithographers' Inter-

national Protective and Beneficial Association, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and the International Photo-Engravers' Union. Because this point was raised and vigorously supported, the Executive Council decided to recommend to this convention that a clear cut and definite decision be rendered upon the report of the special investigating committee and upon the dispute existing between the several organizations interested. The Executive Council, therefore, reports as follows:

The Executive Council, having carefully and thoughtfully considered briefs filed by the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association and by the Printing Trades Unions in conflict on questions of jurisdiction over off-set work and amalgamation of the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association with the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union and the International Photo-Engravers' Union, makes the following response and decision and as evidenced by the records of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and on file in the offices of the American Federation of Labor:

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in San Francisco, California, in 1915, the Executive Council reported upon its efforts to bring about an amalgamation between the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union and the International Photo-Engravers' Union. It likewise referred to the urgent request presented to determine the question of the off-set press and off-set press work.

At this same convention three resolutions were presented by the President of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association and delegate to that convention, Phillip Bock: one, calling for the appointment of a committee by the Executive Council to inquire into the differences of processes involved in the dispute between the printing trades unions and Lithographers; another, requesting that the off-set press be classed a lithographic press; and the third, requesting a change in the name of that organization.

There was also introduced at this convention a resolution by the five international printing trades unions setting forth the jurisdictional claims of the respective printing trades unions over off-set printing and the processes involved, urging that the Executive Council be compelled to bring about amalgamation of the Lithographers on a basis proposed by the printing trades unions.

The report of the Executive Council and all of the resolutions above referred to were submitted to the Committee on Adjustment. All parties concerned appeared before the Committee on Adjustment. By agreement of all of the international unions herein before referred to, including the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association, the Committee on Adjustment was authorized to submit the report and recommendations it did present to that convention. This report and recommendations were unanimously approved by the convention. As a matter of fact, this report and recommendations received the specific approval of the President of the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association. Thus did the convention not only render a decision, but, as a matter of fact, an agreement was entered into by the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association to comply with the authority, procedure and conclusions outlined, recommended and approved.

This report and recommendations, unanimously approved by the convention, embraced the following:

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

1. The appointment of a committee of three to make a thorough investigation of the "whole subject matter contained in these resolutions with power to make recommendations to the Executive Council."

2. Upon such recommendations made to it by this committee the Executive Council was "authorized to bring about an equitable basis of amalgamation of the unions involved," and "in accordance with the opinions expressed in this (the committee's) report."

3. The Executive Council was further authorized to *determine and decide "the terms of such amalgamation and jurisdiction claims of the various organizations involved."*

Thus, by action of the convention and by specific approval of the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association itself, the Executive Council, upon the report of a committee to be appointed, was fully and completely authorized to render decisions and proceed unqualifiedly with the terms of the report and recommendations of the Committee on Adjustment.

The Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association would now question the authority of the Executive Council thus clearly and specifically delegated to it by agreement of the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association and by action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council holds this claim is not well founded and further holds that the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association is bound by its agreement and the decision of the 1915 convention, until or unless reversed by a subsequent convention.

It is further alleged that at the subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Baltimore, Maryland, 1916, the report of the Executive Council dealing with this subject, including the report of the committee, was not referred to any committee for consideration and was not dealt with in any manner by that convention. Because no affirmative action of approval was had, it is contended the report of the committee, as well as the action of the Executive Council thereon and as reported by it to the convention, became of no effect, and that, therefore, no decision was reached at that convention. Based upon this premise, it is further alleged that the action of all subsequent conventions of the American Federation of Labor on this subject was based on a misunderstanding of facts and an "imaginary decision."

The Executive Council cannot agree to such logic or reasoning. To the contrary, it holds that having been authorized to proceed as it did, a continuation of its authority to proceed, as decided by the 1915 convention, did not require an affirmative action by a subsequent convention. Failure of the convention to deal specifically with the report of the Executive Council is due not to any question of termination of authority on the part of the Executive Council. To the contrary, the report of the Executive Council was one of progress and of decisions rendered under authority of the 1915 convention and of its determination to continue in carrying out duties and responsibilities assigned to it.

It is clearly indicated in the Executive Council's Report of 1916 that conferences had been delayed by reason of the absence of the president of one of the international printing trades unions involved. It made evident without equivocation or evasion that it intended to continue its efforts to bring about amalgamation as directed and under the authority previously delegated to it and as agreed to by the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association.

The records of the 1916 convention of the American Federation of Labor further disclose the fact that the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association was represented at this convention of 1916 by its president and by its secretary-treasurer, delegates Phillip Bock and James M. O'Connor. The records further disclose that neither of these officers or delegates of

the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association in any way evidenced their disapproval of the action taken by the Executive Council or the report of the committee, or the report of the Executive Council to continue to operate under authority vested in it at the 1915 convention. Neither did the officers or delegates of the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association at any time previous to the 1916 convention or during that convention in any way indicate its desire or intent to disapprove of the agreement entered into by it or in any way manifest its disapproval of the authority delegated to the Executive Council at the 1915 convention. On the other hand, at the 1917 convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Buffalo, New York, the President of the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association submitted a resolution protesting and appealing to that convention to reverse the recommendations contained in the committee's report and upon which the Executive Council was authorized to proceed. This protest in no way denied, but to the contrary, affirmed the authority vested in the Executive Council and as hereinbefore outlined. The convention declined to approve the protest and appeal. Instead, it directed that the Executive Council draw up a definite plan of amalgamation as previously authorized. It further authorized and directed the Executive Council to suspend any of the organizations failing to comply with its decisions.

The foregoing clearly indicates that there can be no misunderstanding of facts or decisions previously rendered and of present binding effect. The Executive Council, therefore, holds that the action of the American Federation of Labor conventions and decisions rendered upon this subject ever since 1915 were fully within the authority of the American Federation of Labor. They were not founded upon a misunderstanding, misconception or error of fact or based upon an "imaginary decision." The Executive Council further holds that the contention of the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association is not well founded.

In addition to the foregoing, the Executive Council urgently solicits every possible effort on the part of all concerned to adjust differences along lines indicated and approved by the Executive Council and which have so long divided the organizations within the field of plate making and printing involved. It expresses the sincere hope that it may not be called upon to exercise the power of suspension vested in it.

ENGINEERS—FIREMEN

We have endeavored to compose the differences of jurisdictional problems which arose between the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. Numerous conferences have been held. Former Vice-President James Wilson was appointed to serve as the Federation's representative in holding additional conferences with the representatives of the two organizations and in making an investigation of the nature and character of the jurisdictional disputes which have arisen. He visited a number of places where engineers and firemen are employed for the purpose of acquainting himself with the practical difficulties connected with the jurisdictional disputes.

Former Vice-President Wilson offered a number of recommendations to the representatives of the two organizations as a basis for settlement. None of the recommendations submitted was accepted. He then reported to the Executive Council that in his judgment the best interests of the members of the Interna-

tional Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers would be promoted and protected by amalgamation.

Amalgamation of the two organizations as recommended by Former Vice-President Wilson would be acceptable to the Executive Council, provided the officers and members of both organizations agree. It is not the purpose of the Executive Council, however, to force amalgamation of these two organizations. The Council is willing to continue its efforts to compose the differences and to promote a settlement which will provide for the recognition and protection of the jurisdictional rights of the two organizations involved.

FOUNDRY EMPLOYEES—MOLDERS

Preliminary steps to bring about amalgamation of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and the International Molders' Union of North America were undertaken as reported to the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor. The Molders' organization voted to accept the plan but the Foundry Employees rejected it by a referendum vote.

We have continued our efforts to promote understanding as well as a settlement of the differences which exist between the officers and members of the two organizations involved. We recommend that the Executive Council shall continue its efforts in this direction.

JURISDICTION OVER BEER COIL CLEANERS

The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance applied to the Executive Council for jurisdiction over beer box coil cleaners. The application was protested by the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada. As this work is and has been continually recognized as coming under the jurisdiction of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, the application was denied. Whereupon, the officers of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance served notice of an appeal to this convention against the decision awarding jurisdiction over beer coil cleaners to the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

JURISDICTIONAL CONFLICTS

During the past year we continued our efforts to harmonize the jurisdictional differences between the Masters, Mates and Pilots and the Seamen, and also the Electrical Workers, Seamen and Longshoremen. We recommend that the convention authorize the Executive Council to continue its efforts along these lines.

UNION LABEL—READY-TO-WEAR MEN'S AND BOY'S CLOTHING

At its October meeting there was brought to the attention of the Executive Council that considerable mis-conception and misunderstanding had arisen in the men's clothing industry as to the legitimate union label used in that industry. The Executive Council, therefore, again declared that the union label of the

United Garment Workers of America is the only union label recognized and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor on ready-to-wear, made to measure tailored to the trade clothing for men and boys.

CHANGE OF TITLES

The Metal Polishers International Union requested a change in title to "Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union." As the proposed change did not in any way transgress upon the jurisdiction of any other international union, we approved the application.

The Stove Mounters International Union also made application for change of title to the "Allied Stove Mounters and Stove Processors International Union." Upon investigation and correspondence it developed that the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees opposed the suggested change. Therefore, the application was not granted.

DEPARTMENT OF FOOD INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES

The Atlantic City convention referred to your Executive Council Resolution No. 86, calling for a conference of the representatives of the national and international unions who would be interested in the formation of a Department of Food Industry Employees. A communication was sent to all of the organizations whose interests would be in any way affected by the creation of such a department. This correspondence definitely indicated that these organizations, with the exception of one or two, were either opposed to the formation of such a department or were not interested therein.

The creation of a Food Department of the American Federation of Labor has been considered by a number of conventions of the American Federation of Labor. We recommend, therefore, that until the organizations whose interests would be actively involved by the creation of such a department indicate a change of sentiment, further consideration of the matter to be postponed.

OFFICIAL CHANGES

On November 23, 1935, Vice-President John L. Lewis tendered his resignation as eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. This resignation was accepted at a meeting of the Executive Council held January 15-29, 1936, and in accordance with authority conferred upon the Executive Council by the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Felix H. Knight, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, was appointed to fill the vacancy.

Vice-President David Dubinsky tendered his resignation as eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor on October 7, 1936. This resignation was accepted by the Executive Council at a meeting held October 9-21, 1936.

Vice-President William L. Hutcheson tendered his resignation as tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor on October 7, 1936. This resignation was accepted by the Executive Council at a meeting held October 9-21, 1936.

In conformity with custom and precedent, the members of the Executive Coun-

cil were moved forward in numerical positions. This resulted in vacancies being created in the positions of fourteenth and fifteenth Vice-Presidents.

Brother George E. Browne, President of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, was appointed to serve as fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Brother Edward Flore, President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, was appointed to serve as fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

DEATH OF FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT JACOB FISCHER

On August 25, 1936, at his home in Indianapolis, Jacob Fischer, former Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, passed away. He served as Vice-President from 1918 until he resigned May 22, 1929. As a former official of his organization, the Barbers' International Union, and as Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, he was a loyal and true trade unionist. It is with a sense of deep regret that we make this official record of his passing.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND.

Reports upon the Gompers Memorial Fund and the balance in that fund have been reported to the successive conventions through the report of the Secretary-Treasurer. There is a balance in that fund of \$15,835.25.

This fund has been maintained separately since its inauguration for the purpose of meeting the expense connected with the erection of the memorial and the landscaping of the plot upon which it stands. Inasmuch as the immediate purpose of the Fund has been accomplished and further expenditures on account of the Memorial will occur only occasionally, we recommend for practical purposes that the balance in the Gompers Memorial Fund be transferred to the General Fund and further expenses for the care of the Monument be paid out of the General Fund.

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City in October, 1935, an agreement was reached by the representatives of the nineteen national and international organizations comprising the building crafts and a committee was appointed to work out a reorganization of the Building Trades Department. D. W. Tracy, Harry Bates, William L. Hutcheson, M. J. Colleran, William J. McSorley and L. P. Lindelof, all international presidents of their respective organizations, constituted this committee. It was the duty of the committee to work out a reorganization of the Building Trades Department and to set up machinery to settle jurisdictional disputes arising in the building industry.

The Reorganization Committee called a special convention of representatives of affiliated organizations which was held in Washington, D. C., March 25, 1936. A complete reorganization of the Building Trades Department of the

American Federation of Labor was consummated. Officers were elected in accordance with the constitution of the Department and a policy and principle for settling jurisdictional disputes were adopted. However, it was decided that this policy and principle would not be effective until a referee, which was provided for, was selected. The matter of selecting a referee was left in the hands of the Reorganizing Committee.

On September 29, 1936, Secretary-Treasurer, M. J. McDonough and President J. W. Williams were called into a conference with this Committee together with Dr. John A. Lapp, who had been selected by the Reorganization Committee to act as referee, as per the action of the special convention. The officers of the Building Trades Department were officially notified that Dr. John A. Lapp had been selected to act as referee and was to take official charge of his duties beginning October 1, 1936. The rules of procedure as adopted by the special convention of March 25, 1936, were placed in the hands of the President of the Building Trades Department and Dr. Lapp, the referee. This procedure for dealing with jurisdictional disputes is now in full force and effect.

Peace and harmony prevail in the Department since its reorganization. The Department is now functioning for the benefit of its affiliated membership and to the best interest of the affiliated national and international organizations and its state and local building trades councils and with greater cooperation from all sources to the satisfaction of those whom it serves. The Department is one hundred per cent in affiliation and is prepared to meet issues whatever they may be with perfect confidence and security.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Metal Trades Department, submits a more encouraging report of its affiliated international unions than it has during recent years. All of its affiliated international unions show a substantial increase in membership, in several instances this amounting to an increase of practically 25 per cent, despite the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States declared the NRA to be unconstitutional. The growth has been a healthy one, stimulated only by the organizers effectiveness in convincing wage-earners that trade union organization is essential to their interests.

For some years there has been close cooperation between the Metal Trades Department, the Building Trades Department, and the Union Label Trades Department. This cooperation has never been more effective. In a number of legislative measures in which the departments were jointly interested, there has been energetic joint action with the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor.

The policy of the Metal Trades Department has been to negotiate agreements with employers covering all of the members of the affiliated unions who were employed, these agreements being entered into between the employer and the Department in behalf of its affiliated membership.

In the instance of one outstanding corporation, the agreement was jointly negotiated by the Metal Trades Department and the Building Trades Department, as members of both groups were employed.

These agreements on a national scale were first entered into in 1934 while the influence of NRA was predominant. With the passing of NRA a question arose as to whether such agreements could be negotiated in the future. It was evident that this would depend upon whether the agreement had proven satisfactory to the corporations, and to the membership of the affiliated international unions. It is gratifying to report that the outstanding agreements of this character have been renewed since NRA became extinct.

In addition to these agreements of a national character, entered into by the Department and undersigned by the affiliated international unions, there has been a rapid extension of local agreements of the same character entered into by local Metal Trades Councils and local employers.

A logical sequence has followed the increase in membership of affiliated international unions. Minimum wage rates have been increased, and other improved terms of employment have been secured.

The definite substantial progress made during the year, the active cooperative attitude of the affiliated international unions, carry the promise that even more encouraging results will follow as a result of the Department's activities during the coming year.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

Progress of Organization—The present organizing campaign of the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated organizations was first begun in June, 1933. Since then a relentless fight has been made to wipe out company unionism on the railroads.

During the past year, that is, since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, representation has been established for the Federated Mechanical Trades and the Firemen and Oilers on twelve railroads, the existing agreement has been taken over on four railroads and a new agreement has been negotiated on fifteen railroads making a total of nineteen additional agreements which have been entered into with carriers by System Federations affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department. It should be observed that after representation is established by an election or otherwise, the existing agreement, if there is one, is taken over pending the negotiation of a new federated agreement.

Since June, 1933, when this campaign was begun, representation has been established on ninety railroads, where company unions had been established following the Federated Shop Trades strike of 1922, the existing agreement has been taken over on twenty-six railroads and new agreements have been negotiated on fifty-three railroads, which is a total of seventy-nine new railroads which have entered into contractual relations with the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated organizations.

This is truly an impressive record.

Employment and Compensation—Pre-depression wage levels have been restored and employment has shown some improvement during the past year. This may be ascribed to several recent developments, namely, increased traffic, the re-

sultant need for additional equipment, which during the depression was permitted to accumulate in bad order, and the development of new and modern passenger equipment of streamlined design, as well as the improvement of old passenger equipment through the installation of air-conditioning, etc. But the basic reason for this improvement in the railroad situation may be directly attributed to the general improvement in business conditions with its resultant increase in traffic, which is the life-blood of the railroads.

The increase in employment during the year, 1935, came largely in the form of reduced part-time work; that is to say, while the number of employees shown to have been employed remained approximately the same, they were employed a greater number of hours as shown by the increase in the amount of earnings received. During the first six months of 1936 part-time work was further reduced, while the number of workers employed was increased.

According to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission the average number of employees (including officials) on Class I Railroads in the United States (excluding switching and terminal companies) declined slightly from 1,007,702 in 1934 to 994,078 in 1935, or 1.4 per cent, while their total compensation increased from \$1,519,352,000 to \$1,643,214,000, or 8.2 per cent. During the first six months of 1936 the average number of employees increased to 1,038,496, or 5.7 per cent, over the 982,598 employees reported for the first six months of 1935, while the total compensation increased from \$798,814,000 during the first six months of 1935 to \$896,196,000 during the same period in 1936, or 12.2 per cent.

Employment in the railroad industry is governed to a large extent by the amount of traffic hauled, which is measured in terms of revenue ton miles and revenue passenger miles by the Interstate Commerce Commission. From 1934 to 1935 revenue ton miles increased from 268,711 million to 282,066 million, or 5.0 per cent, while revenue passenger miles increased from 18,033 million to 18,480 million, or 2.5 per cent. Freight traffic has shown a steady increase since 1933, but this is the first time in many years that passenger traffic has shown an increase. Revenue traffic continued to increase during the first five months of 1936 for which figures are available. Revenue ton miles increased from 112,176 million during the first five months of 1935 to 128,790 million during the same period in 1936, or 14.8 per cent, while revenue passenger miles increased from 6,964 million to 7,967 million or 14.4 per cent during 1936. The increase in passenger traffic has almost equalled the increase in freight traffic, which is most unusual, and with the upward trend in traffic likely to continue, the prospects for increased railroad employment are good.

Because of the severe retrenchment policy of the railroads during the depression, employment in the maintenance of equipment department fell much more rapidly than traffic, or employment in other departments. The carriers found it possible to do this by using available surplus equipment in good order, but having continued this policy so long, equipment maintenance fell to the lowest point in many years during 1935 and 1936. With the improvement in traffic, it became necessary to improve the bad order situation, and, consequently, during the early part of 1936, the increase in maintenance of equipment forces as well

as their earnings showed a somewhat larger increase than for railroad employees generally.

The per cent of locomotives unserviceable of the total on line during 1934 was 32.7 which remained unchanged during 1935, while the percentage of unserviceable freight cars to total on line declined from 14.6 to 14.0 during the same period, or 4.1 per cent. The per cent of bad order locomotives during the first three months of 1936 for which figures are available was 31.0, having declined from 32.8 for the first three months of 1935, or 5.5 per cent, while the per cent of bad order freight cars declined from 13.8 to 13.1 during the same period, or 5.1 per cent.

Employment in the mechanical department declined from 276,131 in 1934 to 271,213 in 1935, or 1.8 per cent, while total earnings increased from \$371,337,960 to \$399,571,317, or 7.6 per cent, during the same period. During the first six months of 1936 average employment in the mechanical department was 290,958 employees which is an increase of 7.5 per cent over the 270,591 employees reported for the first six months of 1935, while the earnings received by these employees increased 16.4 per cent from \$195,589,527 during the first six months of 1935 to \$227,689,183 during the same period in 1936.

This improvement in the bad order situation as well as employment in the maintenance of equipment department is reflected in an increase in maintenance of equipment expenses of 6.9 per cent from \$637,905,613 in 1934 to \$681,784,261 in 1935, and a further increase of 14.1 per cent from \$333,621,740 during the first six months of 1935 to \$380,576,140 during the same period in 1936.

Thus, as traffic improves, it may be anticipated that railroad employment will improve; but, owing to the greatly improved efficiency of the employees, employment will not reach the levels formerly necessary to handle the same volume of traffic and maintenance. The only solution for this problem is a reduction in the work-day and work-week without a reduction in compensation.

Canadian Railroad Wages—Despite the fact that the 10 per cent wage deduction from the pay checks of employees in the United States has been fully restored since April 1, 1935, wage deductions ranging from 5 to 10 per cent are still in effect on the Canadian Railroads.

On November 3, 1934, a blanket agreement was entered into between a committee representing the Canadian Railways and a conference committee representing the employees' organizations providing that the existing deductions ranging from 10 to 15 per cent be reduced to from 7 to 12 per cent on the same basis effective on January 1, 1935, and that effective from May 1, 1935, these percentages be reduced to from 5 to 10 per cent, this percentage to continue in effect subject to the right of either party, after July 1, 1935, to serve thirty days' notice, as required by wage agreements then in effect, of a desire to change such percentage of deduction. On the basis of this agreement, individual agreements were subsequently entered into between the carriers and the various standard railroad labor organizations which were involved in the controversy.

On July 27, 1935, the conference committee of grand lodge officers, general chairmen and other accredited representatives of the standard railroad labor organizations, met in Montreal for the purpose of giving consideration to the

wage question. In view of the conditions as they then existed, it was decided that the time was not opportune to press this matter to a conclusion and, therefore, a sub-committee was appointed to keep in touch with the situation and to call a meeting of the conference committee when it was deemed desirable.

The conference committee in Montreal on December 9, 1935, adopted a resolution to open negotiations with the railway managements at once for the purpose of securing the restoration of the basic rates of pay.

A conference was arranged and the request made, but management took the position that the increase in net earnings at that time was sufficient only to absorb the restoration of the 5 per cent in wages made effective on May 1, 1935, and that earnings were insufficient to entertain a request for any further restoration of rates. Further conferences with the railway managements were conducted, but they declined to change their position. Consideration was given to the matter of submitting the dispute to a board of conciliation under the Industrial Disputes Act, but because of previous unfortunate experiences with such boards, it was decided instead to defer action until later, with the thought that earnings would continue to improve and thus place the conference committee in a better position to secure satisfactory results. A statement to this effect was later issued by the carriers. As the result of a second conference, the carriers on March 3, 1936, replied in part as follows to the employees' request for the restoration of basic rates of pay:

As was pointed out to the sub-committee of the general conference committee of general chairmen in our discussion of the matter with them, the operating revenues of the Canadian National Railways Lines in Canada and the Canadian Pacific Railway, for the year 1935 were still over \$45,000,000 below what they were the year 1931, at the end of which year the ten per cent deductions from compensation calculated on basic rates of pay were made effective. Attention was also directed to the fact that the cost to the Canadian National Railways Lines in Canada and the Canadian Pacific Railway of the restoration of five per cent of the deduction from compensation in 1935 alone amounted to more than the total increase in their operating revenues during the year.

This comparison of operating revenue, in the opinion of the Railways, makes it quite apparent that it is not possible for them, until there is a material improvement in earnings, to consider any further restoration of the deductions from compensation calculated on basic rates of pay as indicated.

Railroad earnings have shown a marked improvement in recent months. Plans are now under way to make a determined effort to secure the restoration of this wage deduction which has been so unjustly continued in effect on the Canadian Railway.

Railroad Retirement Act—As provided in the Railroad Retirement Act, approved on August 29, 1935, a special commission composed of three members of the Senate, designated by the President of the Senate, three members of the House of Representatives, designated by the Speaker of the House, and three members designated by the President of the United States, was authorized and directed to report through the President to Congress not later than January 1, 1936 "the results of a thorough investigation of all pertinent facts relating to a

retirement annuity system applicable by law to carriers by railroad," and make "recommendations for legislation, if any, as it may deem necessary to give effect to its conclusions."

On December 31, 1935, the Railroad Retirement Investigation Commission reported that owing to the lack of sufficient time it did not find it possible to make an investigation of the subjects referred to it as would enable it by January 1, 1936, to submit recommendations which would be of value to Congress, and hence the report was without recommendation.

While the Railroad Retirement Board proceeded with its task of compiling service records and otherwise preparing to grant pensions to those who were eligible and had applied, the carriers filed a bill of complaint in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia praying for an injunction against the Railroad Retirement Board, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to prevent the enforcement of the Railroad Retirement and Tax Acts on the grounds that they were unconstitutional.

The case was heard by Justice Jennings Bailey, who on June 26, 1936, handed down his opinion which declared the Tax Act invalid but did not affect the validity of the Retirement Act, except that carriers could not be compelled to furnish the Retirement Board with service records of the employees. The decree was issued on June 30 enjoining the Treasury Department from collecting the excise tax from the carriers, and the Railroad Retirement Board from compelling the carriers to compile and furnish the service records of the employees, although it was clearly stated that the Board could compile this information from the carriers' records at its own expense.

A careful study of the decision of the court revealed no legal obstacles to the payment of pensions under the Retirement Act, and after conferring with Treasury officials, the Board sent out the first pension checks on July 13, 1936, out of a fund of over forty-six million dollars appropriated by Congress and ear-marked in the Treasury for the payment of railroad pensions for a period of one year. Over a million dollars was also appropriated to care for the running expenses of the Board until July 1, 1937, thus assuring that the law will be administered until the validity of the Tax Act, which is being appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States by the government, can be determined. In the event that Justice Bailey's decision is affirmed, the government's legal advisers are of the opinion that a tax act can be drafted to provide the needed funds without presenting the legal objections to the present tax act.

Litigation Involving Railway Labor Act—As previously reported, the Federated Mechanical Trades have become involved in several suits involving the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act as amended, growing out of efforts to establish representation under that law. Most of these suits have been instituted by company unions in a desperate but futile effort to postpone their demise, while in other instances it has been necessary for the Railway Employees' Department to secure compliance with the Railway Labor Act through court action in cases where carriers have refused to recognize and deal with the organizations certified by the National Mediation Board, and with respect to the latter particularly, some important victories have been won.

On the Rock Island Railroad, the company union brought two suits in the United States District Court for the District of Kansas, one attacking the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act with respect to the provision prohibiting the check-off, and the other to prevent enforcement of the certification of the National Mediation Board designating the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers as the duly elected representative of the power plant employees and shop laborers. Temporary injunctions were granted in both instances. While no action has as yet been forthcoming with respect to the representation case of the Firemen and Oilers, Judge D. J. Hopkins, on March 27, 1936, rendered a decision in the check-off case in which he upheld the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act and dismissed the company union's bill of complaint, but granted them ninety days in which to perfect an appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

Unfortunately, these cases have been subjected to numerous and apparently unnecessary delays. It is hoped, however, that an early disposition of them will be made.

The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, because of its open preference for the company union, has caused considerable controversy and has greatly prolonged the effort of the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated organizations to secure recognition and an agreement by apparently cooperating with its company union in instituting long and tedious litigation.

An election was conducted by the National Mediation Board among employees in the mechanical department following invocation of its services by the Railway Employees' Department; but, because of alleged intimidation and coercion on the part of the carrier, the observer for the Railway Employees' Department declined to sign the mediator's report of the election, and so advised the Board, asking that it withhold its certification pending an investigation.

As the result of extensive hearings, the Board on February 19, 1935, ordered that a new election be held. Before the mediators could proceed, however, the company union filed a petition in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia on March 12, 1935, praying for an injunction to restrain the Board from holding another election and to certify the representatives shown to have been elected by the mediator's report. The carrier and the Railway Employees' Department were made party defendants, and it was prayed further that the company be compelled to deal with the company union, and that the department be restrained from interfering with his relationship. In filing its answer to the bill, the company admitted the allegations contained therein, and prayed that the injunction asked for by the company union be granted.

The case was heard by Justice O. R. Luhring, who, on April 25, 1935, rendered decision which in effect maintained the *status quo*, pending further hearings. The order for another election could not be carried out, but the organizations were permitted to carry on their organizing activities, while the company was required to deal with the company union pending the final decision of the court.

Further hearings were finally held before Chief Justice Alfred A. Wheat to whom the case was assigned. On December 24, 1935, he handed down his

opinion in which he held that an injunction should be granted restraining the National Mediation Board from "holding a new election in lieu of the election held in September, 1934," and requiring them "to issue the appropriate certificate called for as a result of the election then held."

In accordance with the order of the court, the Board on February 8, 1936, issued its certification effective September 24, 1934, designating the Atlantic Coast Line Shopmen's Association as the representative of the six mechanical crafts and the power plant employees who were voted as one group. The Railway Employees' Department was certified as the representative of the coach cleaners and shop laborers.

Having waged an aggressive organizing campaign in the meantime, the Railway Employees' Department invoked the services of the National Mediation Board on March 16, 1936, in a new representation dispute involving the six mechanical trades employees and the power plant employees, inasmuch as Justice Wheat's restraining order prohibited an election only "in lieu of the election held in September, 1934"; but, as the mediator was about to conduct an election to determine representation, the company union filed another suit and was granted a temporary injunction restraining the Board from conducting the election pending hearings.

The Railway Employees' Department also sought to negotiate a memorandum agreement taking over the existing agreements for the coach cleaners and shop laborers, but the company refused to enter into such an agreement and, instead, filed a motion to show cause why the certification of the Board for these classes of employees should not be set aside because it was alleged that neither of the contesting organizations received a majority of the eligible votes. Judge Peyton Gordon of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia granted a temporary injunction on April 3, 1936.

As the result of a suit filed by the Railway Employees' Department in the District Court of the United States for the Eastern Division of Virginia, following the refusal of the Virginian Railroad Company to recognize and treat with System Federation No. 40 of the Railway Employees' Department, certified by the National Mediation Board as the duly elected representative of the Mechanical Trades employees on that railroad, a decision was handed down by Judge Luther B. Way on July 24, 1935, holding that the carrier was violating the Railway Labor Act in refusing to recognize System Federation No. 40 and the right of their employees to choose representatives free of influence, coercion or intimidation. He stated that management had to confer with System Federation No. 40 and enjoined the carrier from threatening or coercing its employees, declaring that "the right of self-organization and representation in the matters of rates of pay, hours of labor and working conditions is a property right, the loss of which would result in irreparable damage to the complainants." With respect to the election conducted by the National Mediation Board, he also ruled that if a majority of the eligible voters participated in the election, a majority of those voting should decide the election, and on this basis upheld the certification of the Board for all crafts except the carmen, a majority of the eligible voters in this craft having failed to participate in the election.

The Virginian Railroad Company appealed this decision to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, which on June 18, 1936, rendered a unanimous opinion delivered by Judge Parker affirming the decision of the lower court.

A petition has been filed by the carrier for an appeal to the United States Supreme Court. Pending application for a writ of certiorari, the mandate of the court has been stayed for a period of sixty days.

A case very similar to the Virginian Case arose on the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railroad. As a result of an election, the National Mediation Board on November 22, 1935, certified the international organizations operating through the Railway Employees' Department as the representatives of the machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, electrical workers, the helpers and apprentices of the foregoing, power house employees and shop laborers employed by the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway; but the carrier refused to recognize the certification of the Board for all crafts except the electrical workers, taking the position that the Board did not have the right to permit furloughed employees to vote and that a majority of all of the eligible voters was necessary for election. Prompted by the carriers' blunt refusal to grant recognition or to negotiate an agreement, the Railway Employees' Department filed a bill of complaint with the United States District Court for the Middle District of Tennessee, Nashville Division, on April 20, 1936, asking for an injunction to restrain the company from intimidating the employees in the matter of election of representatives and to require the carrier to deal with the representatives designated by the National Mediation Board.

On June 12, 1936, Judge John J. Gore rendered an opinion upholding the certification of the Board and granted an injunction requiring the carrier to deal with the representatives designated in the certification. He declined to issue an injunction to prevent the carrier from intimidating or coercing the employees, however, on the grounds that there was no evidence of undue influence, etc., and, therefore, an injunction was not warranted; but he declared that if circumstances should subsequently require such an order, plaintiff could make application and it would be considered.

It is understood that the carrier will make an appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Some important principles in the Railway Labor Act are involved in these cases, and, therefore, a determined effort is being made to bring them to a successful conclusion.

National Coordination Agreement—The Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, which became law in July, 1933, was enacted for a period of one year, and was twice extended, once by proclamation of the President of the United States as provided in the law, and once by Congress, until June 16, 1936. Among other things, the law created the office of Federal Coordinator of Transportation, and directed him to make a study of the railroad problem and from time to time make recommendations to the President and to Congress.

Accordingly, the Federal Coordinator and his staff made extensive studies and investigations with the view of effecting the consolidation and unification

of railroads and their facilities. Although numerous reports were made containing recommendations looking to the consummation of this objective very little progress was made owing to the operation of the so-called labor protection provisions which were placed in the law at the request of the standard railroad labor organizations, as well as the active opposition displayed by numerous carriers and the railroad labor organizations against such recommendations.

As the date on which the law would expire approached, the organizations were confronted with the problem of continuing in one form or another the protection to employees in consolidations afforded by the law. It was apparent after almost three years of experience under the law that the authority vested in the Federal Coordinator to issue enforceable orders should be eliminated, so it was decided, for the time being at least, that the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act should be allowed to expire and, in lieu thereof, an effort made to secure an agreement from the carriers giving similar protection to employees affected by consolidations.

At the initial conference held in Chicago on January 6, 1936, between small committees representing the Association of American Railroads and the Railway Labor Executives Association respectively, the carriers' committee agreed to take the matter up with its association and advise the chief executives of the action taken.

Meanwhile, the Railway Labor Executives' Association adopted a program providing for either the negotiation of a national agreement with the carriers or the enactment of permanent legislation to protect the rights and interests of the employees following the expiration of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act. It was contemplated that in the event negotiations failed, legislation would be introduced to protect the interests of the employees. Steps were taken at once to perfect such legislation.

Under date of January 21, 1936, the chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association was advised that a committee supplemented by an advisory committee of railroad presidents had been selected by the American Association of Railroads to continue discussion of the subject. Conferences were arranged to that end.

Numerous conferences were held in New York City and Washington, D. C., during which the general subject was thoroughly discussed, and numerous proposals exchanged both with respect to a national coordination agreement and an "interim" or "stand-by" agreement. It developed, however, that the authority of the carriers' committee was limited, particularly with regard to the number of railroads for which the committee was authorized to speak and make a binding agreement. Moreover, there was a wide divergence as to the character and extent of protection to be provided. This resulted in the breaking off of negotiations, making it necessary for the Railway Labor Executives' Association to pursue the enactment of legislation instead.

A serious obstacle to successful negotiation was the issuance of a statement by the Federal Coordinator of Transportation on February 1, 1936, regarding proposed orders requiring the unification of railroad terminal facilities at

eleven points throughout the United States. Not only was it bad judgment on the part of a governmental agency to issue such a statement while negotiations on the subject were in progress, but in addition, the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act provided that before such orders could be issued the regional labor committees would be afforded a reasonable opportunity to present their views. Consequently, the necessity of protecting the employees' interests under the law required the attention of the conferees and resulted in delay and confusion in the conferences.

With the situation thus, the President of the United States addressed a letter to the chairmen of the respective committees on March 6, 1936, expressing the hope that an agreement would be reached in conference and that before they permitted their joint efforts to fail, they should confer with him. He also indicated that at his suggestion, the Federal Coordinator had agreed to defer the issuance of his proposed orders with respect to the unification of terminals pending further negotiations between the committees representing the employees and the carriers.

When conferences were resumed, no progress could be made because of the inability of the conferees to agree upon certain principles which should of necessity be included in any agreement reached, if the rights and interests of the employees were to be adequately protected. Therefore, in accordance with the President's request conference was arranged with him by the Railway Labor Executives' Association to discuss the situation. Owing to the interpretation placed on his letter of March 6, 1936, there was a feeling in some quarters that the President did not favor the legislation which was introduced as a substitute for the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act. In order to make his position clear a statement was issued from the White House, and confirmed by letter to the chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association under date of March 19, 1936, to the effect that while he had personally requested both sides to continue negotiations in an effort to reconcile their differences, he had indicated to Congressional leaders that any continuance of such negotiations should not be permitted to interfere with consideration of pending legislation bearing upon the subject of railroad consolidations.

As steps were taken to further the progress of such legislation before the Interstate Commerce Committees of both houses of Congress, after continued unsuccessful efforts had been made to compose their differences, a request was received from the carriers' committee, following a meeting of the Association of American Railroads in Chicago at which it was reported that authority had been granted them to negotiate to a conclusion on the subject of railroad consolidations, resulting in further conferences being held in Washington, D. C. After considerable discussion and the exchange of numerous proposals, consuming several weeks, an agreement was finally approved and signed by the representatives of the employees and the carriers on May 21, 1936.

All interpretations to the agreement were held in abeyance pending a conference to be held between the respective parties in ninety days, at which time all problems arising as to the application of the agreement would be taken up and uniform interpretations agreed upon.

Since the agreement was signed the following additional railroads have been made parties thereto under the provisions of Section 14:

The Union Depot Co., Columbus, Ohio
Buffalo Creek Railroad
Pittsburgh & West Virginia Railway Co.
Akron, Canton & Youngstown Railway Co.

This agreement speaks well for what can be accomplished through collective bargaining, and represents a real achievement in industrial statesmanship. It is unique in that the management and the employees of an entire industry have for the first time agreed upon the application of the principle that employees adversely affected by consolidations will be cared for adequately so that they will be no worse off as the result of such consolidations. With the present trend toward the consolidation of facilities and its accompanying hardships on the employees affected thereby, this is truly a worthy accomplishment, which may well serve as an example to secure similar protection for the employees in other industries.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Union Label Trades Department has accomplished some outstanding achievements in its efforts to create a demand for union label products and union services. There is more interest in the union label, shop card and working button at the present time than during any other period since the establishment of this department in 1909.

The effect of the activities of the Union Label Trades Department has been reflected in all labor unions and is being felt by the nation as a whole. This is due to the fact that in promoting the demand for union-made goods, a demand is created for merchandise made in the United States and Canada, or better known as American-made products.

The chief function of the Union Label Trades Department is to carry on an educational campaign for the promotion of the union label, shop card and button. Every channel of publicity has been utilized for this purpose by the department.

News releases, editorials, fillers and cartoons have been issued to the labor weeklies, monthly labor journals and other publications. Liberal space has been given for their display by the labor press. Other weekly and daily papers as well as farm journals have carried union label advertising.

Mats of all union labels, shop cards and buttons have also been furnished to labor newspapers and central labor bodies for the purpose of display advertising.

The demand of the general public for union-made goods and union services has also been increased through radio talks over the national networks and local broadcasting stations. Copies of these talks have been sent upon request to interested consumers.

It is estimated that over a million farmers have become interested and are now demanding the union label on their wearing apparel and other purchases.

Two new union labels were added to the department's directory during

the past year. They are the labels of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters. In addition, a new button has been added for The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America, and the re-affiliation of the Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada has been effected.

There has been a healthy growth of Union Label Leagues, which include in their membership the women buyers for the families of union members.

During the past year, the Union Label Trades Department, with the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, organized an international auxiliary to coordinate the women's auxiliaries of various unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and also the women's auxiliaries of the standard railway unions. Considerable progress has been made. A conference was called by the department in April of this year. The name of the affiliated women's groups is known as the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor, which starts with a membership of two million.

PUERTO RICO

On January, 1936, agreements between the agricultural and factory workers unions and the Sugar Producers Association and between the longshoremen unions and ship companies were renewed. These agreements bettered to a great degree the relationship between employers and employees, wages and conditions of employment.

The legislature in its last session held February, 1936, approved many legislative measures tending towards the betterment of social and economic conditions of the workingmen. To relieve the unemployment situation the legislature approved a \$6,000,000 public works program. The funds for this program will be obtained through the issuance of bonds to be redeemed by a tax on gasoline which normally amounts to \$1,500,000 a year.

The Widows Pension bill failed of enactment this year, but efforts will be continued towards the enactment of this measure.

A campaign of organization was carried on throughout the Island. Many public meetings were held and conferences for the education of workers conducted.

After many petitions from the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico and with the aid of the American Federation of Labor, a training center for workers' education teachers was established in Puerto Rico the latter part of last year under the Federal Workers' Education Division of the Relief Administration. The training center secured the cooperation of prominent educators, including members of the faculty of the University, and the work of training teachers was carried through.

The enthusiasm of the students was unusually great. Toward the end of this project and when teachers already trained were ready to start workers' education classes throughout the Island, the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration, which supplanted the FERA, did not provide funds to continue this educational work. Professors and students of the training center, feeling the great usefulness of this work in Puerto Rico, have given their services

voluntarily and established a temporary workers' education bureau under the Department of Labor, which was inaugurated by Commissioner of Labor, Mr. Prudencio Rivera Martinez, through a radio broadcast. The workers of Puerto Rico insisted that educational service should be included under the federal grant as has been done in the United States and they ask that the American Federation of Labor shall continue to aid towards this end.

The labor movement and a great majority of the people of Puerto Rico were greatly shocked by the introduction of a bill in Congress by Senator Millard Tydings intended to provide for holding a plebiscite for independence of the Island. The bill was introduced without consultation with its citizens, or the legislature or any officials of the Island.

Through the establishment of American institutions in Puerto Rico and the aid of the American Federation of Labor, the workers of Puerto Rico were able to secure guarantee for public assembly and the right to organize and exist. The workers firmly believe that under independence there is the possibility of reversion to old practices which would imply repression for labor unions and the masses of the people. Independence would spell economic ruin for the Puerto Ricans. The feeling for independence is confined to a very small group of people while the majority believe that the protection of and relationship with the United States have afforded the best opportunity for development and progress.

The workingmen of Puerto Rico, through the Free Federation of Workingmen, have always labored for a closer and permanent union with the aid of the American Federation of Labor. In the elections which will be held on November 3, 1936, the workers will go to the polls to elect not only men who have always defended our economic interests but also who firmly believe in Puerto Rico's permanent association with the United States.

The Puerto Rican workers have expressed their gratitude to the American Federation of Labor for the assistance that it has been given during the year. They have expressed the hope for continuation of that assistance, especially with regard to the extension of federal legislation to Puerto Rico with the purpose of bettering economic and social conditions of the people, such as the Social Security Law, and the permanent establishment of a workers' education center.

INVESTIGATION OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

By Resolution No. 154 of the Atlantic City convention, we were directed to make a thorough investigation of the charges publicly made that the American Federation of Teachers is controlled by those openly hostile to the American Federation of Labor. We duly appointed a committee to make this investigation. The committee was comprised of:

Vice President Bugniazet, President Frey of the Metal Trades Department, Secretary-Treasurer Burke, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

The committee held extensive hearings at which all parties interested were accorded every opportunity to be heard. The committee submitted a final report.

At the same time the committee stated that the case is not one to be considered by the American Federation of Labor but is a matter to be considered and acted upon entirely by the American Federation of Teachers itself. The committee obtained the facts in the case and presented these facts to your Executive Council. The action taken by the Executive Council in receiving and accepting the report was to recommend to the American Federation of Teachers that the charter of Teachers Local No. 5 in New York City should be revoked.

RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

In conformity with authority conferred upon the Executive Council by Section 8, Article IX, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council adopted the following rule for its guidance in dealing with emergencies and with administrative problems which may arise during the interim between conventions:

1. If any national or international union, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, violates any provision of the constitution or laws of the American Federation of Labor, or any order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued under and in pursuance of the constitution or laws of the American Federation of Labor, involving a breach of the contractual obligations assumed by said union in its charter from the American Federation of Labor, and if notice or charge of said breach of obligation or of violation of any of the provisions of the constitution or laws of the American Federation of Labor or of orders of the Executive Council issued thereunder and in pursuance thereof is filed with the Executive Council by any of its affiliated national or international unions, or by the Executive Council of its own motion, the national or international union so complained of or charged with wrong doing shall be notified by the President or the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor of such charges or notice of complaint, if in the judgment of the Executive Council such charges or complaints warrant further consideration and action, with direction to appear at a given date before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, or a committee of its members appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor for that purpose, and then and there to submit such evidence it desires in refutation of said charges or complaint. The Executive Council or a committee of its members appointed for that purpose shall also hear evidence in support of said charges or complaint.

After said hearing—or if said union defaults in its appearance after notice and opportunity to be heard—the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall then in executive session determine what step shall be taken, if the said union is held guilty of having breached its contractual obligations in its charter from the American Federation of Labor or laws of the American Federation or of orders of its Executive Council, issued thereunder and in pursuance thereof. In the event the Executive Council finds said union guilty, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps:

(a) Forgive said breach with or without conditions to be fulfilled by said union; (b) suspend said union from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize such union for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said union have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of

Labor should be severed, revoke its charter, but only upon instructions from or approved by a convention of the American Federation of Labor passed by a two-thirds vote ordering or approving the revocation of said charter.

2. State federations of labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adapt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any state federation of labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any state federation of labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such state federation of labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council in the manner provided for in Rule I, above for dealing with national and international unions.

3. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline any central labor union or any federal or local labor union, and where the President of the American Federation of Labor in pursuance of this authority has disciplined any central labor union, or federal or local labor union, and has suspended or expelled its officials, or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a *prima facie* case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

4. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of federal and of local labor unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation show that said federal or local labor union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council reports this rule to the convention as required by Section 8, Article IX.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

When the second session of the 74th Congress convened January 3, 1936, word went forth that only appropriation bills and legislation suggested by the Administration would be considered. For the first few months this program was followed. Frequently, recesses were taken from one to three days, but in the latter part of the session many bills were considered and passed.

Notwithstanding all the obstacles met, Labor made substantial progress. It secured the passage of twenty-three bills which were signed by the President, and one Senate resolution.

The Low Rent Housing Bill passed by the Senate, but was pigeon-holed in the Banking and Currency Committee of the House.

A Senate resolution, introduced by Senator LaFollette to investigate violations of the right of free speech and assemblage and undue interference with the right of Labor to organize and bargain collectively, was adopted after most startling testimony was submitted showing methods used to suppress the activities of Labor.

Victories were scored by the seamen in securing legislation providing that all licensed officers of vessels of the United States, including pilots, shall be

American citizens or completely naturalized. In two years 90 per cent of the crews of all other departments must be American citizens. Corporations that receive subsidies must incorporate in their contracts minimum manning and wage scales.

Legislation for the protection of the building trades on public works requires that such work shall come under the workmen's compensation laws of the states. This is not entirely satisfactory, however, as it does not provide for enforcement of state safety laws.

The prevailing rate of wages will be paid on all relief work hereafter and aliens who have entered the United States illegally are debarred from employment.

A number of hostile bills were defeated, among them an amendment to the Ashurst-Sumners Convict Labor Act. The Senate Committee on Judiciary decided after hearings were held that it was improper legislation and refused to report the measure to the Senate.

There was only one roll call on measures of interest to Labor. That was on the Wagner Housing Bill in the Senate.

Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition to the enactment of remedial legislation, Labor was successful in having the following laws enacted, and one Senate resolution adopted to investigate violations of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

1. Providing that all government contractors shall pay the prevailing rate of wages, work employees not more than eight hours a day and five days a week, with no child or convict labor to be employed, on all contracts entered into by any activity of the government.
2. Forbidding transportation in interstate commerce of professional strike breakers who would interfere with peaceful picketing.
3. Investigation ordered by the Senate of violations of the right of free speech and free assemblage and undue interference with the right of Labor to organize and bargain collectively.
4. Placing under state compensation laws all workers employed on public works.
5. Placing employees in the airplane industry under the Railway Labor Board.
6. Providing that all passenger vessels having accommodations for fifty or more passengers shall be equipped with automatic sprinkler systems.
7. Prevailing rate of wages to be paid on all relief work.
8. Forbidding the employment of aliens illegally in the United States on relief work.
9. Requiring all licensed officers on vessels of the United States to be citizens or completely naturalized. In three years 90 per cent of all other departments shall be citizens.
10. Shipping corporations that receive subsidies from the government must incorporate in their contracts minimum manning and wage scales and reasonable working conditions.
11. Granting facilities of Public Health Service to all seamen on government vessels not in military or naval establishments.
12. Appropriated \$12,000,000 for further development of vocational education.
13. Appropriation of \$1,425,000,000 for direct and work relief on useful projects.
14. Granted twenty-six days annual leave for government employees

which can be accumulated for succeeding years until it totals ninety days.

15. Sick leave for government employees of one and one-fourth days per month accumulative not to exceed ninety days.

16. Five-day week for employees of mail equipment shops at the same wages for five and one-half days.

17. Authorizing operations of stands in federal buildings by blind persons to enlarge their economic opportunities.

18. Granted additional \$50 a month to all government employees for services of attendants to those who are blind or totally disabled.

19. Limiting number of substitutes in postal service to one for each six regular employees.

20. Raised vocational schools in District of Columbia to rank of junior high schools.

21. Five-day week with no reduction in pay for those employees of Bureau of Engraving and Printing who were not included in the 1935 law.

22. Retirement Act for railroad employees of Alaska.

23. Repealing radio zone law for broadcasting stations which will benefit WCFL.

Government Contracts—S. 3055, passed by Congress and signed by the President, provided that after September 28, 1936, all specifications and contracts involving the purchase of \$10,000 or more of supplies, or loans or grants, will contain provisions that the prevailing rate of wages must be paid; employees must not work more than eight hours in any day or forty hours in any week, and boys under sixteen years of age and girls under eighteen years of age or convict labor, must not be employed. All work must be done in sanitary buildings and decent surroundings. Sweatshops and homework will be eliminated so far as these government contracts are concerned. Contracts can be canceled if any of these provisions are violated. Payments on contracts can be withheld when contractors engage in "kick-back" practices or other violations. Such payments shall be made to the Secretary of Labor who will return it to the defrauded workers.

The Comptroller General will prepare and distribute to every department making purchases a list of contractors who have violated any provision of the law and they will be debarred from further bidding for three years. The law makes it impossible for what are known as "bid brokers" to bid. Their plan is to submit low bids and then peddle the contracts to sub-contractors at prices that make the payment of decent wages impossible.

The law does not apply to construction work. The Davis-Bacon Act only applies to buildings. But there is much other construction work that does not come under that law. Every effort was made, but without success, to have the law cover all construction work.

The passage by Congress of the Walsh-Healey bill came only after persistent agitation. The Walsh bill passed the Senate in the first session of the 74th Congress. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House where it slumbered for many months. March 2 Representative Healey introduced a bill having the same purpose as the bill passed by the Senate. No action was taken on this measure for some weeks. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor were persistent in urging action. Members of the committee

were interviewed and fourteen of the twenty-five pledged themselves to vote to report the bill favorably.

The sub-committee to which the bill was referred also was not entirely in favor of the measure. After much pressure the sub-committee reported to the full Judiciary Committee. The latter on April 30 voted to lay the bill on the table by a vote of eleven to seven. This aroused the representatives of Labor who immediately began a persistent attack on the members of the committee to reconsider their action.

During consideration in Congress of the measure, the President of the American Federation of Labor several times called upon affiliated organizations throughout the country to appeal to their respective members of Congress to vote for the measure. This agitation was kept up until June 2, when the Judiciary Committee voted to report the Healey Bill favorably to the House. The bill was reported to the House favorably June 5 and was placed on the calendar. As days passed it was apparent that plans were being laid to see that the bill would not be passed. Strenuous efforts were made by the legislative representatives in Washington to have the measure considered. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor took the matter up with Speaker Bankhead and through his influence the bill was passed. Stringent penalties are provided for violations of the law.

Prior to the passage of the bill by the House of Representatives and after it reached the White House, the Navy Department and shipping interests entered strenuous objections. Representatives of every chiseling contractor furnishing supplies to the government also urged the President to refuse to sign the measure. However, the first act of President Roosevelt on his return to Washington, June 30, was to approve the measure.

While the law does not cover all contracts made with the government, it is believed that the benefits obtained will be so great that further amendments will be made in the future to include all construction work and reduce the amount of contracts from \$10,000 to a lower figure. The bill had the approval of the President of the United States who gave every aid in its passage.

Government Employees—Public No. 472 enacted by Congress provides that all civilian officers in the employ of the United States, wherever stationed by the government, or in the District of Columbia other than teachers and librarians of the public schools of the District of Columbia, and officers and members, but not the civilian personnel, of the police and fire departments of the District and other than officers and employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, shall be entitled to sick leave with pay regardless of their tenure.

Cumulative sick leave at the rate of one and one-quarter days per month shall be granted to the employees mentioned, the total accumulation not to exceed ninety days. Temporary employees, except those employed in construction work at hourly rates, shall be entitled to the same sick leave.

Public No. 471 provides vacations to government employees with the same exceptions as noted in the sick leave law. These employees are entitled to twenty-six days annual leave each calendar year, exclusive of Sundays and

holidays. The part not used in any year shall be accumulated for succeeding years until it totals not exceeding sixty days.

Public No. 641 provides that there shall be in the postal service not more than one classified substitute to six regular employees or fraction thereof, except in offices having fewer than six regular employees there may be one substitute carrier as well as one substitute in the motor vehicle service. The provision of the Act does not operate to furlough or dismiss any classified substitute.

Public No. 575 extends a forty-hour week to employees in the mail equipment shops with no reduction in pay. These employees were overlooked in the passage of the postal employees forty-hour week law.

Laborers, watchmen and messengers were also overlooked in the enactment of the forty-hour week law. The House passed H. R. 10850, which extended that benefit to the laborers, watchmen and messengers. Owing to the filibuster the bill failed in the Senate.

Protection for Government Workers—So many deaths were occurring among workmen on public works that Congress considered remedial legislation. Representative Welch of California introduced a bill in the House which provided more adequate protection to workmen on projects wherever situated belonging to the United States, by granting to the several states jurisdiction to enforce their state workmen's compensation, safety and insurance laws. This bill passed the House, but in the Senate the words "safety and insurance" were stricken out.

Many deaths had occurred in years gone by because state laws could not be enforced. One of these laws particularly referred to the erection of a skeleton of a building by iron workers. Some states require that a floor be laid in each story as fast as the structure is erected. Failure to include the safety provisions of state laws is a very grievous mistake. The Executive Council will endeavor in the next session of Congress to have the present law adequately amended.

As only a few states have safety laws that would protect the workers on government projects, therefore, it would be necessary that Congress itself enact safety legislation.

Low Cost Housing—Bills were introduced in Congress appropriating funds to aid in the construction of low rent houses. S. 4424 by Senator Wagner passed the Senate. When it reached the House the bill was referred to the Banking and Currency Committee where a companion bill had been introduced by Representative Ellenbogen known as H. R. 12164. Every effort was made to have the committee act on the measure but it refused to give it consideration. Therefore, the measure failed of passage.

The bills had for their purpose the elimination of unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions, for the development of decent, safe and sanitary dwellings for families of low incomes and for the reduction of unemployment and the stimulation of business activity. The Senate Committee on Education and Labor, which considered the Wagner Bill, reported to the Senate that "even before the depression commenced over 10,000,000 families in America or more than 40,000,000 people were subjected to housing conditions that did not adequately protect their health and safety."

Both bills provided for the creation of a United States Housing Authority of five members to develop, in cooperation with local authorities, low rent housing projects for the benefit of persons whose incomes are below the level that would enable them to buy or rent houses built under the usual procedure of private enterprise.

According to a governmental survey of rural housing made in 1935, it was discovered that in over half of the American states four out of five of the rural homes had no running water and three out of four neither gas nor electricity.

Safety at Sea—One of the most needed and practical laws ever enacted by Congress was that providing for equipping all passenger vessels having state-room accommodations for fifty or more passengers with automatic sprinkler systems.

This bill passed the Senate July 29, 1935, but it was not until June 15, 1936, that the House approved the measure. These sprinkler systems must protect all enclosed portions of such vessels accessible to passengers or crews.

While this legislation has been sought for several years, it was not brought home to the members of Congress until the Morro Castle burned at sea. The fact that a sprinkler system would have saved every life on that boat awakened the members of Congress to the necessity for the passage of S. 2127, which was immediately approved by the President.

The Executive Council believes the enforcement of this Act will save many lives. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor were credited with securing the enactment of the legislation with the assistance of Speaker Bankhead.

Seamen's Legislation—After many years of seeking legislation to protect American seamen several laws were enacted of the greatest importance.

H. R. 8597 provides that on all vessels of the United States 75 per cent of the crew, exclusive of licensed officers, shall be citizens of the United States, native born, or completely naturalized. Up to the enactment of this law American ships not receiving a subsidy could employ as many aliens as they pleased, except licensed officers.

Coal passers and sailors are included in the three-watch system at sea and all hands are given the eight-hour day in port. The nine-hour day prevailed in port heretofore. A continuous discharge-book, as sponsored for several years by Senator LaFollette at the request of the Seamen's International Union of America, furnishes much needed certified records of service. No entry of character or behavior marks will be permitted and, therefore, it cannot be used for black-listing purposes. Shipowners are prohibited from issuing such books as they have done heretofore. The law provides for regular inspection of crew quarters as to their sanitary condition.

H. R. 8555, the Ship Subsidy Bill, increases the citizenship requirements for crews and provides minimum manning and wage standards for vessels receiving government aid. A maritime commission of five members will administer the Act. It will take over the functions of the United States Shipping Board, Merchant Fleet Corporation and various other functions now vested in the Department of Commerce. It will investigate the employment and wage conditions

of American seamen and incorporate in ship subsidy contracts minimum manning and wage scales and reasonable working conditions for all officers and crews employed on all types of vessels receiving an operating differential subsidy.

On cargo vessels all members of the crew must be citizens. On passenger vessels in the first year 80 per cent of the crew, exclusive of officers, must be citizens. For the next two years there will be an annual increase of 5 per cent until the new maximum of 90 per cent has been reached. The previous law required only 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of the crew to be citizens. Non-citizens who have declared their intention may be employed only in the steward department on passenger vessels and must have been legally admitted to the United States for permanent residence. This will prevent the employment of orientals on subsidized ships, since persons ineligible to citizenship cannot be legally admitted to the United States for permanent residence.

Public No. 483 extends to seamen on government vessels not in military or naval establishments the facilities of the Public Health Service. This applies to seamen on all vessels of more than five tons' burden and on state school ships. They will be entitled to medical relief by the Public Health Service in the same manner and to the same extent as seamen employees on registered, enrolled and licensed vessels are entitled.

Spies and Thugs—S. Res. 266, by Senator LaFollette, to investigate violations of the right of free speech and assembly and undue interference with the right of Labor to organize and bargain collectively, was passed by the Senate. Hearings were held on the resolution by the Committee on Education and Labor which heard testimony given by representatives of the National Labor Relations Board, international labor organizations and religious denominations. President Green testified as to the necessity of the investigation. The hearings supplied sufficient proof of violations of civil liberties guaranteed by the constitution and of undue interference with the rights of Labor as defined in the National Labor Relations Act.

The report of the committee said:

Wage-earners attempting to take advantage of their legal right to organize find that to do so imperils their right to peaceable assembly, to freedom of speech, and to vote, no less than to keep their jobs. There is significance in the considered findings of the National Labor Relations Board that the benefits, either of the present or of any other labor relations law are unlikely to reach workingmen as long as government leaves untouched certain organized businesses which engage in practices forbidden by the Wagner Act and resorted to since its enactment. This situation is the cause of widespread resentment upon the part of workers.

Administrators of the National Labor Relations Act showed that that law "was being defeated by employers' practices of industrial espionage, and especially by their use of so-called labor detectives agencies; that these practices are being defended in public hearings and bolstered by obstructive legalistic maneuvers in courts not prescribed in the act. Public records show the close organizational connections between professional spy and strike-breaking agencies, plant munitioning concerns and a league of lawyers sponsoring concerted obstructiveness in courts."

The purpose of the investigation is to acquire knowledge of the full extent to which the right of Labor to organize as established is being denied to the extent that civil liberties are interfered with.

Senator LaFollette's subcommittee began its investigation shortly after enactment of the bill. Voluminous data gathered by the American Federation of Labor through questionnaires circulated among all affiliated organizations in December, 1935, and from numerous supplementary reports was made available to the Committee. In connection with two hearings the Committee held in August and in the latter part of September additional data was furnished making it possible for the agents of the Committee to obtain much valuable information from Federation representatives in several important manufacturing centers.

Immigration—Congress refused to enact the Kerr-Coolidge Bill into law which provided that two thousand eight hundred and sixty-two immigrants who had entered the country illegally would be given a permanent resident status. This bill provided that not only could this number of illegal entrants remain here but, in addition, power and authority were conferred upon the Secretary of Labor to permit additional aliens who might come here illegally to remain as permanent residents.

We opposed this bill in its original form. During conferences, however, an agreement was reached which was reasonably satisfactory to the American Federation of Labor upon the disputed provisions of the bill. The bill failed of passage, however.

Efforts were then made to secure the adoption of a resolution permitting these illegal entrants to remain in the United States until April 7, 1937. This resolution failed to pass. Under our nation's deportation laws no time is fixed for the deporting of persons who have entered the United States in violation of our immigration statutes.

It has been stated that the Kerr-Coolidge Bill, if enacted into law, would provide for the deportation of twenty thousand persons who were classified as state narcotic addicts and aliens who were convicted of carrying concealed weapons. This bill will, no doubt, be introduced at the next session of Congress.

Relief Legislation—Congress appropriated \$1,425,000,000 to be used in the discretion and under the direction of the President to provide direct relief and work relief on useful projects. The appropriations are provided as follows:

Highways, roads and streets.....	\$413,250,000
Public buildings.....	156,750,000
Parks and other recreational facilities including buildings therein	156,750,000
Public utilities	171,000,000
Flood control and other conservation.....	128,250,000
Professional, education and clerical persons.....	85,500,000
Women's projects	85,500,000
Miscellaneous work	71,250,000
National Youth Administration.....	71,250,000
Rural rehabilitation, loans for relief to farmers and livestock growers.....	85,500,000

All activities of the government having supervision of projects for which funds from the foregoing appropriation are made available, shall not knowingly employ aliens illegally within the limits of the United States. The law also provides that the pay for persons engaged upon projects under the foregoing appropriation shall be not less than the prevailing rates of pay for work of a similar nature as determined by the Works Progress Administration with the approval of the President.

Peaceable Picketing Protected—Congress in passing S. 2039 did more to prevent disturbances in labor disputes than could be accomplished in any other way. The law provides that whoever shall knowingly transport, or cause to be transported in interstate or foreign commerce, any person with intent to employ such person to obstruct or interfere with the right of peaceful picketing during any labor controversy affecting wages, hours, or conditions of labor, or the right of organization for the purpose of collective bargaining, shall be deemed guilty of a felony and shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both in the discretion of the court.

According to the evidence submitted to the Committees on the Judiciary of both Houses, strike-breaking agencies have been the cause of riots and the deaths of many strikers. It appears that wherever there is peaceful picketing the scene changes when spies and thugs arrive on the scene.

According to the report of the Committee on Education and Labor to the Senate these organizations sometimes drum up business by fomenting industrial disorder where none exists in order to secure a contract to suppress it. Disputes can be settled, the report states, more amicably without the injection of professional thugs from the outside in an unfortunate situation.

Lobby Legislation—The word "principally" caused the defeat of H. R. 11663 known as the "lobby bill." For several months a special committee had investigated lobbies and it was found that great sums of money have been used to defeat measures introduced in Congress. In one instance nearly \$1,000,000 was admitted to have been used by one man in fighting what is known as the "death sentence" in the holding company bill. The sentiment for a stringent lobby bill was very great.

Section 6 provided that the provisions of the Act applied to any person or group of persons who, by themselves or through any agent or employee or other person in any manner whatsoever, directly or indirectly, solicit, collect or receive anything of value to be used "principally" to aid, or the principal purpose of which person is to aid in the enactment or defeat of any legislation or appropriation by Congress of any existing law or adoption or defeat of any amendment to the Constitution of the United States, or to influence the election or defeat of any candidate for elective federal office.

Both Houses had passed lobby bills. After they were referred to a conference committee, a new bill was written. In explaining the bill on the floor, the Conference Committee stated that the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and similar organizations would not be affected as the funds they collected were not "principally" to carry out the

purposes forbidden in the proposed law. The attention of the Committee was then called to the fact that the utilities did not collect funds to be used "principally" to carry out the acts forbidden in the bill.

This created so much opposition to the bill that it was defeated by a vote of 265 to 77.

Alaskan Railroad Employees—S. 2293 for the retirement of the employees of the Alaska Railroad Territory became a law. The provisions of the Act are similar to the retirement legislation for the Canal Zone employees. Any employee to whom the Act applies who shall have attained the age of fifty-five years and rendered at least twenty-five years of service, of which not less than fifteen years shall have been rendered in the Territory of Alaska, may voluntarily retire on an annuity equivalent in value to the present worth of a deferred annuity, beginning at the age that the employee would otherwise become eligible for retirement. The present worth of said deferred annuity shall be determined on the basis of the American Experience Table of Mortality and an interest rate of 4 per cent compounded annually.

Any employee attaining the age of fifty-five years and rendered at least thirty years service in the Territory may voluntarily retire on an annuity. Owing to the fact that employees of the government in Alaska and on the Canal Zone work under conditions far more onerous than in the United States, the annuities are higher than in the United States.

When the postal employees' forty hour week law was enacted it was supposed to include the Alaska railroad workers, but Comptroller McCarl ruled otherwise. Bills were on the calendar in Congress to remedy this defect, but adjournment prevented their passage.

Aid for the Blind—H. R. 4688, passed by Congress and signed by the President, authorizes the operation of stands in federal buildings by blind persons to enlarge their economic opportunities.

Another law was enacted by Congress providing that injured employees awarded compensation for total disability for injuries are entitled to an additional sum of not more than \$50 per month for the services of an attendant necessary if the employee is totally blind.

It also provides for a similar amount for employees who have lost both hands or feet, or who are paralyzed and unable to walk, or by reason of other total disability which actually renders them so helpless as to require constant attendance.

Filipinos' Act—In 1935 Congress enacted a law providing for the return of Filipinos to the Philippine Islands at the expense of the government. It was said that 30,000 were anxious to return to their homes. The second session of the 74th Congress extended this benefit until December 1, 1937.

Radio Change—Section 302 of the Radio Act of 1934, providing for dividing the United States into zones for licensing broadcasting stations, was repealed by Congress. The Radio Communications Commission is authorized to make such distribution of licenses, frequencies, hours of operation, and of power among the several states and communities as will be fair and equal. Owing to the fact

that in some zones there were less than the number provided by the law, it was considered that it should be repealed. The change will be of great benefit to the listeners of WCFL broadcasts as it will give WCFL a 50,000 watt station to permit its service to reach the entire United States. The American Federation of Labor supported the change.

Teachers' Salary Act—Public No. 496, approved April 10, 1936, raised the trade or vocational school in the District of Columbia from the present elementary school level to the rank of junior high schools as to salary schedule.

The Board of Education is authorized and empowered to establish occupational schools on the elementary school level for pupils not prepared to pursue vocational courses in the trade or vocational schools; and also to carry on trade or vocational courses on the senior high school level or in senior high schools.

Technological Unemployment—S. Res. 241, by Senator Hatch, provided for an investigation of the number of persons unemployed by reason of the use of labor saving devices, mechanical and otherwise, in operation in the United States. The unemployment relief situation was also to be investigated. The object of the investigation was to determine which laws are most likely to protect labor. Senator Hatch introduced the bill after a conference with President Green who explained the necessity for the measure.

Members of Congress are taking an interest in this question. Representative Sumners of Texas on May 6 called attention to the enormous number of labor saving devices being invented continually. He read a letter which he had written to Representative Sirovich, Chairman of the Committee on Patents, suggesting the possible advisability of suspending for the present patents for labor saving devices. In his talk Mr. Sumners said:

This is a practical matter. Government is a practical thing. With the number of unemployed which now obtain in this country, is it not a thing worthy of our consideration whether the government should not, for the present, discontinue granting patents for labor-saving devices; discontinue offering the inducement of a monopoly of seventeen years in the right to use to anyone who will invent a machine that will put more people out of work? This is a practical proposition.

Many suggestions have been made to tax labor-saving machinery with the expectation of minimizing its use. This method, however, has never received sufficient support.

Representative Palmisano introduced a bill (H. Res. 49) in the House in the first session of the 74th Congress. Hearings were held and a representative of the American Federation of Labor testified as to the necessity for legislation that would meet the issue.

Textile Industry—H. R. 12285 to rehabilitate and stabilize conditions in the textile industry of the United States; to prevent unemployment and to provide minimum wages, maximum hours and other conditions of employment, failed of passage. Members of Congress did not believe that it would be declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court. Therefore, it was impossible to have any action taken.

Vocational Education—Congress appropriated \$12,000,000 for the further development of vocational education in the several states and territories. The several states and territories are required to match by state or local funds, or both, 50 per cent of the appropriations authorized until June 30, 1942. After that the percentage shall be increased 10 per cent each year until 1946, and annually thereafter until it becomes 100 per cent.

While the American Federation of Labor favored the appropriation, they also contended that the officials who administered the act were not carrying out its provisions. Complaint was made to the Commissioner of Education who stated that none of the funds would be used to teach strike-breakers or defeat in any way the policy outlined in the Smith-Hughes Act.

Beet Field Workers—S. 4413, by Senator Costigan, was a bill to protect the welfare of domestic producers and processors of sugar beets and sugar cane, and domestic consumers of sugar. Section 202 provided for grants to tenants, adherent planters and share croppers under certain conditions. Section 203 fixes the hours at which children shall be worked. As it is of great importance, that part of the section referred to is herewith quoted:

SEC. 203. The payment authorized by section 202 may be conditioned upon * * * the producer not employing, or suffering or permitting the employment, by any other person, directly or indirectly, in the production, cultivation, or harvesting of sugar beets or sugarcane on his farm, of any child under the age of fourteen years, except a member of his own immediate family, whether for gain to such child or any other person, and the producer not employing or permitting such employment of a child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years, inclusive, except a member of his immediate family, for a longer period than eight hours each day, *except students enrolled in vocational and agricultural classes in the public schools, where the directed and supervised practice work on sugarcane plantations or sugar-beet farms is done with and under the direction of vocational agricultural teachers employed by the State or any political subdivision thereof* (the word "State" being inclusive of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands); (c) the payment of minimum wages by producers to workers, the number of working hours, and, where necessary, the time and method of payment of wages, in connection with the production, cultivation, or harvesting of sugar beets or sugarcane; (d) the submission to the Secretary of Labor of any labor dispute involving the producer in connection with the production, cultivation, or harvesting of sugar beets or sugarcane, when any such dispute has been presented to the Secretary by the producer, or any other person and, after the Secretary has determined to adjudicate such dispute, the abiding by the decision of the Secretary with respect to such labor dispute; (e) the producer not reducing the number or area of sharecroppers, adherent planters, or tenants.

Objection has been raised to that portion of the section italicized. Another fault found with the section is that no limit is fixed to the age of a child who is a member of the producers own immediate family.

Education—S. 4793, by Senator Harrison, and H. R. 13021, by Representative Fletcher, provide an appropriation of \$100,000,000 to assist the states and territories in providing more effective programs of public education. The many

investigations that have been in progress during the past year show the alarming number of illiterates in our country.

It is well known that before the depression there were thousands of rural schools without sufficient funds to operate. After the depression, according to Senator Harrison, over one hundred thousand schools attended by over three million children were forced into a practical state of bankruptcy. "School terms have been shortened," he said, "until in whole states the average is not more than six months per year and high schools have been closed on a tuition basis thus barring the poor. Besides, during the depression, school districts have increased their indebtedness by \$1,000,000,000 in order to keep going and to provide for increasing enrollments."

The Executive Council, appreciating the conditions surrounding the education of our children, believes that the federal government should give whatever aid is possible to the states in order that not a single child shall be prevented from securing an education. The bills will be re-introduced in the next Congress and every support possible will be given for their passage.

The federal funds will be apportioned annually to the several states and territories to be used by them for the improvement of the public schools in the manner prescribed by their respective legislatures. The amounts appropriated will be apportioned among the states and territories in the proportion which the number of their inhabitants aged five to twenty years bears to the total number of inhabitants of those ages.

Silicosis—The fact that four hundred and seventy-six men died and fifteen hundred others are approaching death from silicosis contracted in constructing the Hawks Nest Tunnel at Gauley Bridge, West Virginia, has aroused the country. It has also brought to light the number of deaths from this malady. Silicosis has been a dreaded foe of all underground workers. It is an occupational disease. It creates a form of tuberculosis by the inhalation of silica and dust containing parts of silica which is a quartz crystal.

While the deaths had been accumulating for several years at the Hawks Nest Tunnel, they were not made known until early this year. It was then found that many deaths were occurring throughout the United States wherever persons were engaged in underground work.

The American Federation of Labor has called upon all state federations of labor to urge the legislatures to include compensation for occupational diseases in compensation laws where they are not already incorporated. A victim of silicosis in Illinois obtained a \$20,000 verdict in a damage suit, but the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. The Ohio Supreme Court also refused payment of compensation to a victim of silicosis because it was not included in the list of occupational diseases.

A resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives calling for the appointment of a Congressional committee to ascertain the facts relating to the health of workers employed in the construction and maintenance of public utilities. An investigation of the Hawks Nest Tunnel tragedy was made but the contractors who were responsible refused to appear and testify. The object

of the investigation was to obtain information that would aid in securing state laws providing that silicosis is an occupational disease.

Two important bills were passed by the New York legislature. One of them appropriated \$100,000 to aid the State Labor Department in the prevention of silicosis and other dust diseases. The other appropriated \$50,000 over a five-year period, beginning July 1, to study control and prevention of silicosis and other diseases contracted by inhaling dust. The bills were signed by the governor.

Air Line Pilots—The Air Line Pilots' Association secured a tremendous victory in having all the provisions except Section 3 of the Railway Labor Act extended to cover every common carrier by air engaged in interstate and foreign commerce, and every carrier by air transporting mail for or under contract with the United States government. It also applies to every air pilot or other person who performs any work as an employee or subordinate official of such carrier or carriers.

Railroad Consolidation—While Congress was considering a bill to protect railroad employees in the plan to consolidate railroads, an agreement was reached between employees' organizations and railroad officials that would solve the problem.

During the past sixteen years the number of railroad employees has decreased about 50 per cent. Merging of certain railroads would add to the number of railroad workers unemployed. The consolidations would cause the removal of division points or their abandonment. These division points have been in existence for many years. Railroad workers have bought homes and established themselves permanently in them. The terrible suffering that would come from abolishing these division points had aroused the railroad workers and they had a measure introduced in Congress known as the Wheeler-Crosser bill. The bill provided that if the number of employees previously required be reduced as a result of the consolidation, provisions should be made to provide for those displaced in comparable employment, under no less favorable conditions of employment, or to provide a fair and just dismissal compensation which shall equal at least two-thirds of the earnings to be anticipated for one year of continued service until they were re-employed. For those eligible for retirement an adequate pension was to be provided. The legislation was made unnecessary by the agreement which is further discussed in the section of this report entitled, "Railway Employees Department."

Convict Labor Legislation—Twenty-two states have enacted legislation for the protection of free labor from the competition of convict labor. The last state to act was Louisiana. In those states no convict made goods, wares or merchandise produced or mined in the United States can be sold on the open market. The Hawes-Cooper Act divests state prison made products of their interstate character and when such goods are shipped into a state, the laws of that state govern. This law was declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

The Ashurst-Summers Convict Labor Act is supplementary legislation to more thoroughly enforce the Hawes-Cooper Act. It provides that convict made goods

shipped in interstate commerce must bear a label upon the container on which is printed the name of the prison where the articles were produced and to whom it is consigned. The object of this law is to prohibit carriers from accepting prison made products to be delivered in the twenty-two states that have adopted the state-use system.

It is the purpose and intention of the Executive Council to examine all proposed legislation relating to the manufacture, shipment and sale of convict made goods, to consider all facts and information, legal, social and economic, bearing upon such proposed legislation and to take such action in connection therewith as may seem necessary in order to protect the interests of free labor from competition of goods manufactured by convict labor.

The Executive Council accepts and regards the enactment of legislation providing for the state-use system only, this to be supplemented by the enactment of the Hawes-Cooper Act in the different states, as the real solution of the problem. If all the states can be prevailed upon to pass a state-use system act, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of convict made goods in competition with free labor and confining the distribution and use of convict made goods to state use only, the sale of convict made goods in competition with free labor within the state would be prohibited. If such state-use legislation could then be supplemented by the enactment of the Hawes-Cooper Act, each state could then prevent the shipment and sale of convict made goods within the state which were manufactured in other states and shipped in interstate commerce.

The following states prohibit the sale on the open market of prison made products, either manufactured in those states or shipped from other states as provided in the Hawes-Cooper Act:

Arizona	Michigan	Ohio
California	Montana	Oregon
Colorado	Nebraska	Pennsylvania
Idaho	New Hampshire	Rhode Island
Illinois	New Jersey	Texas
Kansas	New York	Utah
Louisiana	North Carolina	Washington
Massachusetts		

In conformity with actions taken by conventions of the American Federation of Labor, official communications have been addressed to the officers of state federations of labor in the different states where the state-use system has not been adopted, urging them to draft and sponsor legislation prohibiting the production and sale of convict made goods in competition with goods manufactured by free labor.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

During the past few years a number of governmental agencies have been authorized and developed to perform functions most fundamentally affecting the lives and relations of wage-earners. Some of these agencies are administered independently of the major administrative departments, while others are under departments whose major purpose is not the promotion of the welfare of Labor

and whose staff, therefore, is not selected for understanding of labor problems and philosophy.

There is one department in the federal government which was created to be the agency through which Labor should be fittingly and adequately represented and whose guiding fundamental precepts and practices should be based upon Labor's decisions as to what constitutes its best interests. We, therefore, hold that in the reorganization of governmental functions, now under consideration, those agencies which administer rights of Labor or matters which primarily concern labor welfare, should be situated in the Department of Labor. This is the agency through which Labor is given voice and representation in those matters with which the President and his cabinet must deal. It is the duty and the privilege of the organized labor movement to recommend policies for labor issues and to insist that the most constructive methods be adopted.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

Forty-three state legislatures will meet in January. It is hoped that twelve of them will ratify the amendment and make it a part of the Constitution of the United States. Only twelve legislatures met in 1936. None of them had ratified the amendment.

Letters were sent to all state federations of labor urging that everything possible be done to have the Child Labor Amendment considered by the legislatures. In Louisiana the amendment was defeated by a trick. A member of the house entered objections to ratification because the strawberry season was going on and if the amendment was ratified it would affect the gathering of the strawberries. Although ratification of the Child Labor Amendment would not have affected the gathering of the berries, still it accomplished its purpose in defeating ratification.

Every influence was brought to bear by the governor of New York and the officers of the New York State Federation of Labor to ratify the amendment. Resolutions were introduced in both houses and referred to the judiciary committees. Public hearings were held on the bill in which representatives of all labor organizations in the state took part. President Green sent a personal letter to every member of the legislature urging ratification. The governor not only urged ratification in his annual message to the legislature but he sent a special message. The committees in charge of the bill refused to report it favorably. The legislature, however, increased the age at which persons could engage in gainful occupations from fourteen to sixteen years.

Some encouragement came from Texas where the democratic convention placed in its platform a plank favoring ratification of the amendment. It is believed that the next Texas legislature will take definite action.

After the primaries in the several states President Green sent a letter to all state federations of labor urging that a questionnaire be submitted to the candidates for the legislatures which would show their attitude towards the amendment. It is believed that these questionnaires will have a good effect and that in the next sessions of the forty-three legislatures twelve of them will vote for ratification.

The states that have not ratified are as follows:

Alabama	Kentucky	Nebraska	South Carolina
Connecticut	Louisiana	Nevada	South Dakota
Delaware	Maryland	New Mexico	Tennessee
Florida	Massachusetts	New York	Texas
Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	Vermont
Kansas	Missouri	Rhode Island	Virginia

The plan of questioning candidates for the legislatures was proposed by the Executive Council in its report to the 1935 convention. It was believed that if this plan were followed in every state where the amendment has not been ratified, success would be certain.

In May last the American Institute of Public Opinion conducted a nationwide poll of the Child Labor Amendment. The poll revealed that by a vote of approximately 6 to 4 the American people are in favor of the ratification of the amendment. Sixty-one per cent voted "yes," and 39 per cent voted "no." The polls showed that 63 per cent of the population of New York were in favor of the amendment, 69 per cent in Nevada, 68 per cent in Delaware and 64 per cent in Texas.

The Executive Council urges every labor organization in the states where the amendment has not been ratified to write letters to the members of the legislatures after they meet and insist upon consideration of the amendment.

There is no doubt but that if the questioning of candidates before election is carried out in every respect and members of the legislature are called upon after the sessions meet to ratify the amendment, the necessary twelve states will be added to the twenty-four that have given approval, thus making the amendment a part of the constitution of the United States.

One of the objections raised against the amendment is that it would affect children of farmers. This argument was shattered by the American Farm Bureau Federation which, at its convention in Chicago, adopted the following:

We approve the pending Child Labor Amendment to the federal constitution and request State Farm Bureau Federations to give it serious and sympathetic consideration.

An organization calling itself the "Farmers' States Rights League" has flooded the rural regions and small towns with propaganda charging that the amendment is aimed at the farmers. The action of the American Farm Bureau Federation should lay this claim to its final rest.

MINIMUM WAGE LAW

June 1 the Supreme Court of the United States declared the New York minimum wage law for women and minors unconstitutional. October 12, by the same vote, 5 to 4, the Supreme Court refused a rehearing. Justice Butler, who delivered the opinion, held that the principles of law involved had been established by the court in 1923 when a District of Columbia minimum wage law was held invalid by a 6 to 3 ruling.

At the same time the court granted a review of the Washington state mini-

imum wage law which is very similar to the New York statute which was declared unconstitutional. The Washington law was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of that state. New York was joined by Massachusetts, Illinois and Washington in appealing for the rehearing. The appeal was refused.

Three weeks after the Supreme Court declared the New York law unconstitutional, Massachusetts amended its minimum wage law by declaring:

Oppressive and unreasonable minimum wages for women and minors seriously impaired their health, lowered their morale, compelled public contributions to enable them to exist, and seriously threatened the stability of industry by creating unrest among the affected employees.

Another state that has a similar law to that declared unconstitutional is New Jersey. This law was enacted in 1933. Since then it has not been enforced until this year when an advisory council of twelve members met to provide for enforcement. The State Labor Commissioner declared that because of the decision of the Supreme Court, New Jersey State would proceed cautiously in enforcing the measure.

Until a decision is made as to the constitutionality of the state of Washington law, the future of such legislation is problematical. Fifteen states have minimum wage laws as follows:

California	Minnesota	Oregon
Colorado	New Hampshire	South Dakota
Connecticut	New Jersey	Utah
Illinois	North Dakota	Washington
Massachusetts	Ohio	Wisconsin

In addition to New Jersey, the Colorado and Utah laws have remained inoperative through lack of appropriations. In all states but one the minimum wage laws are applicable to women and minors of both sexes, though in Minnesota the law was held unconstitutional in its application to adult women and is in effect in respect only to minors.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

South Carolina has enacted a workmen's compensation law, which leaves only two states, Arkansas and Mississippi, which have not passed this character of social justice legislation. In conformity with the action of the 1935 convention, national and international unions having locals in those two states were requested to urge their respective locals to give every aid in securing this legislation.

Most interesting in present day developments in this field is the gradual extension of coverage to occupational diseases. Sixteen states now compensate for some occupational diseases. Those which have coverage for all are California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, North Dakota, and Wisconsin. Rhode Island compensates for thirty diseases, Minnesota for twenty-three, North Carolina for twenty-five, Ohio for twenty-one, and New Jersey for thirteen. Those states which compensate for silicosis are California, Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

One of the greatest needs at the present time is to obtain complete coverage

of occupational diseases under workmen's compensation laws and to use this as a lever for tightening up safety regulations.

In preparing legislation on occupational disease insurance those who are representing the interests of Labor must be on the alert for a number of possibilities. Insurance against occupational disease hazards will, it is anticipated, lead to an insistence on the part of employers and insurance companies that employees submit to physical examinations both preceding and during employment, whether or not this is written into the law. The American Federation of Labor contends that this legislation, protective in purpose, must not be allowed to become a menace to the job security of those now employed and those seeking employment. It is essential that medical examinations, where necessary to safeguard the health of the worker, be carried out by strictly impartial physicians.

Furthermore, it is important that insurance against occupational disease be accompanied by fact-finding studies whose purpose is to discover means of reducing the incidence of the disease.

Industrial hygiene units have been set up, either in the Department of Health or in the Department of Labor, in fifteen states, financed in part with social security funds. These units are equipped to make studies of occupational disease hazards, and are created for the purpose of assisting labor departments in discovering and correcting dangerous conditions in industry. We urge that such units be set up in the remaining states and that wherever possible they be located under the jurisdiction of the departments of labor. In general, the American Federation of Labor urges increased appropriations to labor departments and health departments for this purpose. Furthermore, it urges its affiliated unions, city central bodies and state federations of labor constantly to press for the practical application of the results of these studies to the end that the human toll exacted by industrial diseases be diminished.

The recommendation to the 1935 convention that the government should pay a share of the state compensation to victims of injury and occupational disease in industry was considered and it is believed that a satisfactory law to that effect can be enacted in the next session of Congress. This would affect only states that have state pool funds.

STATE DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR

The State Federations of Labor have played an active part during 1935-36 in the establishment of independent labor departments in a number of states where such departments have either been non-existent or have been combined with departments for agriculture, commerce, and industry. Bills creating labor departments have been passed in Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Rhode Island. Strong labor departments furnish an important source of protection both for organized and unorganized workers, for men, women and children. In every state, experience has shown the need of a basic department headed by an officer whose chief duty it is to investigate problems of working people and to enforce the safeguards provided by the labor laws of the state. Without statutory powers, even a well-intentioned labor commissioner cannot enforce existing laws or build up a case for future legislation. Upon the inspec-

tion staff of the labor department depends to a large extent the safety of the man or woman operating a dangerous machine. The inspector's insistence upon the installation of an adequate ventilation and exhaust system will prevent new cases of lead, benzol, or chromium poisoning, and the use of wet instead of dry drilling in quarries and tunnels will help to protect the worker from silicosis. It is most encouraging to note the progress that has been made. The Executive Council urges that efforts be continued in the remaining states to set up state labor departments adequately staffed, financed, and equipped with full power to administer the labor laws and to make rules and regulations supplementing the laws.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS IN CIVIL SERVICE

In accordance with the action of the Atlantic City convention on Resolution No. 240, representations were made by the Executive Council to the Civil Service Commission with regard to the educational requirements which serve to discriminate against those whose qualifications for service are based on experience rather than formal academic training.

While the action of the convention referred to certain governmental agencies which have set up unfair educational qualifications, the report of the committee approved by the convention directed that a protest be lodged with the United States Civil Service Commission.

The Acts of March 3, 1871, and January 16, 1883, under which the Civil Service Commission was created, contained no provisions with regard to educational requirements, and simply authorized the President to prescribe regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service.

The Civil Service Act of 1883, requires that the rules provide, among other things, for open competitive examinations to test the fitness of applicants for the classified service, the making of appointments from among those passing with highest grades, an apportionment of appointments in the departments at Washington among the states and territories, a period of probation before absolute appointment, and the prohibition of the use of official authority to coerce the political action of any person or body.

In developing its rules and regulations of the Commission itself and of the several departments of the government, a number of provisions were included requiring a specific course of academic studies as a prerequisite for admission to an examination. A considerable number of positions for which examinations were taken included graduation from high school or college as a minimum requirement. This, of course, excluded all persons without such formal education and effectively eliminated all applicants whose practical experience and training were non-academic.

The unfair disadvantage which such requirement placed upon wage-earners as a class and upon individuals of ability who possessed practical training and experience but no formal education, was not only recognized but fully met by the Commission as early as in 1923.

In his annual report for that year, Director L. J. O'Rourke of the Research Section of the Commission, emphatically opposed academic requirements and

recommended that general intelligence and practical tests be substituted for formal records of scholastic attainment. His recommendations were immediately put into effect by the Commission, and at the present time approximately 97 per cent of the examinations for positions in the government service require no specific institutional training.

In his letter to President Green written January 13, 1936, in response to the representations made by the Executive Council, President Harry B. Mitchell of the Civil Service Commission made the following statement:

Although fully appreciating the value of institutional training, the Commission endeavors not to discriminate against the individual who for reasons beyond his control has been denied the educational opportunities enjoyed by others.

In discussing the resolution in question, the convention referred to the measure enacted by the state of Massachusetts in April, 1935, known as the Meehan Act, as a model for the Civil Service Commission and agencies of the federal government. The Civil Service Commission points out that its present policy and practice follow exactly the lines of the Meehan Act and in many instances prove to be even more liberal.

The main criticisms leveled at government agencies by representatives of Labor were directed, not so much at the procedure of the Civil Service Commission as at the policy of the United States Employment Service. Since the convention, this problem has been solved through the efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. In the discussion of the employment service procedure, the representatives of the Civil Service Commission have throughout supported the position taken by the American Federation of Labor regarding the educational requirements.

WAGES AND HOURS

In August of this year, according to the Federal Reserve Board,¹ production in manufacturing industries was 6 per cent above the level of 1923-25, and only 12 per cent below the 1929 level. Not only did manufacturing production fail to register a seasonal decline last summer, but, in fact, attained higher levels than at any time since the beginning of recovery. A sharp rise in freight carloadings, sustained increases in the output of steel, automobiles, lumber and electric power, as well as such consumers goods as cotton and shoes, these and other factors combined to indicate that business activity was approaching pre-depression levels.

What has been Labor's share in recovery in terms of employment, wages, hours and purchasing power? To answer these questions in a general way, without the bias of seasonal changes, year to year comparisons of the available data will be made.

In 1935, industrial recovery was in full progress. Although in that year manufacturing production was still 24 per cent short of 1929, it already exceeded 1932, the worst year of the depression, by 43 per cent. In this development, the fact most significant to Labor was that manufacturing employment failed to keep

¹ Index of physical volume unadjusted for seasonal variation.

pace with the increases in production. In 1935, employment in manufacturing industries was only 28 per cent above 1932, while production was 43 per cent above that year.

	<i>Index of production</i>	<i>Index of employment</i>
1932	100	100
1933	119	108
1934	124	123
1935	143	128

These figures show the employment lag from year to year. Between 1933 and 1934, this lag almost disappeared, but in 1935, the rate of reemployment began to lag again, while production continued to accelerate its pace.

In the period of decline, between 1929 and 1932, Labor suffered from an even more drastic cut in total wages than in the number of jobs. During this time, employment in manufacturing industries declined 39 per cent, while weekly payrolls fell 58 per cent. Weekly payrolls after 1932 recovered at a greater rate than employment but they recovered from lower levels. In 1935, pay rolls were still 36 per cent below 1929:

	<i>Index of employment</i>	<i>Index of payrolls¹</i>
1929	100	100
1932	61	42
1933	66	44
1934	75	57
1935	78	64

Underlying these trends were significant changes in hours and wages. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in June, 1936, the average hours worked in manufacturing industries per week were 39.2. The National Industrial Conference Board figures for 25 manufacturing industries indicate that in August of this year the average actual hours per week in those industries were 40.

Lagging production, and, to some extent, share-the-work plans in many industries, cut the working hours considerably between 1929 and 1932. In the latter year, they were at an average of 37.9.² In June, 1933, the hours were further raised to 42.6. In August of that year, the President's Reemployment Agreement went into effect bringing about a steady decline in the length of the work-week during the balance of the year. By 1934, the average work-week in manufacturing was shortened to 34.7. Beginning with May, 1935, the average work-week was slowly increased to an average of 40 hours. This lengthening of hours sharply curtailed the rate of reemployment in the latter part of 1935, and in 1936, eliminating a large number of job opportunities for those still unemployed.

The average *hourly earnings* in manufacturing industries began their recovery in the last months of 1933. In 1934, hourly earnings in these industries increased

¹ Not adjusted for cost of living.

² B. L. S.

by 16 per cent over 1932. A still further rise occurred in the following year so that in 1935, hourly earnings were 20 per cent higher than in 1932. By 1936, however, the rate of increase had leveled off and hourly earnings remained about stationary through August of this year.

Average *weekly* earnings were reduced much more drastically during the depression than the hourly wage rates, registering a decline of 31 per cent between 1929 and 1932. Recovering by only 19 per cent between 1932 and 1935, the weekly earnings still remained 18 per cent below 1929.

In 25 manufacturing industries covered by the National Industrial Conference Board similar trends in weekly earnings are apparent. From \$28.55 in 1929, the average dropped to \$14.53 in March, 1933, a fall of 49 per cent. In June, 1936, weekly earnings were \$24.45, or 68 per cent higher than in March, 1933, but still 14 per cent below 1929.

Much of this increase, however, was offset by a marked increase in the cost of living in the past three years. Since March, 1933, the cost of living has increased 18.5 per cent, so that the real weekly earnings in June, 1936, were only 42 per cent higher than in 1932. In other words, the average weekly wage of \$24.45 in June, 1936, had the buying power of only \$20.56 in March 1933 dollars.

At the same time, technological improvements and expansion in the volume of output resulted in increased productivity per worker per hour. In 1935, a worker produced on the average 13 per cent more goods in one hour than in 1932. This, however, was not a new development. Productivity of labor had already been greatly increased between 1929 and 1932. It is estimated that between 1929 and 1935, productivity per man per hour increased about 40 per cent. This means that if a worker made 100 units in one hour in 1929, in 1935 he had to produce 140 units.

This fact is important because it explains why it required increasingly fewer man-hours to manufacture more goods. Between 1932 and 1935, total man-hours in manufacturing increased only 26 per cent, while production increased 43 per cent.

Since it requires less time to produce the same volume of goods, a proportionately smaller number of workers is employed to turn out these goods unless the hours of work are still further curtailed. The fact that employment lags behind production more and more gives striking evidence of the need for a shorter work-week. Industry cannot and will not absorb the unemployed unless it creates more job opportunities by limiting weekly and daily hours of work.

The shorter work-week and the six-hour day furnish the real solution to the insistent problem of unemployment. It is the responsibility that private industry must accept in order to give the necessary balance to economic expansion.

Economic stability cannot be attained by government spending. Industry's obligation to bring about such stability is more imperative in these crucial days of transition than ever before. We know only too well that unless this is done current recovery will end in a greater disaster than we have yet known.

Shortening of the hours of work is the correct answer to the problem we are facing today.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

All states and the District of Columbia are now affected in some way by the provisions of the Social Security Act passed by the 74th Congress. The purpose of this report is to set forth in summary the extent to which the different states are affected by this Act, their participation therein, and to touch briefly on some of the principal problems which have been found to exist, and to indicate the responsibilities which must be met if this "structure" when completed is to be sound and adequate.

The states are participating in the benefits of the Social Security Act. With the exception of Title II which provides for old-age benefits under direct federal grant and Title VI under which allotments are made to the states for public health work, participation by any state in any Title of the Act or in any part thereof is contingent on the enactment of state legislation approved by the designated authority.

State Participation

TITLE I—Grants to States for Old-Age Assistance

Under this title, the federal government grants funds to the states which have approved plans for financial assistance to "aged needy individuals" in amounts equal to one-half of the sums so expended by these states, provided that the payment to any individual does not exceed \$30 for any month. Grants are also made to these states toward the cost of administration. The Act stipulates that no plan shall impose as a condition of eligibility an age requirement of more than sixty-five years or a residence requirement of more than five years in nine, providing that there has been continuous residence for one year immediately preceding application for assistance. No stipulation is made, however, concerning limitations on property and income which may be imposed, or establishing a minimum rate of payments.

State legislation in this field is especially urgent in the immediate future because of the fact that old-age benefit payments under Title II do not become effective until 1942. Since benefits under Title II are paid only to individuals who have received certain wages at occupations not excepted under the Act, there always will be large numbers of individuals who must rely solely on the payments made under this Title for such security as is to be accorded them in old age.

Already plans for thirty-seven states have been approved. While the actual benefits resulting from this legislation could not be appraised with any degree of accuracy without a detailed analysis of the provisions included in all approved plans, some measure of the magnitude of this program is indicated by the fact that since February 1, 1936, more than \$40,000,000 of federal funds have been made available to those states which had in effect plans for old-age assistance, approved by the Social Security Board. The extent to which federal funds may be made available in this connection depends primarily on the action taken by the states. The Act authorizes appropriation of "a sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of this title."

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

TITLE II—*Federal Old-Age Benefits*

Since this program is administered solely by the federal government, the enactment of state legislation is not a prerequisite to participation by the qualified individuals of any state. After January 1, 1942, individuals of sixty-five years in all states are entitled to receive benefits from the federal government based on wages received since December 31, 1936, from occupations not excluded under the Act. The monthly rate of benefits will vary from \$10 to \$85. The principal occupations excluded are agricultural labor, domestic service, government service, or service performed for non-profit institutions.

Up to the present time, the duties of the Board have been concerned primarily with the establishment of such a system of record keeping as will embrace all eligible individuals, from the outset, and will assure all included that there will be at hand a record of the benefits to which they are entitled when the time for payment arrives. It has been estimated that approximately twenty-six million individual accounts will be involved. Eventually the actual number of records for which provision must be made may exceed thirty-five million.

TITLE III—*Grants to States for Unemployment Compensation Administration*

In the included summary on "State Participation," the record of approved state laws for unemployment compensation is reported under this title. Actually, two titles of the Act are involved—Title III which provides for administration grants where there are approved state plans and Title IX which provides for a federal tax on payrolls against which employers may credit taxes to the state where approved plans are in effect.

Before a state law becomes operative, it must be approved by the Social Security Board under the provisions of Title III and Title IX. The details of these provisions are included in the report of the Executive Council for 1935.

Before September 1, 1936, unemployment compensation laws had been approved for thirteen states, including the District of Columbia. On September 3, announcement was made of approval of the law for Idaho. On the basis of these approved laws, it has been estimated that eight million workers are covered. Furthermore, administration grants to the states in excess of \$1,500,000 have been authorized.

Up to the present time, the problem has been the enactment of suitable state laws, to make possible participation by the states in this phase of the program.

TITLE IV—*Grants to States for Aid to Dependent Children*

Grants to the twenty-two states which, before September 1, had approved plans for aid to dependent children, amounted to \$4,500,000. These grants are based on one-third of the amounts expended by the states for assistance and administration, provided that the amount given to one child in one month does not exceed \$18. Where there is more than one dependent child in the same home, the allowance for each child after the first one is not to exceed \$12.

This title is one of the three public assistance provisions of the Act and is administered by the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board.

Under the provisions of this title, financial assistance is given to children in the homes of their parents or relatives who for specified reasons have been deprived of parental support or care.

TITLE V—Grants to States for Maternal and Child Welfare

This title consists of four parts as follows: Maternal and Child Health Services, Services for Crippled Children, Child Welfare Services, and Vocational Rehabilitation. The first three of these are administered by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. Vocational Rehabilitation is administered by the Vocational Division of the Office of Education in the Department of the Interior.

Under parts 1 and 2 of this title, the amount of federal funds granted is based on one-half of the payments made by the states. Under parts 3 and 4, the general basis for the allocation of funds is set forth in the Act.

When a state plan for Maternal and Child Health Services is approved by the Chief of the Children's Bureau, that state becomes eligible for financial assistance from the annual appropriation of \$3,800,000. Prior to September 1, 1936, such plans had been approved for forty-three states. Total payments made between February 1 and June 30 exceeded \$1,200,000.

Approval of a state plan by the Chief of the Children's Bureau is also necessary before a state can participate in the annual appropriation of \$2,850,000 for services for crippled children. The scope of these services as set forth in the Act are "for locating crippled children, and for providing medical, surgical, corrective, and other services and care, and facilities for diagnosis, hospitalization, and after care for children who are crippled or who are suffering from conditions which lead to crippling." Thirty-three states had approved plans for these services on September 1, and within the period from February 1 to June 30, 1936, payments to the states for these services approximated three-quarters of a million dollars.

The third part of this title under the administration of the Children's Bureau is Child Welfare Services. An annual appropriation of \$1,500,000 has been made "for the purpose of enabling the United States, through the Children's Bureau, to cooperate with state public-welfare agencies in establishing, extending and strengthening, especially in predominantly rural areas, public-welfare services for the protection and care of homeless, dependent, and neglected children, and children in danger of becoming delinquent." With twenty-three state plans already approved, payments to the states in the period from February 1 to June 30, 1936, approximated one-quarter of a million dollars.

The provision for Vocational Rehabilitation under the Social Security Act enacts into permanent law the program which was initiated in the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1920. This Act has been amended and extended from time to time during the intervening years, and under the new program approximately twice the funds are available as were appropriated for this work heretofore. The appropriation for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1936, and June 30, 1937, is \$841,000 and for each year thereafter the sum of \$1,938,000 is appropriated.

In all states, except Delaware, Vermont and Kansas, laws have been passed on the basis of which participation in this program is made possible.

TITLE X—Grants to States for Aid to the Blind

For the period between February 1 and September 1, 1936, grants to twenty-one states with approved plans for aid to the blind exceeded \$2,000,000. While the appropriation for the year ending June 30, 1936, was \$3,000,000, appropriation of a sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of this title is authorized for each subsequent year. These funds are to enable the states to furnish financial assistance "as far as practicable under the conditions in such states to needy individuals who are blind." The plan for any state must be approved by the Social Security Board before becoming effective.

Some Problems Under Social Security—The preceding summary of participation by the states in the provisions of the Social Security Act reports achievements during the past year which are entitled to much credit. No attempt, however, has been made to analyze the provisions in approved state laws which have entitled the different states to share in the benefits made available under the Act. Since the Social Security Act does not contain specific requirements as to benefits for which any approved plan must provide, we must expect that plans will be found with standards which are not entirely satisfactory. With the widespread adoption of the Social Security Act already recorded, however, it may be said that the improvement of standards in particular states should be recognized as the next step in the program.

Since unemployment compensation is the phase of the Social Security program which most directly affects the interests of the workers, and since legislation in this field seemingly involves more controversial issues than most of the other fields, it is only natural that the enactment of state laws for unemployment compensation has been considered by Labor representatives as an issue of outstanding importance. Without question, the two most discussed questions which have arisen in the drafting of state unemployment compensation laws have been the question of pooled fund or reserve accounts and the question of merit rating. The position of the American Federation of Labor on both of these issues has been stated repeatedly. The American Federation of Labor endorses the pooled fund and is opposed to any form of merit rating. The establishment of reserve accounts prevents the operation of the fundamental principle underlying all insurance plans, namely, the broadest possible distribution of the risk. So far as merit rating is concerned, it need only be said that at this time there are no figures at hand on the basis of which a sound plan for merit rating can be established.

A brief survey of the unemployment compensation provisions of the Social Security Act and the provisions for federal old age benefits under Title II presents to us certain fundamental problems which cannot be overlooked. Briefly stated, the two outstanding problems in the field of unemployment compensation are: 1) The constitutional basis of the law; and, 2), the payroll tax. Under Title II of the Act, we are confronted with a fact which already has been the

cause of widespread criticism. This is the reserve which will be built up under the existing law. Without attempting to arrive at any solution of these problems which go to the heart of our Social Security program, it is essential that they be stated. The stake of Labor in this program is too great to permit our continuing with our efforts without having due regard for obstacles which might prove to be insurmountable. Inasmuch as there are clearly grounds on which the constitutional basis for certain provisions in the Act may be questioned, every possible precaution against the invalidation of the law by the Supreme Court of the United States must be taken. If the law is unconstitutional, it is clear that its provisions must be changed or that sanction must be afforded to them through an amendment to the constitution. If unemployment benefits are to be paid to those out of work who have complied with the provisions set forth in the Act, funds must be made available, but the wisdom of obtaining these funds through a payroll tax which to a great extent is to be paid directly or indirectly by the workers involved, is subject to question. Weekly and annual earnings have not yet reached such levels that the wage earners can afford substantial reductions for the purpose of giving them limited benefits during periods of unemployment.

Old age benefits do not become payable until 1942, but administration of this portion of the Act becomes operative January 1, 1937. Up to the present time, details of operations have not been worked out, but it has been estimated that under the provisions of the existing law a reserve of \$46,000,000 will have been accumulated by 1980.¹ Instead of accumulating this tremendous reserve, it has been suggested that the law might be so changed as to have the required funds made available each year on the basis of estimated need.

Responsibilities of Labor Under the Social Security Act—In the drafting and in the enactment of the Social Security Act, Labor gave its full support, recognizing that the establishment of some degree of security is the outstanding need in our economy today. The enactment of this legislation, however, only marks the beginning of the responsibilities which Labor must meet if the necessary degree of security is to be obtained.

Reference has been made above to some of the outstanding problems which already are recognized. These are problems which involve the whole legal and financial basis of the program. There are additional problems, however, which require the efforts of labor representatives and members of organized labor throughout the country. These may be classified in three groups.

First, those involved in the enactment of adequate state laws under the Social Security Act.

Second, those which are concerned with adequate administration of the different phases of the law.

Third, those which are concerned with adequate enforcement of all provisions.

The attention which has been given to the enactment of suitable state unemployment compensation laws has been demanded because of the attempts made by management interests to include in the different state plans provisions which would prevent these laws from fulfilling their purpose. While it may be

¹ Source: 74th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Calendar No. 661, Report 628, Page 9.

Social Security Act—State Participation—September 1, 1936

STATE	TITLE I	TITLE II	TITLE III	TITLE IV	TITLE V				TITLE VI	TITLE VII
	Old Age Assistance	Federal Old Age Benefits	Unemployment Compensation	Dependent Children	Part 1. Maternal and child health	Part 2. Crippled Children	Part 3. Child Welfare	Part 4. Vocational Rehabilitation	Public Health	Aid to The Blind
Alabama.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	..
Arizona.....	..	X	..	X	X	X	..	X	X	X
Arkansas.....	X	X	..	X	X	..	..	X	X	X
California.....	X	X	X	X	X	..	..	X	X	X
Colorado.....	X	X	..	X	..	X	X	X	X	X
Connecticut....	X	X	..	..	X	..	X	X	X	X
Delaware.....	X	X	..	..	X	..	..	..	X	..
Dist. of Col....	X	X	X	X	X	X	..	X	X	X
Florida.....	..	X	..	..	..	X	..	X	X	..
Georgia.....	..	X	..	..	X	..	..	X	X	..
Idaho.....	X	X	..	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Illinois.....	X	X	..	..	X	..	X	X	X	..
Indiana.....	X	X	X	X	X	..	X	X	X	X
Iowa.....	X	X	..	..	X	X	X	X	X	..
Kansas.....	..	X	..	..	X	X	..	..	X	..
Kentucky.....	X	X	..	..	X	X	..	X	X	..
Louisiana.....	X	X	..	X	X	..	..	X	X	..
Maine.....	X	X	..	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Maryland.....	X	X	..	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Massachusetts..	X	X	X	..	X	..	..	X	X	X
Michigan.....	X	X	..	..	X	X	..	X	X	..
Minnesota.....	X	X	..	..	X	..	..	X	X	..
Mississippi.....	X	X	X	..	X	X	..	X	X	..
Missouri.....	X	X	..	..	..	X	X	X	X	..
Montana.....	X	X	..	..	X	X	X	X	X	..
Nebraska.....	X	X	..	X	..	..	..	X	X	X
Nevada.....	..	X	..	..	X	..	X	X	X	..
New Hampshire..	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
New Jersey.....	X	X	..	X	X	..	..	X	X	..
New Mexico.....	X	X	..	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
New York.....	X	X	X	..	X	X	..	X	X	..
North Carolina..	..	X	..	..	X	X	X	X	X	..
North Dakota..	X	X	..	..	..	..	..	X	X	..
Ohio.....	X	X	..	..	X	..	..	X	X	..
Oklahoma.....	X	X	..	X	X	X	..	X	X	..
Oregon.....	X	X	X	..	..	..	..	X	X	X
Pennsylvania...	..	X	..	..	..	..	..	X	X	X
Rhode Island...	X	X	..	..	X	X	..	X	X	..
South Carolina..	..	X	X	..	X	X	..	X	X	..
South Dakota...	..	X	..	..	X	X	X	X	X	..
Tennessee.....	..	X	..	..	X	..	..	X	X	..
Texas.....	X	X	..	..	X	X	..	X	X	..
Utah.....	X	X	..	X	..	..	X	X	X	X
Vermont.....	X	X	..	X	X	X	X	..	X	X
Virginia.....	..	X	..	..	X	X	X	X	X	..
Washington.....	X	X	X	X	X	..	X	X	X	X
West Virginia...	..	X	..	..	X	X	..	X	X	..
Wisconsin.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wyoming.....	X	X	..	X	X	X	..	X	X	X
Total....	37	49	13	22	41	32	23	46	49	21

said that emphasis has not been placed by Labor on the enactment of laws in other branches of the program, it is clear that adequate legislation in no field can be secured without sufficient attention and support on the part of Labor. The information that has been made available through the Social Security Board at all times concerning the development of state legislation and the cooperation which has been developed between the state federations of labor and the American Federation of Labor, point the way to procedures which might well be adopted in connection with the enactment of all types of labor legislation in the different states. Standards included in these state laws will improve immeasurably when facilities are created whereby state federations of labor are enabled to profit directly by experiences in other states and to obtain expert advice on the particular laws in question from the American Federation of Labor.

The enactment of state laws under the Social Security Act cannot assure to Labor the benefits anticipated without the establishment of suitable administration and adequate enforcement. We are concerned not only with the carrying out of laws established with respect to unemployment compensation by virtue of which benefits are payable to unemployed workers under stipulated conditions, but we are vitally concerned with the whole program for assistance in old age, included under Titles I and II of the Act. The responsibility of obtaining records including all individuals who eventually will be eligible for these benefits must be fulfilled if when the age of 65 is reached after this portion of the Act becomes effective, the records on which benefits can be accurately computed are to be available.

We must be concerned with those provisions of the Act which have to do with assistance for mothers and children as well as public health, aid to the blind, and vocational rehabilitation. In each and every phase of the Social Security program whether the problem be one of enactment, administration or enforcement, there must be full cooperation on the part of Labor if those gains envisioned by Labor are to be realized.

While we do not regard this Social Security Act as perfect, we do consider it a vital first step in lifting an intolerable burden of insecurity from wage-earners. There are changes that must be made in order to equalize the security that industry provides for those who participate in its operation and to work out how society may best assume its full responsibility in the light of administrative responsibility. Labor feels that the burden of insecurity should be lifted from its shoulders and that the costs should be a social responsibility. We believe that our federal government has the power to levy and collect taxes to be used to further social security purposes.

RELIEF

Our first obligation in considering policies of relief for the future is to express our appreciation for the scope and the ideals of the relief program which the administration has sponsored. Never at any time in the nation's history has society accepted such definite responsibility for unemployment and for the rights of those to whom society cannot provide opportunity to earn their living. While there have been difficulties in administration and inadequacies in

provision, the spirit of the federal administration has always been that of open-minded consideration of problems. We believe that the relationship between the federal and state agencies should in the future be better coordinated so that grants to states may be administered in accord with accepted and uniform standards. The most of our troubles have been due to the fact that never before has our nation been compelled to consider relief as a continuing social problem for which we must adopt policies and administrative standards. As the federal government cannot retire from the relief problem without endangering our national existence, the question of the kind of relief and the scope of the program, together with that of federal responsibility for local standards and policies, is a public issue of first order importance.

We know that in the past direct relief in some areas has been too niggardly not to do serious damage to the capacities of many. We know also that policies in providing work have not always taken into consideration consequences to the individual employee or social and industrial implications within our organization for normal living. Unskilled workers have been employed and trained for jobs requiring special skills, while the skilled workers trained for those jobs were unemployed. Public buildings have been constructed with indefensibly low wages. It has been impossible to remedy these situations through state administrations. Therefore, we urge that funds should be allotted to local governmental agencies with the provision that unskilled workers should not displace or be trained to displace skilled workers. In addition, all relief administration must be lifted from the plane of charity to that of the administration of an inalienable right of free individuals.

In planning for the future we have two concerns. First, to care for immediate needs; secondly, to plan a long-time program.

First, as regards immediate relief needs. Since it is expected that funds for WPA work will be exhausted by January or February, 1937, immediate action will be necessary when Congress convenes to provide for the continuance of the Works Program. Industry is by no means ready to care for the 3,364,000 still dependent on this emergency work, nor are local governments able to provide direct relief for the rest.

A standard of relief must be maintained which keeps relief families in health, and will provide for necessary clothing, rent and medical care in addition to food. Wherever states and localities are failing to provide for these minimum needs, responsibility rests with the federal government to see that these needs are met.

Secondly, planning a long time program for relief, we must accept the principle of federal responsibility. Conservation of our nation is a social obligation which we cannot delegate to private charity or entrust to the chance of individual conscience. There is involved analysis of relief needs and coordination of federal, state and local responsibility in meeting them. As a nation, we have already set ourselves to the task of providing social security which rests upon economic security. If a family cannot support itself, there must be some difficulty beyond its power to meet. These difficulties may be roughly classified under different main causes, and each provided for according to its special nature: (a) Unemployment. This requires, first, unemployment insurance, and,

secondly, relief funds beyond the insured period, supplemented by a planned program for work on public projects. To do this in a constructive way and to avoid the makeshift of mere made work involves long term planning of public works for the nation as a whole, coordinating state and local needs with national needs in such a way that a reserve of needed work will always be ready. (b) Employment service. An adequate public employment exchange in each locality should be the connecting link between workers seeking jobs and jobs seeking workers. (c) Old age. An old age pension should provide for families where the breadwinner is beyond employable age and for individuals over this age. (d) Dependent children. A mother's pension should provide for mothers of minor children who, through widowhood or for other reasons, are left without income. (e) Health insurance and disability pensions should take care of families needing relief because of illness and disability. Those handicapped by chronic illness constitute a special problem requiring special provisions.

These groupings outline the main types of need which bring families to relief. Experience would indicate that they can best be cared for by a plan for federal grants in aid to states, matched by state and local funds to cover the different types of need. Provision for some of these needs is already being made; others will require new services and further services in addition to the above may also be necessary.

The agencies dealing with these different types of relief must be closely coordinated, both nationally and locally, so that the whole program will function as a unit, while giving the different kinds of specialized care needed.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

The National Labor Relations Board, created under the Wagner-Connery Act, began its work on August 27, 1935, the date on which the appointment of the three board members by the President became effective. Since that time, the Board has been the agency empowered to protect the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively under the mandate of the law.

With what degree of success has the Board achieved this purpose during the past year? An appraisal of the Board's activities may be based on the number of cases handled by the Board itself and its regional officers during that period. By October 1, 1936, the Board's record covered 1,405 cases involving 291,408 workers. Of these, 369 cases were closed by agreement of the parties; 444 were closed by dismissal or withdrawal; and 78 cases were closed for such reasons as compliance with decisions, failure to find violation, refusal to assume jurisdiction, or by transfer to some other agency.

In addition, the Board settled 103 strike cases out of a total of 175 handled. It averted 78 threatened strikes and held 57 elections.

It will be noted that almost half of the cases closed were closed by agreement of the parties and, therefore, clearly represented a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. Included in the number of cases closed by dismissal or withdrawal are many in which charges were originally filed with the Board, but under the threat of the Board's action, the employers were willing to reach an agreement "out of court."

On October 1, 1936, there were 514 cases still pending final determination. This number included many cases in which decisions had been rendered but full compliance not obtained.

This record of cases gives undisputable evidence of the Board's ability to prevent unfair labor practices outlawed by the Act. While many of the cases presented to the Board did not come for final determination either before the Board or the courts, most of these cases were settled to the satisfaction of the workers involved because of the mere existence of the statute and the administrative machinery designed to enforce it.

The first of the unfair labor practices outlawed by the Act is for an employer to interfere with, restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of their rights. The cases heard and decided by the Board have revealed important factual information on such practices chiefly because of the Board's power to subpoena witnesses and records.

It was shown, for example, that labor espionage was an important instrument used by employers for union-breaking. Much of the factual material brought to light in the Board's hearings in this connection served later as a basis for further investigations by the LaFollette Sub-Committee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The cases of the Friedman-Harry Marks Clothing Company and the Pennsylvania Greyhound Lines, Inc., showed that employers and officials of corporations were not averse to spying on unions personally. In the Virginia and Maryland Coach Company case, the vice-president of the bus company went so far as to attend a union meeting disguised by a bus operator's cap. In other cases, it was shown to be a common practice to use regular employees for spy work (Protective Motor Service Company and Consumers Research Inc.). Refusal by the workers to accept invitations to spy on their fellows was also demonstrated in such cases as that of the Fruehauf Trailer Company and Foster Brothers Manufacturing Company, Inc. The use of the nationally known detective agencies by employers was revealed in detail in the notorious Fruehauf case and the cases of the Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company, the Brown Shoe Company and others.

The experience of the Board has shown that discrimination against union members and leaders, as well as threats of such discrimination, still remain the most common form of interference with union activity. This is generally done together with deliberate propaganda which not only poisons the minds of the workers against unions but also indicates to them that employers are prepared to make their hostility to unions effective by dismissal.

Among the many varieties of threats is the threat to move the plant or go out of business if the union succeeds in organizing the employees (National Casket Company, Brown Shoe Company, etc.). Another form of propaganda consists in attempts to convince employees that unions and union organizers are not interested in the welfare of the workers but serve ulterior purposes. Employers' denunciations of unions as rackets were recorded in the cases of the Atlas Bag and Burlap Company, the Wheeling Steel Corporation, and Jones and Laughlin Steel Company. Sometimes such statements are more specific and homely; if the worker joins the union he would "be down here stopping bullets" while the

union organizer would be "sitting in the hotel smoking a cigar" (Greensboro Lumber Company).

In some instances, an attempt is made to sap the strength of unions by foisting individual agreements on some of the workers (Atlas Bag & Burlap Company). In some situations, the same purpose is achieved by soliciting the striker under threat to return to work individually.

The Board has also held that activities of employers which have the effect of injuring the morale of union members constitute interference, restraint and coercion. An example of this was shown in the Brown Shoe Company case where a seniority agreement with the company was the union's outstanding achievement in collective bargaining. This agreement was arbitrarily abrogated by the company without notice at a time when the members of the union needed its protection most. Such action the Board has found unlawful.

Finally, affiliation with an outside union is often discouraged by refusal of employers to deal with representatives who are not in their employ. In the Oregon Worsted Company case, the Board held that the "insistence upon dividing the committee into employee and non-employee groups constituted an arbitrary and flagrant violation of the employee's right to self-organization. It is not for the employer to dictate the form of representation the employees shall have."

In its decisions, the Board struck a heavy blow to company unions sponsored by employers to prevent self-organization of the workers. In the Pennsylvania Greyhound Lines, Inc., decision, the company was not only ordered to cease and desist from dominating and contributing financial support to the company union, but also to withdraw all recognition from the company union as representative of their employees. Similar action was taken in the Wheeling Steel Corporation decision where the company was ordered to cease and desist from encouraging membership in or recognizing the Departmental Councils (which was a form of company union in this instance) or from discouraging membership in the lodges of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Since the legality of the union shop was established under the Act, it was unnecessary for the Board to substantiate the point by any of its decisions. The Board made an important ruling, however, in upholding the legality of a strike for a union shop under federal jurisdiction. This issue was squarely met in its decision in the Alaska Juneau Gold Mining Company case in which the Board ruled that "a strike for a closed shop is not illegal; employees striking for such an end are as fully entitled to the benefits of the Act as are all other striking employees."

Inasmuch as the Alaska Juneau case originated in federal territory, this may be interpreted as the position of the Board in a territory subject to direct federal jurisdiction. Had the strike originated in any of the states, the situation would have been materially different because the question of the legality of the union shop would then be determined by the state laws prevailing in a given locality. Legality of a strike for a union shop is a matter for judicial determination by the state courts governed by state laws. This is why in those states where union shops have been declared illegal and so held by the state courts, the Board recognized the fact in the decisions handed down in cases originating in such states.

Another unfair labor practice prohibited by the Act is the refusal by employers to bargain collectively with the duly selected representatives of their employees. The Board has rendered a series of important decisions upholding this fundamental right of workers. Following the precedent laid by the old National Labor Relations Board in the Houde case, the Board ruled that collective bargaining must constitute negotiations in good faith leading toward an agreement. A mere discussion of proposals, the Board held, does not constitute such bargaining (Atlantic Refining Company).

The Board found it to be the duty of the employers not only to meet with the representatives of their employees and bargain in good faith with them, but also to embody the understanding reached in a binding agreement for a definite term (St. Joseph Stockyards Company). The Board further ruled that the employer's duty to meet with representatives of his workers remained in effect even though there was a strike. In the case of the S. L. Allen & Company, Inc., the Board emphasized that to meet with the representatives of his employees, however frequently, does not necessarily fulfill an employer's obligations under the Act. Refusal or acceptance of offers without explanation is not collective bargaining. This is not modified by the existence of a strike situation:

Interchange of ideas, communication of facts peculiarly within the knowledge of either party, personal persuasion and the opportunity to modify demands in accordance with the total situation thus revealed at the conference is of the essence of the bargaining process. Where in the course of the strike supervening events, such as the formal discharge of the strikers and the importation of strike-breakers, introduce new issues, the employer must meet with the representatives of its employees in order to realize the full benefits of collective bargaining.

If the refusal by an employer to bargain collectively is met by strike action by the union and even if such strike action is unsuccessful, resulting in the reopening of the plant, the employer's obligation to bargain collectively with employees originally employed in the plant would still remain. In the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company case, the Board ruled:

... It would be futile simply to order the respondent to bargain with the union since the plant now has its full quota of men and the process of collective bargaining would yield little comfort to those who are not employed; nor do we know whether the union now represents a majority. Under these circumstances we must restore, as far as possible, the situation existing prior to the violation of the Act, in order that the process of collective bargaining, which was interrupted, may be continued.

The same position was taken in the Carlisle Lumber Company case, but there the Board held that full compliance with the law must include not only reinstatement of the discharged members of the union, but also complete restoration of the wages lost by them.

An important phase of the Board's work was the exercise of its power to determine representation in collective bargaining under the principle of majority rule. The first controversies concerning representation before the Board were adjusted by elections held under agreements in which both parties had agreed in advance to abide by the results. The first case in which the Board's power to determine "the unit appropriate for collective bargaining" was invoked was that

of the Wayne Knitting Mills of Fort Wayne, Indiana. In the election held on December 7, 1935, the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, Branch No. 2, polled five hundred and sixteen votes out of nine hundred and sixty ballots cast. This majority vote qualified the Hosiery Workers Union as the exclusive representative for collective bargaining.

In many cases, however, the Board was prevented by litigation from holding elections. On November 13, 1935, the hearing in the case of the Majestic Flour Mills, Aurora, Missouri, and Federal Labor Union No. 20028 was held up by injunction. This marked the beginning of a long list of cases in what clearly appeared to be a carefully planned campaign to prevent the Board from exercising its functions. By August of this year, seventy-nine injunction cases against the Board had been filed in thirty-one district courts.

Despite the limited staff of the Board operating under a budget wholly inadequate to finance such administrative machinery as the Act requires, the necessary appearances were made and briefs filed. In the majority of such instances, the constitutional validity of the Act under which the Board operated was questioned by the employers and involved the Board's cases in lengthy litigation. As a result, much of the Board's energy during the first year of its existence was directed to the basic problem of bringing the statute under which the Board operated to the final test of judicial review.

From this flood of injunction litigation, the Board has emerged the victor. Of the decisions rendered up to August 1, 1936, forty-four have been favorable, refusing to enjoin the activities of the Board, and eighteen have granted injunctive relief.

Under the Act, the Board has no power to enforce its own decisions. The cease and desist orders issued by the Board may be referred to Circuit Courts of Appeals for enforcements whenever the employer fails to comply. In the absence of a final test by the Supreme Court on the validity of the Act, the Circuit Courts greatly delayed their disposition of the Board's cases.

In two cases, that of the Associated Press and of the Washington, Virginia and Maryland Bus Company, the Circuit Courts of Appeals have granted the petitions to enforce but the companies promptly appealed the decision to the Supreme Court where the cases are scheduled to be heard in the current session.

In three important cases, the Board's petitions for enforcement of its cease and desist orders have been denied. These cases include those of the Friedman-Harry Marks, Jones and Laughlin, and the Fruehauf Trailer Company. In none of these adverse decisions was the Act itself found to be unconstitutional but in all of them it was found that the facts presented did not warrant the enforcement of the Board's order. In all of these cases, an appeal to the Supreme Court has been taken and a final determination of them is expected to be made by the Supreme Court early next year. Thirteen cases are still pending decisions in the Circuit Courts of Appeals.

While the question of the constitutionality of the Act has been raised by the respondent companies in every instance of court litigation, it is significant that no circuit court of appeals has found the Act unconstitutional. There is no doubt that the Supreme Court will rule on the constitutionality of the Act in adjudicating the cases now before it.

Much confusion concerning the validity of the Act has been created by employers who insisted in representing the measure as regulating commerce. Actually, however, the purpose of the Act is to eliminate the use of certain substantial obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to eliminate these obstructions when they occur. The Supreme Court will be certain to dispel all doubt as to the Act's validity, if it regards the law not as an attempt to regulate commerce but, as stated in the Board's petition for a rehearing of the Jones & Laughlin case, as a "regulation designed to *protect* commerce and not to regulate the details of production."

UNEMPLOYMENT

More than six years have elapsed since the census of unemployment was taken in 1930. Federal indexes of employment which we have used to bring the census unemployment figure up to date gave a close representation of the changes in employment in the United States during periods of industrial decline, but in a time of rising business activity they do not show the full extent of reemployment. This is due to the fact that no satisfactory method has yet been devised to record the employment given by new firms starting in business. That these new firms furnish a substantial amount of employment is clear to those who have studied the biennial censuses of manufactures and trade; some estimate the total number of jobs offered by new companies since March 1933 at one million or more.

It is clear, therefore, that any estimate of unemployment which depends for its basic statistical data on the federal indexes of employment will understate the number at work and overstate the unemployed. While government bureaus issuing the figures are in a position to adjust them to the biennial censuses of manufactures and American business and so arrive at a close figure on unemployment, this task is so complicated as to extend beyond the scope of most organizations outside the government. These facts point to the need for another unemployment census at the earliest possible date, and for periodic censuses in future. It is a serious matter, in a great industrial nation such as the United States, to be without any adequate method of measuring unemployment. Industrial changes deprive millions of American families of their livelihood; we cannot plan to provide adequately for these families during their unemployment, nor can we make the industrial adjustments necessary to assure them productive employment in future unless we have this statistical information as a basis for planning.

The United States Employment Service records six million three hundred and seventy-five thousand registered for work on July 1, 1936, who were without jobs in industry. In September, the figure is approximately six million five hundred and thirty-seven thousand. We know that not nearly all the unemployed who seek work in industry have registered with the Employment Service; trade union members, for instance, usually register with their business agents and depend on their union to find work for them. In September about five hundred thousand union members were seeking work, most of whom probably were not registered with the exchanges. Many other workers depend on other

contacts to find their jobs. Therefore, it is clear that there are today many more than six million five hundred thousand unemployed who have found no place in industry, although business recovery is well advanced.

CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

Rapid growth of consumers' cooperatives during depression has given the movement new significance in American life. Already, cooperatives claim close to 3,000,000 members, with more than 10,000 stores and societies distributing goods and services worth \$400,000,000 yearly. The movement has grown particularly among farmers and today 13 per cent of all farm supplies are purchased through cooperatives whose business grew from \$125,000,000 yearly in 1929 to \$250,000,000 in 1934. That consumers' cooperatives are returning important sums of money to their members in dividends on purchases is shown by the record of the oil and gasoline cooperatives which in 1934 did more than \$40,000,000 worth of business and returned to their members nearly \$4,000,000.

In addition to gasoline and farm supplies, cooperatives in the United States are today handling a large volume of business in groceries, meat, and general merchandise. Other cooperative enterprises include bakeries, milk distribution, restaurants, boarding houses, laundries, electric power distributing systems, funeral associations, furniture, tires, a cooperative hospital, cooperative insurance.

Labor welcomes the growth of this movement. We are well aware of the benefit it can bring to workers, not only by returning to them profits of the middleman and preventing many of the wastes in our system of distribution which add to the price paid by the worker, but also because consumer control of distribution will mean a guarantee of quality in the goods sold.

In looking to the future growth of the movement, we feel that closer cooperation between organized labor and the consumers' cooperative movement is essential.

It is significant that in foreign countries the consumers' cooperative movement has been most successful when closely allied with a strong trade union movement. There is real danger in this country that if the growth of cooperatives is not paralleled by growth of labor organization, the cooperative might become merely a means of helping wage-earners to exist on low wages.

The history of the cooperative movement in America leads us to emphasize the necessity of caution in setting up cooperatives. The movement started in this country in 1847, and stores were rapidly organized until several hundred were in operation. All but three of these failed, however, within a few years. Later, the Farmers' Granges made similar attempts to organize cooperatives and established several hundred stores, but these also met with a similar fate. The National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor were no more successful. In the early twentieth century unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor organized a large number of cooperative stores which were short-lived.

Three reasons have been given for our failure to establish in this country a strong and healthy cooperative movement: incompetent management, lack of cooperation among stores and intense competition from private business, including that of chain stores. Any union group planning to start a cooperative should

take warning from past experience and make sure that their enterprise is built on foundations that will last. It is a first responsibility to protect the savings of those who invest in such an enterprise; otherwise, it may become a source of loss rather than gain to its members.

First, all cooperatives should insist on sound business management in all their dealings. For paid management positions experienced men should be chosen who have proven their ability in work of a similar nature; all books should be properly kept and audited yearly by a certified public accountant; they should give careful consideration to all business problems and secure advice from qualified persons.

Secondly, education is essential for any lasting cooperative enterprise. Any group planning to start a cooperative should study carefully the Rochdale principles, and make sure that their constitution and by-laws are thoroughly in keeping with these principles in every respect. State laws for incorporation of cooperatives must be thoroughly understood and the constitution so drawn up that it will stand in court. Cooperators should study the problems they are likely to meet and consider carefully the policies they want to carry out.

These two foundation stones, sound business management and education, should go far to prevent two of the most important causes of past failure, incompetent management and competition from private business. The third cause of failure, lack of cooperation among stores, has already been largely overcome through connection with central wholesaling organizations and through membership in the Cooperative League of America. Cooperators would do well, however, to study past experiences in this country and be in a position to avoid past mistakes and profit by past successes.

In addition to retail stores, the credit union is a form of cooperative which has brought immense benefits to its members. There are today about 5,200 credit unions in the United States with 1,000,000 members and \$100,000,000 in savings. These credit unions perform a twofold function by furnishing (1) a safe investment for shareholders, and (2) a means of borrowing money at an interest rate lower than through other mediums for this type of loan.

The labor movement should work in close alliance with the movement for consumers' cooperatives and credit unions, so that cooperation may be fortified by strong labor organization and union members may be assured honest value when they spend their wages and may increase their purchasing power by eliminating waste and middlemen's profits. It is significant that today 58 per cent out of every dollar workers spend for food goes to middlemen and processors (Division of Marketing Research, Bureau of Agricultural Economics). A large portion of this 58 per cent can be returned to workers through consumers' cooperation.

HEALTH INSURANCE

In accord with resolutions adopted by the past two conventions, we have reviewed the available information on costs of medical care, adequacy of medical services, and methods of pooling the costs of medical care by cooperatives and health insurance legislation.

We find additional reasons for recommending health insurance and provisions for medical service within the reach of all in the relation between sickness and dependency. If we as a nation had considered and met the problem of providing adequate medical care for all, our present relief problem would be greatly simplified.

Distribution of Medical Care—Medical care is not provided according to need but according to capacity to pay. Accordingly, facilities for medical service are best in those communities where wealth abounds and where incomes are highest. This is true also of public health facilities. As the report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care found: A barrier, in a large part economic, stands between the practitioners, able and willing to serve, and patients needing the service but unwilling or unable to pay for it. Unfortunately, disease visits the poor with even greater frequency than those able to pay the doctors.

In 1929, the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care found 1,100,000 persons in medical service, about 500,000 in private practice and the rest in medical institutions and selling medical supplies. There were 7,000 hospitals, with a capacity of slightly less than 1,000,000 beds. Approximately 63 per cent of those in hospitals were under government control, supplying 73 per cent of all patient days of service. There were 8,000 clinic and out-patient departments of hospitals. Every state and large city and some of the small ones had health departments with full-time personnel.

This committee found that medical care received by all income groups was less than adequate, and that the lower income groups received less than the higher levels although the incidence of illness was practically the same in all families or for all individuals. In lower income groups, under \$1,200, there is no medical care for half the persons included. In addition, one of the greatest lacks in medical service is in the field of mental hygiene which the committee reported its inability to measure. Need of facilities to deal with early cases was found in almost every community. Early treatment would prevent the development of many hospital cases. The result is preventable illnesses, preventable deaths, and persons going through life with physical and mental handicaps that medical science could cure or alleviate.

In 1929, \$3,656,000,000 was spent for medical services. Of this, 29.8 per cent went to physicians in private practice; 12.2 per cent to dentists; 23.4 per cent to hospitals; 18.2 per cent for medicines; 3.3 per cent to public health; 5.5 per cent to nurses; 3.4 per cent to oculists, and 4.2 per cent to all others.

Costs of Illness Irregular and Unpredictable—Out of 1,000,000 persons in a normal year 470,000 will have no recognizable illness; 320,000 will be sick once; 140,000 will be sick twice; 50,000 will be sick three times; 20,000 will be sick four or more times.

No person can tell in advance into which group he or his family may fall during the year.

Although the individual of the lower income groups cannot foresee sickness and save against the need for medical care, it is possible to predict both the

incidence and duration of illness for a group, and accumulate group reserves for payment of medical care, if the group is large enough.

Practically no family with an income less than \$5,000 could bear the costs of a major illness without undergoing hardships. Nine out of every ten families have annual incomes under \$5,000. In 1929 there were six million families with incomes under \$1,000; twelve millions under \$1,500; sixteen millions under \$2,000; nineteen millions or 71 per cent under \$2,500.*

A study of costs of sickness in 1,000 typical families with incomes ranging from \$1,200 to \$2,000 showed the cost of medical care for sickness in 218 of these families, amounted to over \$100; in 80 families, costs exceeded \$200; and in 16 of these 80 families they ranged from \$400 to \$700 or about one-third of the family income. In families with incomes under \$1,200, it is even more impossible for the family to meet the expense. Clearly, the costs of serious sickness is nothing short of a cataclysm to these families.

Dr. I. S. Falk makes this doubly significant estimate of the total costs of sickness:

Families with incomes of	Loss in Earnings	Costs of Medical Care
\$1,200 to \$2,500	\$650,000,000	\$1,200,000,000
Less than \$1,200	250,000,000	300,000,000

It will be noted that in each income class, medical costs are more than the losses of income, and that medical care for the higher income group is four times that for the lower group. From these figures it is obvious that the risk of incurring bills for medical care is more serious than the loss in wages due to the sickness. If these persons could have medical care at least equal to that of the \$1,200-\$2,500 income group, a big social and economic loss would have been eliminated.

The total amount spent for various medical services comes in the following proportions from the separate sources listed: federal, state and local governments provide 14 percent; philanthropy supplies 5 percent; industry 2 percent; and family and individual incomes 79 percent.

The annual costs of medical care for our whole population are estimated at \$3,656,000,000, or 4 percent of all national income. This total is divided almost equally between practitioners and institutions. If this expenditure is viewed as the nation's health bill, Dr. Falk estimates the annual charge per person at \$30. Eliminating the proportion paid from taxes, Dr. Falk estimated that the average individual paid from \$23 to \$24 from his private purse, or the average family's bill was \$108. But, of course, the lower income groups do not have equal service. The bill for the family under \$1,200 averaged \$50. Those of families with incomes over \$10,000 averaged \$500. If illness each year could be covered by these average estimates, even a family with an income less than \$1,200 might be able to provide for its costs. But illness in the family may be negligible for several years and then unexpectedly fasten on a member of the family making necessary medical services amounting to \$500 or more. Five hundred dollars subtracted from an income that supplies bare necessities

* Brookings—Income and Economic Progress, p. 37.

plunges the family into desperation. Here is a serious problem that we need to solve both in the interests of the victims of sickness and those who provide medical service.

We find these conclusions:

While illness for the individual or an individual family is unpredictable, illness for the nation and the average family is knowable in advance.

Only the higher income groups can meet sickness costs out of current income, yet, since serious illness comes as an emergency, it must be paid for out of current income. Those with smaller incomes must budget; that is, use the insurance principle of contributing average costs to meet average risks into a group fund adequate to meet the needs of the group. Obviously, the larger the group, the better risks can be distributed and the smaller the charges against all. A number of families have incomes that cannot be stretched to include even payment of average costs of illness. If we believe that the sick must have medical care and that all have a right to good health, we cannot lose time in attacking the problem of providing adequate services.

Obviously, the larger income group can provide what they need, but they will benefit by social provisions for the better organization of medical service and for the best physical agencies freely available to all, such as hospitals, laboratory services, X-ray, operating rooms, and various diagnostic equipment. For the lowest income families, medical services must be provided by society. For the middle income groups, there is a choice between cooperative medicine and the governmental insurance method with medical service under governmental auspices.

Three factors are increasing the scope of public health activities in the opinion of Thomas F. Parran, Surgeon-General of the United States.

First, although many human ailments can be treated satisfactorily with limited equipment, scientific advances have increased constantly the complexity and the cost of medical service. Second, the lowered income of a large part of the population has put medical care beyond the reach of an increasing number. As a result, many physicians, dentists and nurses as well, find themselves today almost destitute. Third, people who are not ill and not confronted by a threat of illness are unwilling or uneducated to pay out of pocket for a preventive service.

The problems of providing medical care for the prevention and cure of disease are fundamental to the conservation of our nation. These are not problems that can be safely left to individual initiative, for life itself is at stake.

Sickness or Health Insurance—Those whose incomes are adequate can pay for medical care when the bills are presented, while those whose incomes are smaller, make partial payments until the debt is paid. Some with greater desire to prepare against emergencies join with others in making fixed payments into a common fund from which specific bills for medical care are paid. This practice originated in the old world where friendly societies took care of this common need. In this country there are a number of pre-payments plans, some groups providing for service on a contract basis while others have grown out of privately owned institutions and services. These are practical and beneficial provisions, though they lack the security which state supervision or administration would afford.

There are also the company sickness benefits. Large companies and corporations which paid salaries to their executives and office workers, found it hard to justify lack of concern for employees in production work. Some pay a percentage of regular wages; others provide a mutual benefit association to which employees and employers contribute jointly, and a third group provides sickness insurance. Some companies furnish plant medical service. However, these plans are essentially different from a social security provision, secured and administered by the government.

Sickness insurance is written by some private insurance companies but is too expensive for the average income. The base must be broad in order to make such insurance practically economical. This inspires the question how adequate medical care can be supplied to all. That can be done only by the federal government. Two methods have been proposed and tried:

- (1) State medicine in which society assumes responsibility for medical care and employs the doctors.
- (2) Sickness insurance which provides medical care and partial payment of wages or normal income.

The first method has been tried by one nation and a few agricultural areas such as Saskatchewan, Canada. Sickness or health insurance in Europe is generally under state supervision but is administered by voluntary organizations.

In most European countries, persons unable to meet costs of medical care out of current income, join benefit societies. Sometimes these societies consist only of the employees of one company; sometimes all insured persons of the locality; sometimes the members of a fraternal or friendly society with membership scattered throughout the country. The societies, while under government supervision, are self-administered. They are agencies which pool contributions to provide unemployment benefits to the sick and pay for the doctor who is usually a private practitioner. It is the mutualization of medical costs by the application of the insurance principle. The group pays instead of the individual. Usually, the individual has free choice as to physician.

Health insurance is the branch of social insurance which has been notably solvent, because contributions and expenditures have been adjusted from one fiscal period to another. However, Sir Arthur Newsholme observes that no scheme of compulsory medical insurance has given all medical care which the sick need without assistance from state funds. Experience has shown that health insurance should be related to public health administration.

German Health Insurance—The more important, older industrial nations have methods for providing health insurance. Germany led the way, establishing compulsory health insurance for industrial workers with its law of 1883. In 1885 the insurance was extended to commerce, and in 1886 to agriculture. A provision for health insurance was included in the Federal Insurance Code of 1911 which covers accident and invalidity insurance also. Unemployment insurance was not provided until 1927. The Act of 1911 covered domestic and agricultural workers in addition to workers in industry and provided cash sickness benefits, medical service, maternity benefits and family benefits.

Nearly all German hospitals are government operated with salaried physicians.

The local sickness insurance agency is a society or fund (*Krankenkassen*). They are usually on a regional basis and include all insured persons of the locality belonging to a particular type of fund. There are seven types. All persons employed and receiving an income not in excess of 2000M., or \$500, are required to be insured in the appropriate type of fund. The society administers the fund to which employers and employees contribute, the latter paying double the amount paid by the former. The society makes contracts for medical care. Sometimes the physicians give all their time and are paid either salaries or on a fixed fee basis. Sometimes physicians in private practices are subject to call at a fixed fee. In the larger cities a close relationship between sickness insurance and organized public health work has developed.

Most of the German hospitals have some degree of government support, and 85 per cent of their patients are members of insurance societies. The state is accustomed to provide treatment for the very poor.

Medical services must be provided without a waiting period and include: (1) medical attendance; (2) prescribed medicines, spectacles and minor surgical appliances; (3) hospitalization; (4) medical attendance for members of an insured person's family; (5) maternity care.

The physician determines both cash payments and medical care. When sickness insurance was established the medical profession was not interested and consequently was not consulted. The non-professional or lay control was primarily concerned to administer its duties most economically. Later, the medical profession made demands for professional responsibility and objected to placing responsibility for certification upon their shoulders. They held that the physician treating a patient should not determine his fitness for work, but that after the attending physician expressed his opinion, determination of cash benefits should lie with salaried officials of the society (lay and medical).

Under the Act of July 5, 1934, the social insurance agencies of Germany were integrated into a single system. The societies will retain sickness funds but will pay a proportion into a pool or equalization fund. The local sickness funds administrators are also to administer invalidity, old age and death benefits for salaried workers.

The relationship between the fund and the doctors is now regulated by law through a central contract.

British Health Insurance—The British health insurance system began with the Act of 1911, covering all manual workers and others with incomes not exceeding \$779. This limit was later raised to \$1,217. The number of insured persons in England, Wales and Scotland is approximately eighteen millions, 40 per cent of the population and 80 per cent of all gainfully employed. All industrial occupations are covered, and also those employed in transport, agriculture and domestic services.

The employer is responsible for deducting his employees' contributions from wages and for forwarding this, together with his own contributions, through the post office by purchase of special stamps, to the National Insurance Fund.

An insured person becomes eligible to full cash benefits after contributing into the fund for two years; however, he receives partial benefits at the end of six months, payable with the fourth day of sickness.

Medical benefits guaranteed all insured persons include a doctor's services, either at his office or in the patient's home, with such drugs and appliances as the practitioner may consider necessary. There is no waiting period and no maximum duration of medical care. The check-up by administrative officials is to prevent certification for undue medical care. The service of specialists is not provided.

Health insurance administration approved many existing friendly societies, benefit associations and similar insurance agencies as its agencies. Some of the commercial insurance companies organized societies which met the legal requirements and were approved. These approved societies took over the work of registering persons for health insurance, administering cash benefits and some other financial duties. Approved societies performed duties similar to the German Krankenkassen. However, unlike the German agencies, they are not organized on a regional or local basis. They are controlled by the insurance beneficiaries and not by both contributors, employers and employees, as in Germany. Neither do they administer medical benefits. Membership in an approved society is not compulsory.

The Insurance Committee is the medical administrative agency. There is one in each county. It consists of elected representatives, a majority of whom represent insured persons while the rest represent local doctors, the local county government and Ministry of Health. One of the county's representatives must be a doctor which is true also of the Ministry of Health, unless the committee consists of more than twenty-five members. Participation by doctors in administrative work has been most helpful in promoting good relations with the medical profession. The doctors of a locality elect the panel committee consisting of physicians; the chemists elect the pharmaceutical committee. These committees are entirely separate from the insurance committee and serve on local matters.

The Ministry of Health is the central agency for coordinating administration. The staff of the Ministry supervises both cash and medical benefits. Its regional medical officers are whole-time salaried physicians to whom insurance cases and problems are referred. They check abuses and supervise and improve medical services. The regional medical staff has since been supplemented by a regional dental staff.

The development of the principles underlying medical administration is due largely to the medical administration.

A licensed physician may elect to have his name placed on the panel of insurance doctors. Each patient has a free choice of doctors.

To correct the defects of British health insurance, the British Medical Association recommended:

1. Enlarging the scope of medical benefit to include specialist treatment, dental service, institutional care, etc.
2. Enlarging the scope of the insured population to embrace the dependents of insured persons; and

3. Consolidating the administration of insurance medicine with other medical bodies (public health, poor law, hospital services, etc.).

French Compulsory Sickness Insurance—In 1930, France adopted compulsory sickness insurance after years of experience with voluntary insurance. When France took possession of Alsace-Lorraine it took over a people who had been accustomed to the benefits of the German compulsory health insurance plan. Either this plan of the German people had to be scrapped or extended to the French people. Hence, action was expedited in health insurance which had been under consideration for about ten years.

The plan covers all employed workers, excluding those with incomes over 1,500 francs, who live in the country or who have no children.

The scope of the medical service is like that of the German system; cash benefits are 50 per cent of wages, with an insurance against medical costs. The local fund (*caisse*) does not furnish medical care but reimburses the insured person for bills which sickness incurred with fixed scales of payment.

Other Countries—Compulsory plans are in operation in Austria, Bulgaria, Chile, Czecho-slovakia, Esthonia, Greece, Hungary, Irish Free State, Japan, Jugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Russia.

Voluntary Plans—Denmark (1892) provides state aid to mutual benefit societies conforming to state regulations. The plan is open to all groups of same economic standing, such as small farmers and civil service employees. Voluntary plans have been established also in Argentina, Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Palestine, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay.

Germany and Denmark have broadened the scope of medical service, while Great Britain and others have restricted it to the home and office practice of the general practitioner. Some countries have developed voluntary hospital insurance. In Great Britain, medical care has been expanded to include consultants, laboratory and other diagnostic aids, eye and teeth service, nursing, hospital and other institutional services.

Most European countries have gone from voluntary to compulsory health insurance. Many evils of voluntary plans have been carried over to the compulsory.

Sickness Insurance in the United States—We have already a restricted type of sickness insurance in the United States in our workmen's compensation legislation which, in some cases, covers occupational diseases as well as disability due to industrial accidents. These laws provide money compensation for the loss of wages and medical care for disability.

The principle of workmen's compensation has been established by forty-six states and the federal government. It was the obvious and logical remedy for the problem growing out of injured workers unable to secure redress by lawsuits, unable to pay for the medical service necessary to restore them to health, and with little chance of recovering working capacity. The result was an unnecessary burden on the community and needless waste of human life and capacity. When it became obvious that workers were helpless victims of industry

because their individual right to redress through the courts was made meaningless by their inability to pay lawyers' fees, society formulated a policy defining its responsibility for seeing that justice was done and setting up simple, administrative machinery to compensate injured workers for time lost and to provide medical service for their injuries. The administrative agencies established non-legal procedures so as to eliminate the need for lawyers and legal fees.

We made attacks on all forms of the major causes of social insecurity—accidents, sickness, unemployment, old age, without developing a unified or comprehensive program, until 1935, when the Social Security Act was passed. This was an initial step toward a comprehensive national program. It seemed expedient at that time not to include health insurance. But sickness is an increased cost which bankrupts many families, and no program for social security is complete without provisions for sickness.

Health insurance is one section of social insurance. Social insurance is the method of providing a degree of economic security. In the words of I. S. Falk:

The underlying force is the quest for security. Social insurance has now served for many decades as a technique whereby hundreds of millions of people, themselves without substantial capital and earning small or modest incomes, have been given some measure of financial security against the major economic risks of life and living.*

Disease, with the costs of its medical care, is one of the most frequent causes of poverty and dependency and must be prevented or given adequate medical care, if social security is to be promoted. Health is a social as well as an individual concern.

On the basis of the facts presented, we recommend that the convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the federal government to create a commission to study and recommend plans for coordination and improvement of our provisions for social security and their expansion to include compensation and medical care for sickness.

MACHINE DISPLACEMENT

In conformity with authority given by the San Francisco, 1934, convention on Resolution No. 118, calling for an investigation of machine displacement, the Executive Council constituted itself as a committee to make this investigation. At our meeting at headquarters in May, 1936, the following report was submitted:

A bill was introduced in Congress known as H. R. 49, by Representative Palmisano, of Maryland, which provides that the Secretary of Labor compile a list of labor-saving devices, machinery and otherwise, put in operation in the United States after December, 1912, which are still in use, and to estimate the number of persons now unemployed by reason of use of each kind or type of such devices. A hearing was held February 13 on this bill, and a representative of the American Federation of Labor testified in favor of its passage.

Senator Hatch, of New Mexico, at the request of the Federation has made an amendment to his Relief Bill, known as S. R. 241, which calls for

* I. S. Falk, *Security Against Sickness*. Doubleday, Doran & Company. 1935.

a study, survey, and investigation of the "number of persons now unemployed by reason of the use of labor-saving devices, mechanical and otherwise, in operation in the United States."

Also, an investigation and research are now being conducted by the W. P. A. and National Research Bureau. These reports are not yet available but will be submitted as soon as they can be obtained, to the Executive Council.

These reports have not yet become available. What we are herewith submitting is for the purpose of making it a matter of official record. If a congressional investigation should be finally held and facts and figures can be obtained with reference as to what is actually taking place, we must then find the remedy.

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES

Since there are no unified and comparable sources of data on output, employment and actual hours in manufacturing industries, we have at the present time no way of determining beyond a rough approximation the year to year changes in labor productivity in manufacturing industries. A careful analysis of the available series covering these factors can serve as a basis, however, for a rough estimate of the average production turned out by one worker per each hour of working time.

The best estimates we have indicate that productivity of labor per man-hour of work increased by about 25 percent during the period extending from 1929 through 1932. A further increase of about 13 percent has been registered during the years from 1933 through 1935. Such indications as these of the changes in productivity may be derived from the Federal Reserve Board's index of the physical volume of production in manufacturing and the index of the estimated man-hours worked from the employment and hours' figures on manufacturing industries covered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The chief difficulty in deriving a thoroughly reliable index of productivity by this method lies in the fact that the statistics of production cover establishments and industries not entirely identical with those from which employment statistics are obtained. Furthermore, the statistics of average weekly hours are secured only from a portion of the establishments and industries which report the number of employees. An additional difficulty is found in the fact that the index of production on the monthly basis may reflect labor expended in an earlier month. Finally, the production figures are generally based on an average for the month while the employment index is derived from figures covering the week ending nearest the middle of the month. Deficient though these figures are, they give us an indisputable indication of the increasing trend in labor productivity in recent years. The vast increases in the output of workers in manufacturing industries during the past few years make imperative a detailed study of the situation to enable us to determine with certainty the extent of displacement of men by machines.

As an example of an industry in which relationships between employment, production, and output per worker have undergone drastic changes in the past

ten years, a brief discussion of the experience in the shoe manufacturing industry will suffice. The accompanying table shows that the volume of production of shoes was 18 percent greater in 1935 than in 1926. In fact, the record production of last year exceeded even the previous all-time high of 1929 by 6 per cent. At the same time, it will be observed that in 1935, it took 22.7 per cent less man-hours of work than in 1926 to produce 18 percent more shoes. Most marked of all was increase in the output per man per hour. In the ten-year period the man-hour productivity increased by 52.5 per cent.

It is significant that in this industry the major increase in production since the beginning of the depression occurred between 1932 and 1933. The second major advance in productive output was recorded between 1934 and 1935. In the pre-depression peak year of 1929, 361,412,000 pairs of shoes were produced. In 1935, 383,761,000 pairs were produced, an increase of 22,349,000 pairs. On the other hand, the number of jobs in the industry had dropped from 205,600 in 1929 to about 197,600 in 1935. In other words, it took 8,000 fewer workers to produce 22,000,000 more pairs of shoes.

More than that, during this period all workers engaged in the production of shoes worked on the average 8.8 fewer hours per week. This curtailment in both hours and employment resulted in a 23.2 per cent reduction in total man-hours required for production between 1929 and 1935. The productivity of each worker in one hour during this time was increased by 38 per cent.

It is clear that had there been no curtailment in weekly hours, a much larger number of workers would have been thrown out of employment. Between 1926 and 1929, while weekly hours remained constant, a 10 percent increase in production gave only one percent more employment. In 1933, a reduction in hours occurred under the NRA, which set an average maximum 40-hour-week for the industry and an absolute maximum 45-hour-week. The 40-hour-week was not enforced during the sixteen weeks of peak production during the year. Although this restriction of hours was, therefore, by no means stringent, permitting the necessary elasticity of hours, it did away with much of the usual overtime output in the weeks of a heavy production load and spread employment among a larger number of workers. This was reflected in the fact that a 9 per cent increase in shoe production between 1933 and 1935 resulted in a 3.5 per cent gain in employment.

INDEXES OF PRODUCTION, MAN-HOURS WORKED, AND PRODUCTIVITY PER MAN PER HOUR IN THE SHOE INDUSTRY. 1926 THROUGH 1935.

1926 = 100

Year	Production	Man-Hours	Productivity Per man per hour
1926	100	100.0	100.0
1927	106	101.4	104.1
1928	106	96.4	109.5
1929	111	100.6	110.5
1930	93	85.4	109.3
1931	97	87.7	110.2
1932	97	81.2	119.1
1933	108	84.0	128.3
1934	109	77.1	141.3
1935	118	77.3	152.5

Source: Production—Federal Reserve Board index; Man-Hours—Based on estimated employment and average weekly hours worked, U. S. Dept. of Labor; Productivity—Derived by dividing production by man-hours.

The man-hour productivity figures shown in the table indicate that productivity was increasing slowly and gradually through 1931. The two years, 1930 and 1931, were those of the lowest ebb in production. During these two years, the lag in sales forced the producers to enforce economies, which brought about increases in mechanization and greater efficiency. This became evident in the following year when productivity per man per hour registered a drastic advance, an advance which was sustained during the ensuing years through 1935.

Important changes in the marketing of shoes had occurred prior to 1933, which also stimulated the increased use of mechanical equipment. One of those was a notable increase in production of lower grade footwear reflected in the fact that between 1929 and 1933, the value of output had dropped by 42 percent, although the volume of production was only 3 percent lower. These cheap shoes which require much less time and labor caused the elimination of many important processes in their production and required much less direct labor.

While it is impossible to say in the absence of more detailed data just how much labor saving machinery was directly responsible for the 52 percent increase in labor productivity since 1926, it is clear that important technological changes had occurred in this industry, causing a loss of thousands of jobs and preventing gains in employment proportionate to the increased output.

Our inability to determine with reasonable precision the extent of technological changes in the basic industries is due to the fact that we are compelled to rely entirely on generalized statistical data which often does not disclose the real changes in industrial technique. Only first-hand surveys of plant operation can disclose the real nature of technological changes. Changes in productivity must be studied in direct relation to such factors as changes in equipment, managerial changes, investment, cost and price structures, if we are to gain an understanding of the social and economic consequences of technological developments. Without such knowledge, it is impossible to deal intelligently with such fundamental national problems as that of industrial unemployment.

The first comprehensive effort to determine the extent and significance of technological changes with regard to unemployment was initiated in October, 1935, by the Coordinating Committee of the Central Statistical Board and the Works Progress Administration in approving a comprehensive fact-finding program under the supervision of WPA.

Designed to be the first project in a more comprehensive plan to be known as the National Research Program, the first study was entitled: "A Survey of Reemployment Opportunities and Recent Changes in Industrial Technique". This project was placed under the direction of Mr. David Wientraub of the Research Division of WPA, and was launched as a joint project in cooperation with such outstanding private fact-finding agencies as the National Bureau of Economic Research, as well as a number of the agencies of the federal government.

While no comprehensive study of technological changes or technological unemployment has ever been attempted, much valuable material has been gathered

by public and private agencies on special phases of the problem. The first task in the WPA study, therefore, was to assemble and organize the existing materials so that later they could be augmented by systematic surveys carried on as a part of the National Research project. The important function of this search of available materials was to provide background for plant surveys of productivity. In this connection, the files of the NRA are being searched in order to collect and abstract materials on specific industries including background technological data and statistics already accumulated.

Data on costs in various industries have been secured from the files of the Federal Trade Commission and the Tariff Commission, and arrangements have been made with a large number of manufacturers to secure further cost and investment data indispensable for the interpretation of technological and productivity statistics which the study will obtain. Finally, bibliographical research has been undertaken in the form of abstracts of books, articles and other materials dealing with the subject of technological change, for the guidance of the staff members in their work on the project and as a permanent contribution to the study of the subject.

Thus solidly based on the data already available, a program of actual investigations was laid out along the following lines:

1. Plant surveys of changes in productivity in certain industries.
2. Statistical studies of changing productivity.
3. Surveys of the effects of industrial changes on the labor market and on individual workers.

All government agencies which collect industrial statistics are collaborating in the project. These include the Department of Commerce with its Bureau of Census, the Bureau of Mines, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Department of Agriculture, and other agencies. Of the agencies outside the government, the National Bureau of Economic Research, a private non-profit corporation on which the American Federation of Labor is represented, is the chief collaborator. Professor Harry Jerome, a director of the Bureau by university appointment and the author of "Mechanization in Industry", has assumed the personal direction of a number of studies included in the project. The Wharton School of Economics and Finance of the University of Pennsylvania is also among the non-government institutions collaborating in the study.

The first objective in the work on this project is to secure a statistical overall picture of production and man-hours. Related to this general picture are intensive studies in selected industries which will attempt to isolate the specific developments in each industry underlying the broader general trend. The following are a few examples of types of individual industrial surveys undertaken:

1. An industry which has introduced new machinery.
2. Another which has not.
3. An old established industry, such as the shoe industry.
4. A new industry, such as rayon, radio, automobiles.
5. A suffering industry, such as coal.
6. A durable goods industry which has declined precipitously during the depression.
7. A perishable goods industry which has declined little during the depression.

8. An industry in which the production process involves primarily the use of human labor, and in which therefore the costs fluctuate more or less directly with the volume of production and number of people employed.

9. An industry in which the production process involves primarily the use of expensive machines, which continue to represent a fixed cost burden regardless of fluctuation in volume of production.

In making the plant by plant surveys in these selected industries, a staff of trained technicians and engineers, closely familiar with the technical problems of industry and its economic setup, has been engaged.

This study represents a unique, and by far the most impressive, attempt to date to analyze the mechanization of industry and its complex effect on the equilibrium of our economic structure. In the short time in which this enormous undertaking has been carried on much progress has been made and a number of industrial studies are nearing completion.

The entire project, however, is placed on an emergency basis and financed from work relief funds so that even the completion of the work in progress is by no means assured. The high caliber of the personnel engaged in the study and the quality of the data already accumulated, indicate that means must be found to carry this work to conclusion. If the results of the study fulfil the well-justified expectation of fundamental and conclusive achievement, the group engaged in the study should be placed on a permanent basis so that its important fact-finding functions may be continued without interruption.

Labor is vitally concerned with the continuation of this work because its welfare has been directly affected by the displacement of men by machines. Organized labor is determined to make sure that technological unemployment is not dealt with blindly in the years to come. It realizes that only sound and comprehensive fact-finding will make it possible to chart the employment opportunities of the future.

HOUSING FOR WAGE-EARNERS

A sharp increase in rents throughout the nation in the fall of 1936 serves as a concrete reminder to the American wage-earners of the rapidly developing housing shortage. With residential construction still lagging at levels far below those of other industrial activity, with 10,777,000 wage-earners still unemployed, it becomes increasingly clear that only swift and decisive action can avert the impending housing crisis.

The inevitability of such a crisis, which no responsible student of the problem can seriously deny, brings out all the more forcibly our glaring lack of preparedness to meet it. The Wagner-Ellenbogen bill, which passed the Senate by a large majority in the 74th Congress but was caught in the last minute legislative jam in the House, is not on the statute books. That measure proposed an extremely modest beginning for a long-range slum clearance and low-rent housing program and called for a negligible appropriation. But now wage-earners are deprived of even that basic assurance of a unified and sound program of housing under federal guidance and through local effort.

Labor's leadership in the support of the housing bill in the last session of

Congress was chiefly responsible for the favorable consideration of the bill in the Senate. The demand by unions throughout the country for the Wagner bill at the time of the Senate hearings, and forceful presentation of the case for housing by labor representatives before the Senate Committee, made for better public understanding of the problem in the future and definitely paved the way for the passage of a similar housing bill in the next Congress.

There was much opposition to the housing bill by special interests in the last session of Congress. It is likely that the forces opposed to the bill will be better organized and will present an even more determined opposition when the United States Housing Bill comes up for consideration next year.

A handicap, however, more important than the scattered voices of special pleaders raised against the bill lies in the fact that the country has not yet fully appreciated the magnitude of the housing and slum problem nor its many social implications. Only persistent and widespread educational activity will overcome the existing inertia and make possible the eventual elimination of bad housing, slums and blighted areas.

What is the extent of the housing shortage the country is facing today? In spite of the increase in the number of families, there has been an almost complete stoppage in the production of new homes in the past six years. At the same time, our existing supply has been wearing out. The slums and jerry-built houses of past generations, always substandard, have fallen into disrepair more rapidly than ever. An increasing number of them are now totally unfit for human occupancy. Hundreds of thousands of additional homes have become useless because of their location on submarginal farms or in districts from which industry has moved. This growing real shortage of dwellings has been masked until recently by a number of factors and is just now becoming visible.

Our quantitative housing needs depend on the number of families which require shelter rather than on the number of individuals. Although the growth of our population is gradually levelling off, the number of families is increasing much more rapidly than the number of individuals. The most reliable estimate made, that of the Labor Housing Conference and the National Association of Housing Officials, shows that the number of additional homes needed in the next decade merely to house the increased number of families will be almost 7,000,000, or an increase of 20 percent over the existing number.

The need for replacements bulks almost as large. Millions of our present houses are so substandard and decayed that they constitute a proven menace to public health and welfare. Not less than 10 percent,* or 3,250,000 dwellings, are unfit for further use, either because of condition or location. They require immediate replacement, whether on the present site or elsewhere.

During the next decade millions more will wear out. An allowance of one percent per year is a minimum rate for such depreciation and obsolescence. At this rate, replacement of another 10 per cent of our housing supply, or an additional 3,250,000 will be necessary within the next ten years.

A total of 13,196,000 dwelling units must be provided by the end of 1945, to

* Some authorities estimate as much as 30 percent.

meet minimum quantitative needs and eliminate the worst of the old dwellings. If the "doubling up" hidden in 1930 census figures and also in our estimates of future quantitative needs based on those figures were to be eliminated, a million more dwelling units would be required. The total would then become more than 14,000,000 or more than twice as many as were constructed during the entire boom decade of 1920-29.

This figure makes but slight allowance for increasing our standards of space, amenity and convenience, or for any decisive population shift. It does not begin to approach the number of homes that would be required if the American people were housed in the manner to which their natural resources, their labor supply and their technical skill and ingenuity entitle them.

The real property inventory recently conducted in 64 cities, revealed startling facts about housing conditions which prevail in these representative communities.

Over 18 per cent of the houses surveyed were in bad structural condition;

20 per cent had neither tubs nor showers;

13 per cent had no private indoor water closets;

Nearly 17 per cent were too small for the families occupying them.

Most cities surveyed had whole areas so congested as to shut out light and air.

In the city of New York alone 516,360 families, or about 1,750,000 persons, live in slum areas. This is approximately 25 per cent of the residential population of the city. Of the dwelling units occupied by these families, 236,000 have no tub or shower; 190,000 have no private indoor water closets; 244,000 have no hot water supply whatever. About 290,000 dwelling rooms are without outside windows.

In the case of these half million families living in the slum areas of New York City, during the decade between 1925 and 1935, the death rate due to all causes was 84 percent higher among these families than in the rest of the city. In the same period, the tuberculosis rate was 219 per cent higher. The death rate caused by spinal meningitis was 244 per cent higher. The diphtheria rate 202 per cent higher and the rate of death caused by fire was more than 200 per cent higher than in the remainder of the city.

Crowded unsanitary surroundings in which great masses of American workers in many industries are compelled to live are a constant threat to their own health and a menace to the health of their children. Contagion spreads rapidly under those conditions and such workers' communities fall easy prey to deadly epidemics.

It has been also shown that crowding within a home tends to undermine the sense of decency and the morals of the people subjected to those conditions. Crowded housing within a community and absence of recreational facilities breed crime, drunkenness, gambling, and prostitution among the adults compelled to live in the degrading surroundings of a slum, and are easily handed down to the children they rear. As a crime-prevention and vice-elimination measure, replacement of such housing is of incalculable value to society because it uproots the very causes of the social problem.

For many years organized labor waged its fight for government assistance in housing. As early as 1914, the convention of the American Federation of

Labor went on record as favoring government loans for housing to provide proper sanitary living quarters for wage-earners. When attempts to secure the necessary legislation in Congress proved to be unsuccessful in the following year, the 1915 convention noted significantly that "it will require considerable discussion and agitation before legislators in Congress, state assemblies or municipal councils will pay serious attention to the need of reform to solve the evils which everybody recognizes but few undertake to remedy."

During the war years, American Federation of Labor successfully led the fight for adequate housing for war workers. Through the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense it was instrumental in bringing to light the conditions resulting from congestion in war production centers and finally succeeded in its demand for housing of war workers, supervised and built by the federal government. This program was carried out by the United States Housing Corporation and the United States Shipping Board and comprised some 16,000 dwelling units completed by the end of the war.

The depression of 1921 made Labor keenly aware of the need for a long-range building program, a program that would not only answer the current needs for construction, but also act as a stabilizing factor and diminish the force of depressions. It was this realization that prompted organized labor in the boom year of 1923 to urge the government to defer its construction program until the time when unemployment would exist in the building trades. Building trades realized that high wages and bonuses of the boom year would be followed by unemployment and wage cuts, unless the building activity in the country was stabilized. Rather than high peaks of activity followed by deep depressions, the workers preferred stable wages and stable employment.

In time Labor extended application of this view from a government-sponsored construction program to a preplanned long-range housing program. The program that once seemed desirable mainly because it would stabilize employment, was now advocated because it would fill the great need of adequate housing for wage-earners.

No attention to housing as a national problem had been given by Congress, however, until 1932, when the Emergency Relief and Construction Act authorized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make loans to limited-dividend companies for low-rent projects. Stringent requirements for competent state or municipal supervision in the administration of such projects made it impossible for any state except New York to receive such loans. The 1932 Act provided the necessary incentive, however, for thirteen states to set up state housing boards within the next two years.

The recovery program legislated by Congress in the spring of 1933 recognized the housing problem as a definite part of the national emergency. Section 202 of the NIRA provided that "construction, reconstruction, alteration, or repair under a public regulation or control of low cost housing or slum clearance projects be included in a comprehensive program of public works." To carry this out a Housing Division was set up in the Public Works Administration. Although inadequately financed from the original allotment authorized by the NIRA and funds allocated from emergency relief appropriations, the Housing Division carried on by far the most important activity in the housing

field under the emergency program. Hampered by inadequate funds and court litigation, this agency succeeded, nevertheless, in carrying out a number of outstanding projects which demonstrated conclusively the advantages of slum-clearance and low-rent modern housing under the supervision of the federal government. Its fifty projects in thirty-five cities will house approximately 25,000 families in the low-income group, giving direct employment to 50,000 building workers.

Another notable development in housing was undertaken by the Suburban Division of the Resettlement Administration. This agency was charged with the task of developing low-cost suburban communities in selected large cities. Three such communities are now being built on the outskirts of Cincinnati, Milwaukee and Washington. Over 3,000 families will be provided for in these projects, and employment will be given to some 20,000 workers in their construction. Large tracts of land have been acquired to be turned directly from farm to city use without speculative waste. Orderly development and planning for future growth will replace the old traditional pattern of haphazard piecemeal development. Here, workers and their children will find homes at moderate rents, where they can live in healthy outdoor conditions combined with the advantages of modern city life.

While the Federal Housing Administration, created in 1934, has borne no connection with the housing program proper, either in purpose or achievement to date, it was authorized to guarantee loans from local sources on low-cost housing projects.

Aware of the delay in the launching by the federal government of the long-overdue housing program sufficiently comprehensive to meet the most insistent housing needs, organized labor initiated an active campaign in support of a long-range program of low-rent housing, nation-wide in scope.

The Labor Housing Conference, which was organized for this purpose, coordinated the activity of thousands of labor organizations actively interested in housing for wage-earners throughout the country. In every sizeable community, local labor housing committees were set up in cooperation with local building trades councils and central labor unions. In October, 1935, the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor sounded a call to wage-earners in the labor movement to back with united strength the demand for housing legislation.

Pursuant to the action of the Atlantic City convention, a committee of the American Federation of Labor was appointed to aid, direct and collaborate with the Labor Housing Conference in providing information, promoting legislation, developing projects, and protecting the interests of Labor and consumer in the housing movement. This committee, appointed by the Executive Council at its January meeting, was constituted as follows: Chairman, Harry C. Bates, President of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, Vice-President, American Federation of Labor; John Coesfield, President of Plumbers and Steam Fitters United Association, Vice-President, American Federation of Labor; M. J. Colleran, President of Operative Plasterers International Association.

The legislative program developed by the Labor Housing Conference and the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor was made public on February 27, when it received its final approval at a meeting of nineteen building trades organizations and was transmitted to the President.

Bills embodying the basic features of this program were introduced in Congress by Senator Wagner, of New York, who for many years had advocated housing legislation, and by Representative Ellenbogen of Pennsylvania. The Wagner-Ellenbogen bill was designed to stimulate, through federal loans and subsidies, the construction by local agencies of safe and sanitary dwellings for low income families. This federal assistance was to encourage slum clearance and to provide a wide base for the general revival of the durable goods and building industries and the reemployment of workers in those industries.

The bill contemplated the creation of an independent corporate agency, the United States Housing Authority, to administer the program. Local public housing societies composed of beneficiaries of the program in a given community were also provided for, to administer and promote low-rent housing. To initiate the plan a small bond issue was planned for loans to be made available at small interest rates, while grants were to be covered by appropriations also of modest proportions. Safeguards protecting labor on construction work on these projects were embodied in the bill, including minimum wages and hours and the anti-kick-back provision. The bill recognized the fact that private enterprise cannot alone do the job that must be done, providing, at the same time, every possible safeguard against competition with private industry.

This bill very nearly became law in the last session of Congress. It passed the Senate by a large majority. In the last days of the session, however, the bill was caught in the last-minute legislative jam and failed to reach the floor of the House, although its approval was assured by that body as well.

The United States Housing Bill, unchanged in any important respect except for a larger appropriation of funds and greater bond-raising powers, can and must be passed this coming winter. Senator Wagner has promised to lead the fight again. The American Federation of Labor Housing Committee and the Labor Housing Conference are already at work on detailed plans in preparation for the coming legislative session. Organized labor is determined to place the United States Housing Bill on the statute books next year.

INFORMATION SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Farmers, business men and Labor depend on the federal government for certain types of information which can only be collected satisfactorily by government agencies. These include the monthly and yearly statistics of industry and agriculture, covering production, prices, employment, wages, hours of work and a number of other items necessary for measurement of industrial development. It has been the function of the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor to furnish this information, and the budgets of these departments listed below, show the relative amounts allotted to each for their work over a period of ten years:

Appropriations for Regular Departmental Activities

Fiscal Year*	Labor	Commerce	Agriculture†
1936 (a)	\$15,741,410	\$34,851,458	\$82,978,114
1935	14,063,385	31,622,762	62,674,010
1934	14,389,169	36,942,932	72,086,438
1933	13,738,051	45,213,200	91,264,732
1932	15,036,274	54,959,587	97,617,272
1931	12,848,751	61,300,936	95,223,637
1930	11,429,283	60,507,857	77,258,233
1929	11,181,460	40,712,899	75,134,508
1928	10,160,396	36,821,839	74,062,364
1927	10,183,979	31,526,373	60,417,970
Average	\$12,877,000	\$43,445,984	\$78,871,728

Source: Digest of Appropriations, United States Treasury

* Appropriations for fiscal year and supplemental and deficiency appropriation for prior years.

(a) 1936 supplemental appropriations not included; they will be shown in the 1937 appropriations Digest which lists deficiencies for prior years.

† Excludes Bureau of Public Roads, AAA, drought and flood relief and seed loans.

The average yearly budgets over these ten years show that the Department of Agriculture has usually received an appropriation about six times that of the Department of Labor, and the Department of Commerce in non-census years (omitting 1930 to 1933) a little more than twice that of the Department of Labor.

Since the working men and women who depend on information from the Department of Labor for their special needs comprise, with their families, nearly 80 per cent of our population, they have a right to claim that a very much larger share of government funds be allotted to the task of supplying their needs.

The information now supplied on wages and hours of work is so inadequate that trade unions cannot find the statistical data they need for wage negotiations. The Labor Department studies of wage rates and hours of work have been made only in the larger industries and in these industries only at intervals of two years or more. Thus, if we need information on the lumber industry, to show actual wage rates and hours of work today, we find that the last study was made in 1932; for the brass, bronze and copper industry we find no study has ever been made of wages and hours.

We have for the railroads excellent monthly records covering employment, hours of work, wage payments, traffic statistics, financial conditions and other data necessary for a complete picture of growth and change in this industry. Until we can secure such complete figures for all industries, we shall not be in a position to solve intelligently such problems as technological unemployment nor to direct industrial growth for the benefit of the masses of our people.

The statistical research program of the Labor Department and other government agencies should be steadily built up working toward this goal. In the building process emphasis must be placed on; (1) Complete coverage of firms studied, to include employment, wages, hours, man-hours, production, prices, financial statistics; (2) Coordination of statistical material so that the

data collected will cover all these items for identical firms, making it possible to compare, for instance, employment and man-hours with production, or wages with total income from sales, and with profits and dividend payments.

We have in the United States elaborate daily statistics on prices of stocks and bonds on the stock markets, yet even monthly or quarterly information on matters vital to the lives of 80 per cent of our population is totally lacking.

OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Every central labor union should maintain a standing committee on education which shall be responsible for advancing educational opportunities for all children. Included in this general responsibility is making sure that Labor is represented on the Board of Education and the Board of Directors of the Public Library.

It is particularly important that this committee watch that adequate appropriations are made for buildings and institutions and that the widest use be made of public school buildings. Where curtailments were made during the depression, special effort may be necessary to restore revenues and educational opportunities.

Adequate and effective educational institutions are essential in a democratic country, and the larger the investments we make in education the more likely we are to cope with our economic and political problems constructively.

Not only should public educational facilities be planned for the youth of the country, but for our adult population also. Educators no longer believe that all of education must be crowded into the period of youth, but that the human mind may continuously develop and avail itself of new disciplines. Already are university extension courses, correspondence courses, and many adult education facilities available. But few of these are planned especially for the needs of the working population. The average adult facing some problem in work or in living, feels the need of information and counsel that he may know what to do with his problems. He learns by the project method, and his projects are the problems in living. The working population should be able to look to our university extension for educational help and to our government for informational service and counsel. Business men, farmers, bankers, railway executives, professional persons already have such provisions, which constitute precedents for Labor's demands.

The nation and the government are anxious to promote the well-being of all citizens. Labor asks only necessary cooperation in promoting its own well-being. We ask cooperation from every state university and information and counsel from federal and state governments upon the business of promoting the well-being of seventy-eight per cent of our population.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The American Federation of Labor took a leading part in the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act which authorized the federal government to make grants to states for vocational education and the training of teachers for this field. This educational work is of fundamental importance to the organized

labor movement, for it is the method of training the workers of the future who will come into our factories and work plants.

As our labor movement was responsible for the enactment of this law, it has a continuing responsibility to watch its administration. This responsibility grows into an imperative necessity when we realize that if the union movement does not insist that the controlling purpose of vocational education is the training of men and women to work effectively and intelligently, industry will control this agency for the purpose of securing reserves of cheap labor, trained only in mechanical operations.

The misuse of public funds and school institutions by industries brought forth such protests from unions that the Commissioner of Education, at the request of the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor, authorized an advisory committee to plan against the recurrence of such abuses. Labor was represented by the following: John P. Frey, of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; George L. Googe, southern representative of the American Federation of Labor, and Emil Rieve, of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. The committee formulated regulations which would safeguard the use of federal funds in plant training programs. They are as follows:

Conditions Under Which a Public School System May or May Not Be Justified in Establishing Training Programs Within a Private Industrial Plant During the Working Day at Public Expense for Which Federal Reimbursement May Be Granted.

SECTION A—When the Use of Federal Funds is Justified.

When the school system is enabled to provide training in the public interest and that of those being trained, which it could not otherwise provide for want of the equipment and supplies available in the plant, providing the following requirements are met:

1. The program must be under public supervision or control, as evidenced by:
 - a. The fact that the local school officials have furnished satisfactory proof to the State officials that—
 - (1) The training is organized and maintained in response to public need.
 - (2) The interest of the persons enrolled in the training program is the chief consideration.
 - (3) The program is generally recognized as a part of the public school work of that community.
 - (4) The determination of matters such as the selection, qualifications, and salaries of teachers; content and length of courses; admission of students; supervision of instruction, and all other details of the training program are vested in officially designated school officials who recognize and admit their responsibility.
 - b. The fact that the teachers engaged in training in the industrial plant are being paid by the same procedure and through the same sources as such teachers would be paid if teaching in public school buildings.

2. There must be a definitely organized plan of instruction which shall include the technical knowledge and related industrial information, based on the standard practices of the trade or occupation, to insure adequate knowledge and mastery of the machines or operations, and orientation of the worker.

- a. Every State which is either operating or contemplating establishing training at public expense in industrial education should have a State Advisory Board composed of equal representation of outstanding representatives of Employers and outstanding representatives of Labor to advise the State Board for Vocational Education on all matters relative to such training in industrial education.

In addition, where possible, it is strongly urged that the whole program, rates of pay, etc., should be worked out by a local representative committee. Such a local representative committee should be appointed by the school authorities to advise on all phases of the program. The committee should include at least three employers, not more than one of whom represents the industry or plant affected, and at least three representatives of labor, not more than one of whom represents the industry involved.

- b. The training courses should be in general harmony with the time customarily given by industry to breaking in for payroll jobs, such as are to be covered in the training program, making allowance for the extra time needed to teach functioning related subjects. The training program should be checked against actual job requirements in the plant, and any accepted time standards for training for such jobs, before approval is given.
- c. Training at public expense should stop with the completion of the learning state—the formation of automatic habits of correct procedure.

3. The program must meet all of the remaining requirements of the State plan, as attested by—

A sworn statement from an administrative official of the school organization, to the effect that all conditions set up in the State plan have been met.

4. Where plant employees, such as foremen, mechanics or skilled workers, are used as instructors, there must be a definite division of duties between instruction and plant activities, by definite time periods.
5. Persons are to be paid as instructors only in case they are working with a group of persons who are in a recognized learning status and for whom a regularly organized plan of instruction, as defined in paragraph "2" preceding, is given.
6. A full statement of each instructor's qualifications must be kept on file in the State office, as evidence that such teacher meets the requirements of the State Plan.
7. Evidence should be on file in the State office to show that the work has been adequately supervised.

SECTION B—*When the Use of Federal Funds is not Justified.*

When the conditions set up in Section A, preceding, cannot be met. In addition, Federal funds should not be used in connection with training programs possessing one or more of the following characteristics, for the reasons stated in connection with each.

1. Where the training is for the purpose of the initial breaking in of operatives in newly located industries, no matter whether the demand

for training the new workers arises from plant migration or relocations, labor turnover or replacements.

2. Where training is confined to manipulative operations and processes, with no provision for teaching the technical knowledge and related industrial information, based on the standard practices of the trade or occupation, to insure adequate knowledge and mastery of the machines or operations, and orientation of the worker.
3. Where training is confined to a single operation, to develop high production speed, extended over the period of time necessary to bring the operative to full piece rate ability.
4. Where plant foremen, mechanics, or skilled workers are paid from public funds for giving casual instruction on the job incidental to the regular run of production.
5. Where a disproportionate amount of time is spent on manipulative training, in comparison with related technical subjects, in a standard production industry, where it cannot be justified by a check against the actual job requirements of the industry, any accepted time standards for training for such jobs, or legitimate training objectives.
6. Where the training period is far in excess of that customarily given by the industry itself for payroll jobs, where it cannot be justified by a check against the actual job requirements of the industry, any accepted time standards for training for such jobs, or legitimate training objectives.
7. Where the training is extended over long periods of time on regular production work, without pay or at reduced pay.
8. Where an investigation of the program itself discloses that the objectives and the operation are such as to result in subsidizing industrial production, rather than in providing training for the workers' benefit.
9. Where those to receive the training are required to sign an agreement which, in effect, seeks to enable an employer to evade or violate some State or Federal law.

Labor is gratified that this committee has been made permanent so that the office of education may do most constructive work. The need is made increasingly serious by the George-Deen Act which doubles appropriation which might be misused. Congress appreciated the serious administrative mistakes of the past and included this mandate in the law:

No part of the appropriation herein authorized shall be expended in industrial-plant training programs, except such industrial-plant training be bona-fide vocational training, and not a device to utilize the services of vocational trainees for private profit.

But this safeguard may be ineffective if the office of education is not provided with counsel that would enable it to develop a constructive program, adapted to existing conditions and mindful of technical changes coming in industry.

The very fact that much of this vocational work has been on employers' property, brings into question the appropriateness of the use of public money. Unless the purpose is the development and welfare of the workers themselves, it is obvious that only private gain is the objective under which conditions public expenditure is inexcusable and unexplainable.

In signing this measure the President stated his belief that the situation should be reviewed by a disinterested group before the law went into effect on July 1, 1937. This commission appointed in September is headed by Dr. Floyd Reeves of the School of Education, University of Chicago. Dr. Reeves will represent four government departments and the Tennessee Valley Authority where he has been in charge of education. Labor is represented on this commission by John P. Frey, President of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer, United Mine Workers of America; Elizabeth Christman, of the International Glove Workers Union of America.

The commission is to study experience under our existing program of federal aid for vocational education, the relation of such training to general education and to existing economic and social conditions and the extent of need for an expanded program. Obviously, this definition of the work before the commission enables it to study the whole program of education for those employed in industry. Hitherto, our public educational plans have stopped with preparation of youth and have not provided for adult education or development while on the job. Labor feels that counsel and information should be freely available to them in dealing with the many problems which they must study throughout life. We feel that this is a legitimate and essential function of public education agencies.

In addition, to assure the best development of vocational education and consideration of Labor's interests and experience, there should be in each state a State Advisory Board on which Labor shall have proportional representation to advise the state educational authority in charge of vocational education, and local advisory committees on which Labor shall be represented to advise the local boards of education.

The Executive Council recommends that every state federation of labor and every central labor union take immediate steps to see to it that state advisory committees on vocational education, with proportional representation for Labor, are created with full opportunity to advise on all plans for vocational education and their execution.

It is important to have in mind the difference between vocational education and apprentice training for which there must also be advisory committees on which the appropriate union should have representation.

It will be most helpful to such committees if Labor is also represented on the local and state boards of education.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

With an increased measure of financial support from the trade unions and a widening demand on their part for assistance, the Bureau has been able to perform an even more constructive service than has been possible in the past. The area of the Bureau's major activities can be encompassed under six major heads.

1. The Emergency Educational Program—Up until July 1, 1936, it has been possible for the Bureau under a subvention from the General Education Board

to continue its cooperative relationship with the Emergency Educational Program of the federal government through the continued employment of its regional directors in the east, the middle west, and on the Pacific Coast.

a. *Pacific Coast*—In California, Oregon and Washington, the Bureau has set up a series of important conferences and labor institutes. Co-operative relationships with the state universities were worked out in these three states, for the purpose of carrying forward the more important parts of the Emergency Educational Program after the funds for this activity have been discontinued.

b. *Middle West*—In the middle west the educational service rendered to the automobile workers in the city of Detroit and in the state of Michigan has been brought to a conclusion with the granting of a separate international charter to the United Automobile Workers of America. A report of this work is presented in Section 3.

Another significant undertaking has been the working out, specifically in the state of Ohio, of a project in workers' education under the immediate direction and with the support in part of the resources of the Ohio State Federation of Labor.

c. *New England*—In the New England area vigorous prosecution of an educational program for workers in the various states has been carried on, in spite of the serious handicap of a lack of any tangible cooperation from the Emergency Educational Program in at least three of the New England states. There has been a much closer cooperative relationship established both with the responsible organizations of labor and with some of the institutions of higher learning in these states.

2. **Labor Institutes**—The Bureau set up ten institutes on the Wagner-Connery Labor Relations Act in the cities of Boston, Detroit, Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, Portland, Oregon, Seattle, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh. The Rutgers Labor Institute at New Brunswick, New Jersey, also included this subject in its program on labor and government. These institutes were set up with the cooperation of the central bodies as well as with that of local universities and with the National Labor Relations Board either directly or through its regional offices.

In addition to the subject of the Labor Relations Act, institutes have been held on the subjects of social security and trade union organizational methods.

3. **The Ohio Development**—In response to the request from the Executive Board of the Ohio State Federation of Labor the Workers Education Bureau detailed a regional director to set up a program of workers' education in Ohio. With the generous assistance and active cooperation of the officers and members of the State Federation of Labor a comprehensive program of workers' education was set up in the state, which included the establishment of local labor institutes and trade union conferences, a radio program, educational exhibits, forums, and other related activities. The State Federation of Labor appropriated an amount of \$500 to help support this work. At the recent September convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor the delegates gave their wholehearted endorsement to the educational program and authorized its continuance.

4. **Research**—The Division of Research was officially inaugurated during the past year, to be devoted to the exploration of the following four specific fields of activity.

a. *Social Security*. A plan of cooperation was worked out with the Baltimore Federation of Labor for testing materials as worked out by the Research Division, at the regular weekly meetings of the Federation. As a result of this cooperative research undertaking, a series of seven dramatics were prepared which proved to be both interesting in their approach and significant in the type of interest aroused. They deal with the Federal Social Security Act and the application of these principles to state law.

b. *Case Book on Collective Bargaining*—The very significant case book on collective bargaining, which was begun last year, has been brought well along toward completion, with a list of some twenty-nine representative cases drawn from the manufacturing, printing, building, clothing and railroad industries.

In addition to \$5,000 allotted by the American Federation of Labor, a number of new international unions have affiliated with the Bureau and two international unions already affiliated, the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, have doubled their contribution for the furtherance of this educational program.

A. F. OF L. DAILY NEWSPAPER

By Resolution No. 150, the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor considered the application for the establishment of a daily newspaper. President Green was authorized to make a thorough investigation and submit a report to the Executive Council.

This report disclosed that roughly estimated the daily cost for an issue of 30,000 copies, both for editorials and production, would be approximately \$550. This estimate does not take into consideration the increased cost of office personnel.

Taking all of these matters into consideration, it seemed absolutely impossible for the Executive Council to arrange for the financing and publication of an A. F. of L. daily newspaper.

Until and unless the membership of the American Federation of Labor provides the necessary funds with which to launch the publication of a daily newspaper, the Executive Council is of the firm opinion that it would be impossible to carry out the recommendations of Resolution No. 150 which was referred to the Executive Council by the Atlantic City convention.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

In the report of the Executive Council to the 55th annual convention at Atlantic City, was reported the first International Labor Conference in which the United States had the privilege to participate. This was the 19th International Labor Conference held in Geneva, Switzerland, in June 1935. Participation in this Conference resulted from Public Resolution No. 43 enacted by the

73rd Congress of the United States and approved by the President on June 19, 1934, which authorized the President "to accept membership for the government of the United States of America in the International Labor Organization." In the report of last year, the International Labor Organization was discussed in detail and a complete summary was given of the action taken at the 19th International Conference. The purpose of this report, therefore, is to summarize briefly the outstanding developments in connection with the International Labor Organization since October, 1935, and to submit pertinent details concerning action taken by the 20th session of the International Labor Conference with comments which are found to be appropriate under the circumstances.

In the twelve-month period between the 1935 Conference and the 1936 Conference, there were four meetings of the Governing Body and two special Conferences. The meetings of the Governing Body were held at Geneva in October, 1935, February, April and June, 1936.

At the seventy-third session of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office in October, 1935, the representatives from the United States were Mr. Rice for the government, Mr. Dennison for employers and for the workers, Mr. John Posschl, President of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

Since this was the first meeting of the Governing Body after the 1935 Conference, whatever steps may have been necessary were taken toward the application of the resolutions which had been adopted at the 1935 Conference. In addition to making plans for the 1937 session of the Conference and taking appropriate action concerning the Labor Conference of American States at Santiago, Chile, committees were established, reports were considered and special matters were referred to the International Labor Office for further study.

From this brief summary, it is clear that the Governing Body keeps the vast machinery of the International Labor Office in motion and also does everything possible toward arranging for the regular annual Conferences and other special Conferences which may be scheduled so that the Conferences themselves may show maximum results.

The seventy-fourth session of the Governing Body was held in February. The workers of the United States were represented by Mr. George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; the government by Mr. Lubin; and, the employers by Mr. Harriman.

Some of the more important topics included in the meeting were as follows:

1. Placing the question of reduction of hours in the printing and book-binding trades and the chemical industry on the Agenda for the 1937 session of the International Labor Conference.
2. Placing the problem of the organization of public works in connection with employment on the 1937 Agenda.
3. Referring to the different governments, the question of increasing minimum age for admission to employment from fourteen to fifteen years. The Conventions involved in this question were adopted in 1919, 1920, 1921 and 1932, and apply to employment in industry, at sea, in agriculture, and in non-industrial employment.
4. Instructing the International Labor Office to undertake an inquiry into the relation between the volume of foreign trade, both imports and exports on the one hand, and employment and wages on the other. This

action was taken at the suggestion of the representative from the United States government.

At the seventy-fifth session of the Governing Body in Geneva, April 23rd, to 25th, the United States government representative was Mr. William Rice, the employers representative was Mr. Volkmann, and the representative for the workers was Mr. Robert Watt, Secretary of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor. Much of the time of this session was given to a thorough discussion on the results of the Santiago Labor Conference. The three principal problems to which attention was given at this meeting were workers' spare time, regulation of conditions of employment in the road motor transport industry, and the establishment of a permanent agricultural committee to establish closer relationship between the International Labor Office and the world of agriculture.

The seventy-sixth session of the Governing Body opened June 2nd. The representatives of the United States were Mr. William Rice for the government, Mr. Marion M. Folsom for the employers, and for the workers, Mr. Emil Rieve, President of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

While the principal attention of the meeting was given to the Agenda for the 20th session of the International Labor Conference, reports were received from the following committees: Committee on Social Change, Committee on Freedom of Association, and from the officers of the Advisory Committee on Professional Workers.

The two special Conferences which have been held during the past year were wholly different in their nature and illustrate the flexibility which is permissible under the International Labor Organization in carrying out the objectives set forth in its Constitution.

The first of these special Conferences was the preparatory maritime meeting held in Geneva, November 25, 1935. Here, the principal maritime countries were represented for the purpose of discussing a common problem so that constructive action at a later time might be facilitated. While no formal action was taken, the following topics were thoroughly discussed:

- a). The question of manning in conjunction with hours of work on board ship.
- b). The question of holidays with pay for seamen.

The United States was represented at this Conference by Dr. Robert W. Bruere for the government, Mr. Samuel Altken for the ship owners, and for the workers, Mr. Andrew Furuseth, President of the International Seamen's Union of America.

The other special Conference was a Regional Conference—a conference of the American States in Santiago, Chile, to discuss the carrying out of the objectives of the International Labor Organization on a regional basis.

The Labor Conference of the American States which are members of the International Labor Organization was held in Santiago de Chile, from January 2nd to 14th, 1936. This Conference was called at the suggestion of the government of Chile and delegates from nineteen American States were present. The Labor representative from the United States was Mr. William L. Hutcheson, President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Three important results arose from this, the first American Regional Conference to be called under the International Labor Organization; the bonds between the American States and the International Labor Organization were strengthened, the position of the American States with respect to the problems already dealt with by the International Labor Organization was carefully discussed, and representatives from the American States attending the Conference were afforded an excellent opportunity to learn more about the work of the International Labor Organization.

The items included on the Agenda of the Conference, as fixed by the Governing Body of the International Labor Conference during its 19th Session were:

1. Examination of the situation of existing international labor Conventions as concerns ratification and application, with special reference to Conventions and recommendations dealing with social insurance and Conventions and recommendations dealing with the conditions of work of women and children.

2. Examination of questions which might form the subject of future discussion at the International Labor Conference.

The major attention of the Conference was focussed on problems concerning social insurance and conditions of employment for women and children. Among the resolutions adopted by the Conference were detailed resolutions on these two problems. Among the other topics covered by the adoption of resolutions were urban and rural housing, unemployment, minimum wage fixing, enquiry into conditions of employment in American agriculture, effective application of labor legislation, monopolies, calendar reform, living and working conditions of teachers, and vocational training.

At the twentieth session of the International Labor Conference which convened in Geneva on June 4, 1936, there were delegates from fifty countries. Germany and Italy were the only great industrial countries not represented. The delegates included one hundred and fifty-nine delegates and two hundred and thirty-six advisers; ninety of these being government delegates, thirty-five employer delegates and thirty-four worker delegates. There were also government, employer and worker advisers.

From the United States, Mr. John G. Winant, Chairman of the Social Security Board, and Miss Frieda Miller, Director Division of Women in Industry and Minimum Wages of New York State Department of Labor, represented the government. Mr. Marion M. Folsom, Treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Company, represented the employers, and Mr. Emil Rieve, President of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, represented the workers. In addition to these delegates, the United States sent twelve government advisers, two employer advisers, and three worker advisers. The government advisers were John B. Andrews, W. Ellison Chalmers, Stuart J. Fuller, A. Ford Hinrichs, Carter Nyman, William G. Rice, Jr., H. E. Riley, Walter C. Taylor, Llewellyn E. Thompson, Joseph Tone, Miss Faith Williams and Verne A. Zimmer. The employer advisers were Howe Volkman and William P. Witherow; and, the advisers for the workers were John Edelman, Marion H. Hedges, and J. C. Lewis.

In the report on credentials by R. Riddell, Chairman of the Governing Body, it was pointed out that fifteen countries nominated government delegates only,

despite the fact that Article III of the Constitution of the International Labor Organization provides that each country shall send four representatives "of whom two shall be government delegates and the two others shall be delegates representing respectively the employers and the work people of each of the members." With reference to these fifteen countries which had only government delegates, the credentials committee reserved the right "to invite the delegates of these countries to explain the reasons that have prevented their countries from sending a complete delegation to this session of the Conference.

The following summary sets forth the Conventions submitted to the Conference in the Agenda with a record of the action taken on these Conventions and also a summary of the Resolutions which were adopted.

ITEM I.—Regulation of certain special systems of recruiting.

The draft Convention for the regulation of recruiting indigenous workers was adopted by a vote of 123 to 0, and a recommendation in favor of the progressive elimination of recruiting was adopted by a vote of 119 to 0.

ITEM II.—Holidays with pay.

The draft Convention on holidays with pay was adopted by a vote of 99 to 15 and a recommendation on the same subject was adopted by a vote of 98 to 15.

Resolutions concerning the extension of the system to domestic servants, hall porters, home workers and agricultural workers were also adopted by the Conference.

ITEM III.—Reduction of hours of work on public works.

The draft Convention providing for a forty-hour week for persons directly employed on building or civil engineering works financed or subsidized by central Governments was adopted by a vote of 79 to 38.

ITEM IV.—Reduction of hours of work in the building and civil engineering industry.

The proposed draft Convention for the forty-hour week in this industry was defeated since the vote of 71 to 42 did not give the required two-thirds' majority.

By Resolution, however, the Governing Body was requested to consider the convening of a tri-partite technical conference on the subject.

ITEM V.—Reduction of hours of work in iron and steel works.

This draft Convention also failed in adoption since the vote of 67 to 40 did not constitute a two-thirds' majority.

As in the case of the building and civil engineering industry, the Governing Body was requested by Resolution to consider the convening of a tri-partite technical conference.

ITEM VI. Reduction of hours of work in coal mines.

The proposed draft Convention providing for a thirty-eight and three-quarter hour week in coal mines failed to obtain a two-thirds' majority; the vote being 66 in favor and 37 against.

A Resolution requesting consideration of a tri-partite technical conference as in the case of the above industries was adopted.

ITEM VII.—*Reduction of hours of work in the textile industry.*

A vote to suspend the standing orders so that this Convention might be considered under single discussion procedure was defeated. It was voted, however, that this question should be placed on the Agenda of the 1937 Session, that a questionnaire should be prepared by the International Labor Organization, and that a tri-partite technical conference should be considered.

ITEM VIII.—*Safety provisions for workers in building construction.*

By a vote of 109 to 0, it was decided to place this question on the 1937 Agenda for second discussion.

Resolutions.

Resolutions on the following topics were adopted without opposition.

1. That the Governing Body should consider the establishment of an Asiatic Committee within the framework of the I. L. O. to meet every other year in an Asiatic country.

2. That the Governing Body should consider calling of an international meeting of experts to consider certain questions in connection with diseases due to dust.

3. That the Governing Body should consider placing the question of labor inspection on the Agenda of the 1938 Session of the Conference.

4. That the Governing Body should consider including in the Agenda of an early Session the question of safeguarding of individual workers in the exercise of their freedom of association from pressure by private employers.

5. That the Governing Body should recommend to Governments in whose countries the sale of opium for smoking is permitted certain measures for improving the conditions of labor and reducing the consumption of opium.

6. That the Governing Body should consider appropriate steps to facilitate the calling, under the auspices of the League of Nations and with the collaboration of the International Labor Organization, one or several conferences to consider problems of currency, production, trade, settlement of population and colonization, bearing in mind always the interests of the workers.

7. That the Governing Body should take steps to enable the I. L. O. to continue its studies of the nutrition of workers, in cooperation with the other international organizations concerned, and should consider placing on the Agenda of the Conference certain questions relating to aspects of this problem.

8. That study of the calendar reform by the Committee on Communications and Transit of the League of Nations should be continued.

9. That the question of the planning of public works in relationship to employment should be submitted to the 1937 Conference in such a form that final decision might be taken at that Session.

10. Calling attention to the problems arising out of emigration from Germany for political or racial reasons, and expressing the hope that the 1936 Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations would take steps to arrive at satisfactory and final solutions.

11. Favoring the special study by the I. L. O. of the effects of technological progress on employment, with a view to the indication of measures for putting the economic order on a sound basis.

12. Requesting the Governing Body to give effect to the resolution of the 1928 Conference in favor of an inquiry into conditions of work in textile industries.

13. Referring to the effect of "dumping" on standards of living, and inviting the Governing Body to study remedies for the evil.

Three of the resolutions referred to above were submitted by Mr. John G. Winant and Miss Frieda Miller, government delegates of the United States of America. These are as follows:

(a) That the Governing Body should consider calling of an international meeting of experts to consider certain questions in connection with diseases due to dust.

(b) That the Governing Body should consider including in the Agenda of an early Session the question of safe-guarding of individual workers in the exercise of their freedom of association from pressure by private employers.

(c) Favoring the special study by the I. L. O. of the effects of technological progress on employment, with a view to the indication of measures for putting the economic order on a sound basis.

So far as the resolutions submitted to the Conference are concerned, it may be stated that these resolutions are in no way binding on the several states, but merely embrace recommendations on which the member states may act. In the case of Conventions adopted by a two-thirds' majority, the member states are obligated to submit these to their agencies "within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment of legislation or other action."

In connection with the Agenda, it should be noted that the regular procedure of the Conference requires double discussion, that is, discussion at two sessions of the Conference before the final vote is taken, and also a two-thirds vote. This year, Items I through VI on the Agenda were up for second discussion. Item VIII was up for first discussion and Item VII, reduction of hours of work in the textile industry, was submitted in such form that the Conference could elect whether single-discussion or double-discussion procedure should be followed.

As indicated by the fact that five of the eight Conventions submitted to the Conference dealt with the question of reduction of hours of work, it may be fairly stated that the issue before the twentieth session of the International Labor Conference was the forty-hour week. At the International Labor Conference in 1935, the principle of the forty-hour week "applied in such a manner that the standard of living is not reduced in consequences" was adopted. At the same Conference, a draft Convention providing for an average work week of forty-two hours for the Glass Bottle Industry was also adopted. This marks the beginning of an attempt to limit hours below the forty-eight hour week set forth in the Constitution of the International Labor Organization.

The first Convention to be discussed by the Conference was Item VII on the Agenda, reduction of hours of work in the textile industry. Because of the detailed discussion given this Convention on the floor of the Conference and since the primary issue was the program involving a reduction in hours rather than the particular problems of the textile industry, it seems advisable to include here some of the discussion on this topic in order to give a true picture of the attitude

which was taken at the Conference toward the hour-reduction program. It is true that reference was made to the particular problems of the textile industry, but it is also true, and should be recognized, that the principal contentions by the proponents and opponents of the program were directed at the question of the advisability of a shorter work-week to stimulate re-employment.

In the textile industry, as well as in the other industries considered, the arguments of the employers and of the workers were very similar to those advanced in this country in 1933 when a shorter work-week was being advocated. While workers' representatives maintained consistently that the shorter work-week was needed to put men back to work, the representatives of the employers repeated the contentions which were heard at most of our code hearings. In brief, the principal points advanced were that the shorter work-week without compensatory increases in hourly rates would mean higher overhead costs which would affect prices while higher hourly rates would mean such increases in prices that the market would be curtailed and employment would suffer. The other principal points were that it would not be possible to produce sufficient goods under the shorter hour program and that necessary skilled workers would not be available.

In the employers' statement, however, arguments appeared which were not made in connection with our national program because the points mentioned arose through the fact that the Geneva program was international in scope.

During the discussion on the textile Convention, the objection was made that while the maintenance of living standards is recognized as essential, any question concerning the wage adjustments to be made in connection with these hourly reductions is a subject wholly outside the power of the International Labor Office. It was further stated that in countries where there is no unemployment in the textile industry any reduction of working hours would bring about a reduction in the output and that the resulting deficiency in output must be made up from other countries. Since this statement is unaccompanied by any facts as to particular countries which would be so affected, it need not carry much weight, but the objections stated below are fundamental and show very clearly the problems with which we are confronted in any attempt to improve labor conditions internationally through the procedures available under the International Labor Organization.

Japan, one of the largest textile countries of the East, took the position that public opinion must be prepared before such action could be taken and that the moment was not "opportune," at least as far as Asia was concerned, for the consideration of a forty-hour week in textiles. Since Germany is not a member of the International Labor Organization, this important textile country would be under no obligation to apply such a Convention and the United States is precluded by the terms of its constitution from ratifying an hours of work Convention.

Another objection on the part of employers to the forty-hour Convention is based on the different production efficiencies which prevail in different countries. In those countries where labor represents a relatively high proportion of the product value, it is felt that an hour restriction will result in an unfair disadvantage. In the United States under the NRA, it was generally felt by southern

manufacturers that labor standards comparable to those in northern sections should not be imposed on them because of their claim that southern workers were less efficient. When the problem of fixing hours is approached on an international basis, we are confronted with such differences as relative production per worker in England and in India. In the latter country where temperatures in the plants frequently exceed 100 degrees Fahrenheit, short shifts are mandatory. It has been estimated that four times as many workers are required to operate a given number of spindles and looms in India as in western Europe.

In reply to the "astonishment" of the employers' representative that the textile industry had been selected as one that the International Labor Organization considered suitable for the application of a forty-hour week, it was pointed out by a representative of the workers that "if there is one special industry that ought to be dealt with by a Convention, surely, this is the one." This statement is based on such factors as the international character of the industry, the number of workers employed, the extent to which rationalization has been carried on, and the fact that in every country, the majority of persons employed are women and children.

In considering the other Conventions involving the forty-hour week, the fundamental arguments advanced under the textile Convention were repeated. For example, in connection with the iron and steel Convention, the employers maintained that a reduction of the normal work week would aggravate rather than alleviate unemployment and that it was impossible to frame an international Convention to be enforced universally.

A further point was made, however, which presents some difficulties. This was, that it is not possible to deal with hours of work without simultaneously dealing with wages and taking into account the economic situation of the different countries. As has been shown above, the forty-hour Convention, adopted in 1935, provided for the application of a forty-hour week "in such a manner that the standard of living is not reduced in consequence." If compliance with this provision is to be assured, it may well be argued that the International Labor Organization cannot deal with the question of hours alone. And, if steps are to be taken at an International Labor Conference which will assuredly protect "the standard of living" in each country involved, it is clear that a tremendous piece of work is involved.

The constitution of the International Labor Organization specifies "the provision of an adequate living wage" as one of the improvements in existing conditions of labor. Up to the present time, however, no steps have been taken toward the actual establishment of such a wage in the member countries.

In the beginning of this discussion it was noted that the issue before the Conference was the question of a shorter work-week,—the adoption of a forty-hour week by Convention. In view of this fact, it is to be noted that no direct progress was made in this direction. In addition to the textile Convention, the forty-hour week Conventions for building and civil engineering, iron and steel, and coal mines were defeated. These were defeated by very narrow margins. It will be remembered that a two-thirds' vote is required to adopt a Convention. Less than ten votes on each of these Conventions would have meant victory in-

stead of defeat. There was one forty-hour week Convention adopted, but this concerned "public works undertaken or subsidized by governments."

Since Items I and II of the Agenda were adopted, a few comments as to what was involved in these Conventions seems to be in order. Item I pertaining to the regulation of recruiting workers will apply to the continent of Africa and to some extent to the East Indies where the Netherlands Indies, the French Asiatic possessions, Ceylon and Malaya will be covered. Item II—the Convention on holidays with pay—provides, in brief, for one week's vacation with pay each year, and is, indeed, a forward step.

This brief report on the activities of the International Labor Organization presents problems which are worthy of deep consideration. As illustrated by the record of resolutions and Conventions adopted up to the present time, it is clear that much can be accomplished through this International agency toward general improvement in conditions of employment with some attention to be given to forms of social insurance and other types of legislation which to some degree, at least, must mean greater security for the workers of the world.

It is significant, however, that the twentieth session of the International Labor Conference marks the first concentrated effort to effect some improvements in international competitive conditions through the establishment of minimum standards of employment with which all member states are bound to comply after ratification. In this respect, the Conference did not succeed. When we consider the arguments which were advanced in opposition to the forty-hour week Convention, we may well be surprised to see how near these Conventions came to adoption. As shown in the discussion on the floor of the Conference, there are economic aspects of this problem which are of tremendous international importance, and the fact that the twentieth session of the International Labor Conference came so near to adopting those Conventions is indeed gratifying. With continued efforts along this line there is reason to hope for some measure of achievement, but it must be recognized that the success or failure of the International Labor Organization will depend directly on the ability of the Organization to deal effectively with these vital economic issues which are fraught with international complications. The countries of the world will not bind themselves to any curtailment of hours of production in those industries which may be called upon to produce materials and supplies for war. Until the existing fear of an imminent major conflict has been eliminated, the possibilities for constructive steps through the International Labor Organization toward better conditions of employment throughout the world and the achievement of some degree of international economic balance are, indeed, limited.

LABOR IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The trends in European national and international developments since the Versailles Treaty have produced a situation in which the threat of worldwide war seems imminent. The Treaty built up one group of nations at the economic and political expense of others as a peace measure. The League of Nations has not fulfilled expectations, while worldwide depression has afforded an opportunity for dictatorship. Democratic institutions have disappeared from

the greater part of Europe. Under dictatorships, the state is all-powerful; personal liberty is limited or abolished; and the free labor movements have been seized and transformed into governmental agencies. Beginning with Italy, the dictatorship and all-powerful state prevail throughout central and southeastern Europe. The communist development in Russia, another type of arbitrary control, has attempted to spread its doctrines throughout other lands. This mission of carrying social revolution into other countries constitutes another menace to world peace.

The civil war which is drenching Spain in blood and destroying its historic material civilization contains elements which constitute a world menace. The free labor movement finds itself joined with communists and republicans, fighting landed gentry, monarchists, and special interests who have the support of fascist governments.

Rearmament plans are moving quickly in all countries so that Europe is divided into two armed camps—the fascist against constitutional free government.

The hope of the labor movements of all countries lies in free constitutional government. We of this country must consider our interests and our obligations to world peace as well as protect this country against the fascists and revolutionary groups in our midst.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The spirit of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, a Federation founded for the advancement and defense of the workers in every nation of the American continent, is living in the souls of hundreds of thousands of wage earners whose hope that their big brother, the American Federation of Labor, might perform the miracle, and relieve them of the oppressive and tyrannical dictators and employers who are exploiting and preying upon the workers' helpless position, and who also are being sustained by their own imposed governments.

The circular letter sent in February, 1936, to all the labor centers of the Latin American countries upon the holding of the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, received enthusiastic response from the labor organizations of Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Venezuela, Mexico, and Cuba. In these countries the workers feel the need for discussion of their problems in organization, unemployment and legislation with their brother workers in other countries.

In a few of these countries, unfortunately, oppressive tactics are still used by the government to smother workers' organizations. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has tried through correspondence and public statements, at the request of these workers' organizations, to bring to the government officials and public opinion the plight of the workers.

Workers are still suffering persecution and oppression in Cuba, according to the reports received from labor sources. It is reported there are still two hundred "political prisoners" still in prison, in spite of the fact that the Congress approved an amnesty law. The President of the American Federation of Labor made an earnest request through the Ambassador from Cuba to the Cuban

government in behalf of the workers of Cuba asking for complete amnesty for political prisoners and freedom for workers organizations. The workers have asked our cooperation in their efforts to abrogate Decree Law No. 3, regulating strikes, which in reality is a law practically abolishing the right to strike and the right to organize, cessation of intervention of military authorities in labor matters, reorganization of the Department of Labor, and selection of men to head the Department with genuine knowledge of labor problems, and granting amnesty to all strike-law violators.

The labor movement in the Dominican Republic has been practically wiped out. The former affiliate of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the Dominican Confederation of Labor, is no longer in existence. The country is now under the dictatorship of General Rafael L. Trujillo, who is charged with antagonism towards any form of organization of workers. It is impossible for labor leaders to organize workers. The government has forced agricultural and industrial workers to return to work after striking for higher wages.

From Venezuela the report came that with the end of the era of oppression under the late General Vicente Gomez, labor leaders are looking hopefully to the organization of a strong labor movement. It is gratifying to know that at last Venezuela is free of tyranny and oppression and that workers will again resume their normal rights in the economic and social life of the republic.

In Colombia, the Tropical Company, whose parent is the Standard Oil Company, is carrying on terroristic activities against workers identified with trade unions. The organized labor movement of Colombia is fully aware of the importance of holding the Sixth Congress at the present time, and has earnestly appealed to the Pan-American Federation of Labor to select a date in the very near future.

The organizations in the western hemisphere are still hopeful that the Pan-American Federation of Labor will send a representative mission of good will to all the important labor centers in those countries which will culminate in the celebration of a representative Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

It is expected that labor delegates will be invited to attend the next Pan-American Conference which will be held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in the very near future. At the Sixth International Conference held in Habana, February 7, 1928, the following motion, introduced by the Mexican delegation, was approved:

The Sixth International Conference of American States recommends to the governing board of the Pan-American Union, that it shall include as a topic of coming conferences, beginning with the Seventh Conference, for their study and resolution, the problems relative to the material improvement of workmen, their standard of living and the standards of living in the states of the American continent.

CONCLUSION

The above report on our stewardship during the past year indicates the complexities of present day problems with which we must deal and the great difficulties involved in directing and conserving the power of our labor movement during a

period of rapid change. We have tried to be mindful of the fundamental precept of human growth that there must be freedom of thought and action in order to promote the common welfare allowing to no one arbitrary power over others.

Our responsibility is to make strong and powerful unions of wage earners and under-privileged groups. We are conscious also that with power must go understanding and social responsibility. Our only assurance of this manner of growth lies in keeping vital and active opportunities for education and factual service for the rank and file. The successful functioning of a democratic organization depends upon responsibility established between elected executives and the alert intelligence of those they represent. We urge, therefore, that organizing campaigns and educational work go hand in hand in order that new union members understand their duties and their responsibilities.

We urge that the coming year provide unprecedented organizing and educational activity, for only by this way can progress for workers keep abreast national progress.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.

FRANK DUFFY,
First Vice-President.

T. A. RICKERT,
Second Vice-President.

MATTHEW WOLL,
Third Vice-President.

JOHN COEFIELD,
Fourth Vice-President.

ARTHUR O. WHARTON,
Fifth Vice-President.

JOSEPH N. WEBER,
Sixth Vice-President.

G. M. BUGNIAZET,
Seventh Vice-President.

GEO. M. HARRISON,
Eighth Vice-President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Ninth Vice-President.

HARRY C. BATES,
Tenth Vice-President.

EDWARD J. GAINOR,
Eleventh Vice-President.

W. D. MAHON,
Twelfth Vice-President.

FELIX H. KNIGHT,
Thirteenth Vice-President.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.

The following list of subjects in the report of the Executive Council, assigned by President Green to the appropriate committees, was read by Secretary-Treasurer Morrison:

No. Subject	Committee
1. Introduction	RES
2. Secretary-Treasurer Morrison's Report.	
3. Report of Trustees of A. F. of L. Building.	
4. General Organizing Campaign.	ORG
Total Number of Unions Directly Affiliated With the American Federation of Labor in Specified Industries in October, 1936, and Their Last Paid Membership.	
Union Agreements Negotiated in Specified Industries.	
5. Charters to National Unions.	E.C.
6. Trade Union Benefits.....	E.C.
Chart	
7. Formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the policy Which It Has Pursued and the Developments Which Have Taken Place Since Its Formation	RES
Majority Report of Committee on Resolutions.	
Minority Report of Resolutions Committee on Organization Policy.	
8. Report Upon Instructions of Atlantic City Convention Regarding the Inauguration of a Steel Organizing Campaign....	RES
Text of the Agreement.	
9. Contribution Made to the Organization of the United Automobile Workers' International Union	RES
10. Contribution Made to the Organization of the United Rubber Workers of America.....	RES
11. Contribution Made to the Organization of the Gas and By-Product Coke Workers.....	RES
12. Radio Workers	RES
13. Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America—Transgression of Jurisdiction	RES
14. Recommendations Governing Presentation of Resolutions, Petitions, Etc.	LAWS
15. Federation of Glass Workers in New York Glass Industry ..	E.C.
16. Memorandum Submitted by Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association	E.C.

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|-----|---|--------------|
| 17. | Engineers-Firemen | E.C. |
| 18. | Foundry Employees-Moulders-E.C. | E.C. |
| 19. | Jurisdiction Over Beer Coll
Cleaners | E.C. |
| 20. | Jurisdictional Conflicts | E.C. |
| 21. | Union Label-Ready-to-Wear
Men's and Boys' Clothing | E.C. |
| 22. | Change of Titles | E.C. |
| 23. | Department of Food Industry
Employees | E.C. |
| 24. | Official Changes | E.C. |
| 25. | Death of Former Vice-President
Jacob Fischer | E.C. |
| 26. | Gompers' Memorial Fund | E.C. |
| 27. | Building Trades Department
..... | BLDG. TRADES |
| 28. | Metal Trades Department | E.C. |
| 29. | Railway Employees' Department
..... | E.C. |
| 30. | Union Label Trades Depart-
ment | E.C. |
| 31. | Fuel to | LABELS |
| 32. | Investigation of American Fed-
eration of Teachers | STATE ORG |
| 33. | Rules of Procedure for Execu-
tive Council | E.C. |
| 34. | National Legislation | RES |
| | Government Contracts | LEG |
| | Government Employees | LEG |
| | Protection for Government
Workers | LEG |
| | Low Cost Housing | LEG |
|  | ..... | BLDG. TRADES |
| | Security at Sea | LEG |
| | Seamen's Legislation | LEG |
| | Spies and Thugs | RES |
| | Immigration | RES |
| | Relief Legislation | RES |
| | Peaceable Picketing Pro-
tected | RES |
| | Lobby Legislation | LEG |
| | Alaskan Railroad Employees | LEG |
| | Aid for the Blind | LEG |
| | Railroads' Act | LEG |
| | Railroad Change | LEG |
| | Teachers' Salary Act | ED |
| | Technological Unemploy-
ment | RES |
| | Textile Industry | LEG |
| | Vocational Education | ED |
| | Beet Field Workers | RES |
| | Education | ED |
| | Silicosis | LEG |
| | Air Line Pilots | LEG |
| | Railroad Consolidation | LEG |
| | Convict Labor Legislation | LEG |
| 35. | Department of Labor | E.C. |
| 36. | Child Labor Amendment | RES |
| 37. | Minimum Wage Law | LEG |
| 38. | Workmen's Compensation | E.C. |
| 39. | State Departments of
Labor | STATE ORG |
| 40. | Educational Qualifications in
Civil Service | ED |
| 41. | Wages and Hours | E.C. |
| 42. | The Social Security Act | RES |
| | State Participation | LEG |
| | Title I-Grants to States
for Old-Age Assistance,
Title II-Federal Old-Age
Benefits | LEG |

- Title III—Grants to States for Unemployment Compensation Administration.
 Title IV—Grants to States for Aid to Dependent Children.
 Title V—Grants to States for Maternal and Child Welfare.
 Title X—Grants to States for Aid to the Blind.
 Some Problems Under Social Security.
 Responsibilities of Labor Under the Social Security Act.
 Social Security Act—State Participation—September 1, 1936.
43. ReliefRES
 44. National Labor Relations BoardE.C.
 45. UnemploymentE.C.
 46. Consumers' CooperationRES
 47. Health InsuranceRES
 Distribution of Medical Care.
 Costs of Illness Irregular and Unpredictable.
 Sickness or Health Insurance.
 German Health Insurance.
 British Health Insurance.
 French Compulsory Sickness Insurance.
 Other Countries.
 Voluntary Plans.
 Sickness Insurance in the United States.
 48. Machine DisplacementE.C.
 49. Technological ChangesRES
 50. Housing for Wage-EarnersBLDG. TRADES
 51. Information Service of the United States GovernmentSTATE ORG
 52. Our Public SchoolsED
 53. Vocational EducationED
 54. Workers' Education Bureau...ED
 1. The Emergency Educational Program.
 2. Labor Institutes.
 3. The Ohio Development.
 4. Research.
 55. A. F. of L. Daily Newspaper.RES
 56. International Labor OrganizationINT. LABOR REL
 57. Labor in European CountriesINT. LABOR REL
 58. Pan-American Federation of LaborINT. LABOR REL
 59. ConclusionE.C.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: There is no mention in the report of the Executive Council dealing with the conferences between the Brewery Workers and Teamsters, in accordance with the decision of the last convention. Are we to understand that the conferences are to be continued?

President Green: There is no reference in the report to the jurisdictional controversy that still exists between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Brewery Workers International Union. That reference is omitted because a final decision upon the jurisdictional question was disposed of at the Washington convention of the American Federation of Labor. Nothing can be done by this convention regarding that controversy unless a resolution is presented and is considered and acted upon by the convention. Speaking for myself, I shall do everything within my power, through conferences between the parties at interest to bring about an acceptance of the decision of the convention, until otherwise instructed by the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Obergfell: It has always been the custom that when conferences were held in disputes of that nature, the Executive Council reports to the convention as to what progress, if any, was made, and I understand that there is no report made because it was the intention of the Executive Council to continue its effort, in line with the action of the last convention.

President Green: I think you are right in that, Brother Obergfell. In my opinion Brother Obergfell is right, and at every opportunity that presents itself I will be glad to hold conferences for the purpose of trying to reach a settlement.

Vice-President Tobin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters: Of course, if you can do anything to get the Brewery Workers to abide by the decisions of two conventions you will be doing well. The whole story is this: that there have been two clearcut decisions made by those conventions of the Federation, and the organization against whom the decisions were rendered refuses to accept the decisions of the convention.

The constitution of the Federation

states very clearly that any matter that has been settled by a previous convention cannot be introduced at the succeeding convention without the consent and approval of the Executive Council. That is the law, and there is no sense in trying to apply the law to one organization that has refused to abide by convention decisions, and then try to evade the law in this case where two clearcut decisions have been rendered.

President Green: I am sure both parties will consent to sit down around a table and try to settle the question.

Vice-President Tobin: There is no objection on the part of the Teamsters to settle the question, but the duty of this Council and the principal officer of the Council should be to endeavor to get the organization seated here to abide by two clearcut decisions of two conventions.

President Green: The report of the Executive Council covers more than fifty subjects, all of them of deep and vital interest to the working people of the nation. I ask you to read the report and analyze it carefully. You will find it highly instructive and quite educational. The subject-matters dealt with in the report are referred to the convention committees. The Messengers will distribute to the chairmen of the committees the subjects in the Executive Council's report which have been referred to the respective committees. It is unnecessary for me to go over the subjects assigned to the different committees.

Either just before or just after the address of Congressman Mead tomorrow, Mr. David Lillienthal, director of the T. V. A., who has shown such a sympathetic and friendly attitude toward the representatives of organizations of labor whose members are employed there, will address the convention. I will appoint as an escort committee, D. W. Tracy, Electrical Workers; J. A. Franklin, Boiler Makers, and Arthur O. Wharton, of the Machinists. I ask you to get in touch

with the Director and escort him to the hall and to the platform when he is ready to address the convention tomorrow forenoon.

I will repeat what I said before, that the time limit for the introduction of resolutions will expire at midnight tomorrow. Please present your resolutions to Secretary Morrison before midnight tomorrow.

Secretary Morrison: I have been requested by the Cigarmakers to announce that union-made cigars are on sale at the refreshment stand at the left of the entrance.

Delegate Donnelly announced that Secretary Morrison had made arrangements for the meeting of delegates from State Federations of Labor in the Hotel Floridan, in the room known as the banquet room, and that the meeting would be at 7:30.

President Green: The Chair wishes to request the chairmen of committees to prepare extra copies of the committee reports and deliver them to our publicity director, Brother McKillop, so that he can handle them in such a way as he may deem necessary.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees:

National Cleared Channel for WCFL, "The Voice of Labor"

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, G. M. Bugniazet, Chas. M. Paulsen, E. D. Bieretz, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Frank E. Doyle, Trades and Labor Assembly, So. Chicago, Ill.; A. L. Wegener, Trades and Labor Union, E. St. Louis, Ill.; Louis P. Marclante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor; John A. Schoonover, Federation of Labor, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, In the closing days of its session in 1931 the Senate of the United States plainly indicated its unqualified endorsement and support of Labor's long and bitter fight for adequate radio facilities for the working men and women of America by the unanimous passage of the following resolution:

"The Federal Radio Commission shall assign one cleared channel frequency with the broadcasting station in the United States to the owner or owners of the broadcasting station or stations approved by the recognized labor organizations, which, in the opinion of the commission, are the most representative of the labor interests of the United States, and shall issue no license or licenses for the use of said frequency, except with the written consent of such so recognized labor organizations, to any person, association, corporation, organization or co-partnership," and

WHEREAS, Pursuant thereto the American Federation of Labor at its conventions in 1931 and 1934 by unanimous action went on record that Labor should be assigned, by act of Congress and/or by action of the Federal Communications Commission, a cleared national channel with unlimited time and with power equal to the maximum power assigned to any channel in the United States, and

WHEREAS, Pursuant thereto the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and Legislative Committee, has made an intelligent and gallant fight but has not been successful in procuring such a cleared national channel for its one and only Labor station, WCFL, located in Chicago on 970 kilocycles, through the Federal Communications Commission, and

WHEREAS, The efforts of Labor to procure such a cleared national channel have been consistently and aggressively opposed by the monopolistic interests which have already secured a strangle-hold upon a huge and dangerous preponderance of the radio facilities of the country, and

WHEREAS, unless this last remaining cleared national channel frequency, which rightfully belongs to Labor, is accorded to it, it must be obvious to all that in times of national emergency, controversy, strikes, lockouts and disagreements between capital and labor these interests will take advantage of their usurped power and disseminate propaganda the like of which this country has never experienced, menacing the intellectual and economic soul of our nation, and

WHEREAS, realizing the importance of radio and the tremendous influence it has already had in removing mental shackles from the people, the organized trusts and monopolies of the nation are making a desperate effort to secure the last section of the public domain of the air, excluding the Voice of Labor and reducing this powerful medium of communication to the point of absolute subjection,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby

reaffirms its position heretofore taken in its Conventions of 1931 and 1934 pursuant to the Act of the Senate of 1931:

RESOLVED FURTHER, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby petition the Congress of the United States to pass the necessary legislation to assign or to have assigned the channel of 970 kilocycles as a cleared national channel, with unlimited time and with power equal to the maximum power assigned to any channel in the United States, to the owner or owners of the broadcasting station or stations approved by the recognized labor organizations, which, in the opinion of the Commission are most representative of Labor interests of the United States, and not to issue any license or licenses for the use of such frequency except with the written consent of such so recognized labor organizations to any other person, association, corporation, organization or co-partnership;

RESOLVED FURTHER, That the Executive Council be and they are hereby authorized and directed to take any and all steps necessary or advisable to effectuate the intent of this resolution and the action by this Convention recommended in furtherance thereof.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Constitutional Amendment To Prevent Central Bodies Declaring Firms Unfair That Have Agreements With National and International Unions

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates J. W. Williams, President of the Building Trades Department, and John P. Frey, President of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor grants complete autonomy in its internal affairs to every national and international union receiving a charter or certificate of affiliation; and

WHEREAS, Many national and international unions have negotiated agreements covering terms of employment and conditions of labor for their members employed by such employers throughout the Country, as well as locally; and

WHEREAS, These forms of agreement between employers and trades unionists are of great benefit to both employer and organized employees; and

WHEREAS, Central Labor Councils and other delegate bodies have undertaken to interfere with the free operation of such agreements and have at times declared firms under agreement

with International Unions to be unfair; and

WHEREAS, Such action is in direct violation to the basic principles of collective bargaining and the necessary observance of agreements entered into by International Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Article Eleven of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by inserting an additional section reading:

"No Central Labor Union or Central Body of Delegates shall have authority to declare any firm or firms having national or local agreements with national or international unions unfair in violation of the provisions of such agreements. Any Central Labor Council or other Central Body of Delegates declaring an employer unfair in violation of the provisions of such agreements shall be subject to the discipline of the American Federation of Labor."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Federal Committee On Apprentice Training

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Federal Committee on Apprentice Training has been set up by the United States Government to foster and promote indentured apprenticeship in the skilled trades throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, Labor and management are equally represented on this committee and on State committees appointed in the various States to develop indentured apprenticeship in cooperation with the Federal Committee; and

WHEREAS, Acceptable standards for the protection of apprentices have been developed by the Federal Committee and adopted by the various State agencies; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Committee has advanced the indenture principle of apprenticeship by securing the adoption of national standards through whole industries, such as plumbing in which the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada and the National Association of Master Plumbers have each officially endorsed a detailed plan outlining standards, methods, and procedures, and a similar plan has been developed for the painting and decorating industry; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Committee has strengthened apprenticeship by getting recommended standards adopted by national trade associations, International Unions, and State and local

public agencies, and this has resulted in improved working conditions and training of youth for entrance into the skilled trades; and

WHEREAS, State and local trade advisory committees upon which labor and management are equally represented have been established to determine the rules and regulations under which apprenticeship shall be conducted, such as wages, hours, quotas, length of apprenticeship, content of schedule of processes, and amount of related instructions; and

WHEREAS, Representatives of organized labor have actively participated in every phase of the program, and several State Federations of Labor and International Unions have already officially endorsed it; and

WHEREAS, One of the objectives of the American Federation of Labor has been to develop indentured apprenticeship in the organized trades based on the assumption that fair wage levels and working conditions can be maintained only by preventing the over supply of untrained mechanics and the development of a reasonable supply of skilled mechanics; therefore, in view of the fact that this program is based on sound American policies; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the policy and program of the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training and recommend that the program be expanded; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the United States be urged to appropriate sufficient funds to the U. S. Labor Department to carry on the activities of the Federal Committee; and be it further

RESOLVED, That State Federations of Labor be urged to take an active interest in the passage of State apprentice laws to safeguard the standards of apprentice training laid down in the Federal program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Legislation to Provide That All Munitions and Essentials for National Defense be Manufactured by the Government

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Nye Senatorial investigation has shown that graft, collusion and corruption have developed in connection with the Munitions Industry, and

WHEREAS, Representatives of this

industry have carried on propaganda and lobbying for the purpose of increasing their business, at times to the injury of friendly international relations, and

WHEREAS, Investigation has shown that the Nation in its arsenals and navy yards produces manufactured material for National defense more efficiently and more cheaply than private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to actively support suitable legislation which will provide for the manufacture of all articles for National defense including arms, ammunitions, war ships, air craft and signal devices, by the Government, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be presented to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Defense

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, National Defense requires the maintenance of navy yards and arsenals equipped to produce efficiently and manned by competent mechanics; and

WHEREAS, the subject of National Defense is injured alike by the propaganda of extreme Pacifists and that of extreme Militarists and those private interests whose principle purpose is to make profit from the manufacture of war munitions; and

WHEREAS, the American Trade Union Movement is opposed to all forms of propaganda which interferes with a sane, well-balanced policy for National Defense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself as favoring the full development and upkeep of all Navy yards and arsenals and adequate remuneration of all civilian employees and of all enlisted men and officers in the Army and Navy; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor favors the manufacture of war munitions and naval vessels in our arsenals and navy yards so that the element of private profit will place this branch of National defense beyond the baleful influence of those who seek to create sentiment for the production of war munitions so that they may be able to convert Na-

tional defense into a medium for private profit.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Condemning Action of City Council of Marion, Ohio, in Abolishing Fire Fighters' Pensions

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The City Council of Marion, Ohio, has seen fit to adopt an ordinance repealing the Firemen's Pension Ordinance established many years ago; and

WHEREAS, Such action has deprived widows, children and retired brothers, some of whom are sick and infirm, and unable to provide any means of livelihood; and

WHEREAS, Their action may be the means of undermining the pension systems in many cities in the state of Ohio, and elsewhere; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters has seen fit to initiate and sponsor litigation which will test the legality of the action of the Marion City Council; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its fifty-sixth convention in the city of Tampa, Florida, does hereby place itself on record as vigorously condemning the action of the City Council of Marion, Ohio, in taking the above-mentioned action; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Mayor and City Council of Marion, Ohio be notified of the adoption of this resolution by the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Condemning Order of City Manager and City Council of Saginaw, Michigan, Against Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 7—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is an organization formed for the purpose of placing its members on a higher plane of skill and efficiency; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire departments of cities in which there are locals affiliated with said International Association of Fire Fighters has been recognized and attested to by the chiefs of fire depart-

ments of such cities, as evidenced by letters to this effect written by such chiefs to the International Association of Fire Fighters; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire service of the United States and Canada, as a whole, is recognized and acknowledged by such authorities as the Department of Agriculture of the United States, the National Fire Protection Association, the National Board of Fire Underwriters, the National Fire Waste Council and the Mayors of a great many cities of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Despite these indisputable facts, the City Manager and the City Council in the City of Saginaw, Michigan, have seen fit to order the disbanding of Saginaw Fire Fighters Local No. 422, thereby prohibiting the members of the Saginaw Fire Department from continuing their membership in organized labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled, at this, the fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor, in the city of Tampa, do hereby place themselves on record as vigorously condemning the action of the City Manager and City Council of Saginaw, Michigan, in causing such an order to be issued; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled do instruct the Executive Officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use every reasonable means to have the above-mentioned order rescinded or withdrawn, in order that the Saginaw fire fighters may affiliate with the International Association of Fire Fighters without fear of jeopardizing their jobs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the City Manager and City Council of Saginaw, Michigan be notified of the adoption of this resolution by the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Tax For Fire Fighters' Pensions

Resolution No. 8—By delegates Fred W. Baer and J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, A majority of the states levy a tax on foreign insurance companies; and

WHEREAS, The original intent and purposes of these taxes were to assist in the cost of maintaining Firemen's Pension Funds; and

WHEREAS, Only 19 states are now allocating a part of this tax towards

the maintenance of Firemen's Pension Funds; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters is endeavoring to secure the passage of state legislation that will provide a uniform state law, which will levy a tax of 2 per cent on all premiums paid to foreign fire insurance companies, the funds derived from this tax to be allocated to assist in maintaining the various pension funds for fire fighters; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of self-insurers not incorporated within a state, who carry their own fire insurance, such as chain stores, oil companies and corporations, and who in doing so evade this tax; and

WHEREAS, If these companies and corporations were classified in the same category as foreign fire insurance companies the fire fighters Pension Funds would secure additional revenue; and

WHEREAS, Legislation has been passed in one state and is contemplated in other states which would provide that a 2 per cent tax be placed on all corporations, chain stores and self-insurers not incorporated in the state, thereby placing them in the same category as foreign fire insurance companies. This tax would be on a premium covering the amount of fire insurance that would normally be carried on such property, the funds to be collected by the state and distributed in such manner as to assist the Pension Funds in each city in the state in an equitable manner; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its fifty-sixth convention, approves of such legislation for fire fighters' pensions, and that the affiliated State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Councils be instructed to assist the International Association of Fire Fighters and its affiliated locals in their efforts to secure the passage of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Eight-Hour Day for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The fire fighters in practically all the cities of the United States and Canada still work the two platoon system, or an average of 12 hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The fire fighting profession has, the same as modern industry, adopted speed-up methods, labor-saving apparatus and appliances, which have steadily reduced the man power; and

WHEREAS, In addition many cities have still further reduced their fire fighting forces to the extent that it has become necessary to inaugurate and maintain a call-back system that forces attendance of the off shift at fires of only ordinary proportions; and

WHEREAS, If the growth of this practice is permitted to continue the single platoon system will, in effect, again be established; and

WHEREAS, The fire fighters, by their failure to strive for a shorter work day and their non-insistence on a sufficiently large fire fighting force to obviate the need of call-backs, except in extraordinary emergencies, have impeded economic recovery; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, in convention assembled at Asbury Park, N. J., has gone on record as favoring a renewed, intensive and determined effort to secure the eight-hour day with one day of rest in seven for all fire fighters in the United States and Canada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its Fifty-sixth Convention, in the city of Tampa, does hereby endorse the program of the International Association of Fire Fighters in its endeavor to secure shorter working hours for all fire fighters in the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this program of shorter working hours is in conformity with the ideals of organized labor, and that every member Local of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urged to give its whole-hearted support to the movement for an eight-hour day with one day off in seven for all fire fighters in the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the different State Federations of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Councils be hereby instructed to actively assist the International Association of Fire Fighters in their states and cities when a campaign is made for the eight-hour day for fire fighters, and that all trades unionists are hereby called upon to urge the adoption of such eight-hour day for fire fighters as in keeping with Labor's ideals and as a means of reducing the present number of unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Federal Legislation to Penalize Unfair Practices of Employment Agencies

Resolution No. 10.—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

uel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, the large cities as well as the small towns are infested with sharks that call themselves employment agencies, and

WHEREAS, These so-called employment agencies undermine the wage standards and working conditions, and

WHEREAS, In practice these so-called agencies are nothing more than strike-breaking units, supplying "scabs" to employers engaged in fighting organized labor, and

WHEREAS, By trick and device they exact fees from the distressed unemployed on the pretext of obtaining work by them fail to do so, and

WHEREAS, By conniving with employers they cause employees to be fired without justification on the promise to keep furnishing the employers with new help at lower wages. Be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring some type of Federal legislation to punish employment agencies indulging in the aforementioned practices.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing A. F. of L. Adopt Special Educational Measures Against Fascism

Resolution No. 11.—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The forces of Fascism, now raging in European countries are also rapidly penetrating into the United States, and

WHEREAS, The reactionary forces in America, though garbed in different garments, though disguised under different names and are in essence and in fact flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the same Fascism, and

WHEREAS, The appearance of Fascism in America must likewise inevitably lead to the destruction of the entire labor movement and to the annihilation of every progressive thought; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Fed-

eration of Labor use every force at its means by education and propaganda to apprise the members of the Federation and the world at large of the lurking dangers of Fascism in the United States and its corresponding detriment to labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIO—Wisconsin State Federation of Labor Plan to Settle Dispute

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The controversy between the A. F. of L. Executive Council and the CIO threatens to divide the labor movement through which the innocent membership will suffer a severe loss, and the anti-union employers the country over will still further enslave the workers because of the inevitable weakness of the labor movement caused by such division; and

WHEREAS, The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor at its convention in July of this year has suggested a plan whereby all factions can unite immediately with machinery set up for a permanent organizational structure within the next fiscal year of the A. F. of L., therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 1936 convention of the A. F. of L. adopt the proposal of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor hereto attached, or one similar in character, in the interest of harmony and progress at this critical time when labor's opportunity appears greatest for building a more powerful and influential labor movement in America than ever before.

1. That all charges against organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization be immediately dismissed and all plans for suspension or expulsion of such organizations from the American Federation of Labor be dropped.

2. That the American Federation of Labor participate wholeheartedly and completely with the Committee for Industrial Organization in the organization drive to organize the steel industry and rubber industry on an industrial organization basis so that this plan and the resulting organization may have a fair chance to prove its efficacy.

3. That the Committee for Industrial Organization confine its industrial organization drive to the steel and rubber industries until such time that further action is taken by the American Federation of Labor.

4. That the President of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor within sixty days appoint a special committee of two representatives of International Unions classed as craft unions, two representatives of International unions classed as industrial unions, three representatives of State Federations of Labor, three representatives of City Central Bodies and two representatives of Federal Labor unions, to study all phases of organizational setup within the labor movement. The activities of such committee to be financed by the American Federation of Labor and such committee to make a written report and recommendations to the 1937 convention of the American Federation of Labor. We recommend the placing of the specified number of representatives of State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and Federal Labor Unions on this committee because such representatives are very close to the workers in the industries in this nation.

5. That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to give this plan earnest consideration at its earliest opportunity and that the President of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor be directed to appear personally or by delegated proxy at any meeting of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at which this matter is to be considered and to urge its adoption.

6. That copies of this plan be transmitted to the officers and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and to all the Presidents of the International Unions connected with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

7. That copies of this plan be sent to all International Unions, State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies with the request that they endorse it and notify the A. F. of L. and the Committee for Industrial Organization of such action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Kohler Company, Kohler, Wis.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and Charles Heymanns, Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wis.

WHEREAS, The strike at the Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, manufacturers of plumbing fixtures, bathtubs, sinks, pottery ware, lavatories, heating plants, radiators, electric light plants and brass plumbing fittings, continues in full progress, and

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Union No. 18545 is just as determined to prevent this unfair firm from forcing the work-

ers to accept the company union policy as it was July 16, 1934, when the strike commenced, and.

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 95 at the Atlantic City convention informed the delegates of the methods employed by this firm, reciting that on July 27, 1934, two union men were killed and forty-three others wounded, besides gassing scores of men, women and children, and

WHEREAS, The 1935 convention gave its support to the request for nationwide publicity, which publicity by President Green's circular letter proved of great benefit and assistance to these loyal strikers, who are still picketing the plant daily and shall continue to do so, so long as the A. F. of L. continues its loyal support, and

WHEREAS, This firm has underbid fair manufacturers in securing government contracts for its products, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention pledge to the Kohler strikers the continued support of the American Federation of Labor by renewing the nation-wide publicity through circular letter and the labor press of North America, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to use his best efforts to prevent the awarding of government contracts to the Kohler Company.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Protest Against Lithographers' Label

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Geo. C. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The printing trades unions of California, and particularly in the southern part of the State, have suffered severely, during the past several years, from the injection into the industry of a so-called union label, issued by the Lithographers' Association, and distributed indiscriminately to printing plants non-union in all departments except one or two members of that Association; and

WHEREAS, The promiscuous issuance of this label to non-union employers has acted to confuse the friendly buyer of union label printing into believing the label to be a bona fide union label, and such buyer is induced to purchase the product on the assurance of the non-union printer that it is a union label recognized as such by the Union Labor Movement; and

WHEREAS, The Los Angeles Allied Printing Trades Council, after much ef-

fort and expense, created a demand for the union label on printing being produced for breweries, distilleries, and for political purposes, only to have the Lithographers' label injected into the picture and a great portion of the work absorbed by printing plants operating 98 per cent non-union, and employing no members of the Allied Printing Trades, and whose salesmen and solicitors canvass the buyers of union label printing, selling them their products bearing the so-called union label of the Lithographers' Association; and

WHEREAS, The Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor does not recognize the Lithographers' label as a bona fide union label, and it is not advertised by the Department in its book of bona fide union labels. And, ever since the American Federation of Labor Convention in 1915, the Lithographers' Association has refused and failed to comply with the instructions of that Convention, and each succeeding Convention, ordering them to consolidate with the International Printing Pressmen, and the International Photo Engravers' Unions, and at the last Convention of the American Federation of Labor they were allowed six months to reach an adjustment, which they have failed to do; and

WHEREAS, The continued use of this label, and its being granted to printing plants operating non-union in all departments, is making serious inroads on the work of the Allied Printing Trades, and is giving an unfair advantage to the non-union employer, who is permitted to use it in competition with the real union label of the printing trades, the Allied Printing Trades Council Union label, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the California State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemns the use of this label, and urges its withdrawal from use in the unfair way it is being employed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the State Federation of Labor bring to the attention of the American Federation of Labor the necessity of an early adjustment of the difficulties surrounding the actions of the Lithographers' Association, and compel them to comply with the often repeated instruction of the Federation.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Calling for Revocation of Charters of Organizations Affiliated with CIO

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate John F. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of

the American Federation of Labor has declared the Committee for Industrial Organization to be a dual organization, constituting an organized insurrection against the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, after a careful and thorough examination of the evidence presented, suspended the National and International Unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization; and

WHEREAS, The Committee for Industrial Organization has recently affiliated a dual organization of radio and electrical workers, and a dual organization of shipyard workers; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention revoke the charters and certificates of affiliation of all National and International Unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Suspension of International Unions Associated With CIO

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Geo. C. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Ten International Unions, comprising 1,200,000 odd members have been suspended or expelled from the American Federation of Labor by action of the Executive Council in violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, to-wit Article IX, Section 12: "The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote"; and

WHEREAS, This usurpation on the part of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, if unchallenged, will replace democratic rule in the American Federation of Labor by a despotic and tyrannical rule of an Executive Council; and will split the ranks of Organized Labor and weaken its struggle between the employers and workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the State Federation of Labor, assembled in convention in Sacramento, go on record as opposing the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in suspending or expelling the ten International Unions comprising the Committee for Industrial Organization; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That this Convention

demand their re-instatement, and that they be seated as delegates at the American Federation of Labor Convention to be held at Tampa, Florida, with full rights and privileges as delegates; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the State Federation's delegate be instructed to vote and work for the rescinding of the action of the Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Withhold Support of Labels of International Unions Affiliated With CIO

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The following named organizations: United Mine Workers of America; Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America; International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; United Textile Workers of America; Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union; Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America; Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; International Union of United Automobile Workers of America; United Rubber Workers of America and the International Typographical Union, have formed what they call the C. I. O. in defiance to action taken at the Atlantic City Convention and are doing everything possible to prevent organization by crafts and are unfairly claiming that craft unions have failed; and

WHEREAS, They, with the exception of the Typographical Union and Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, have been suspended from the American Federation of Labor for their actions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor withhold any further support to these organizations, and not demand their label until they comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That owing to the fact that Presidents Charles F. Howard of the Typographical Union and Max Zaritzsky of the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, are actively assisting the C. I. O., that their organizations be included and we refuse to further use their label until their organizations compel them to cease their destructive operations in favor of the C. I. O. and to the detriment of the craft organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Disapproval of Suspension of International Unions Associated With CIO

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate A. P. Bower, Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pa.

WHEREAS, The need for unity in the organized labor movement was never more necessary than at present, and

WHEREAS, The great majority of Workers in the American Labor movement are opposed to any move that will divide the American Federation of Labor in two hostile groups, and

WHEREAS, The interests of the Membership is involved to such an extent by the threatened division of organized labor at a time, when there should be unity of action in every community in the United States, to advance the interest of the wage earner by increasing the number of members and prestige of the various Central Labor Unions, rather than the international dissension which will result in loss of confidence in the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Federated Trades Council in Reading, Pa., demand that the order of suspension issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be disapproved by the Convention; so that all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor previous to September 5th, 1936, be given an opportunity to work through the American Federation of Labor in an effort to find a solution that will preserve the present structure of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Co-operation with CIO

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate A. P. Bower, Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pa.

WHEREAS, The organized forces of political and social reaction and of economic greed have been consolidating and concentrating their powers for an attack on the positions of the workers of this nation, and on the very basis of democratic government, and

WHEREAS, Only a full and effective organization of the workers in the cities and the countryside can and will successfully resist these reactionary attempts to destroy our rights, liberties and positions, and can and will defend and uphold the democratic basis of gov-

ernment and the economic opportunities for all, which are the best materialized in a democracy; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement, despite long and arduous efforts over half a century of time, at present covers and includes only a bare one-eighth part of our working population, some five million out of a total of forty million organizable wage earners in the industries, in the services and in agriculture; and

WHEREAS, Unionization has been especially difficult in the mass production industries, such as steel, automobile, rubber, radio, oil, electrical supplies and the various services which now engage many millions of working people, and where organization is being viciously and violently resisted by the management and the controlling interests of the great and arrogant aggregations of capital; and

WHEREAS, The policy of applying this method of union organization by crafts and of excluding the semi-skilled and unskilled majority has proved to be an obstacle rather than a help in unionizing the mass production industries, for it has failed to find favor with the workers who seem to prefer industry-wide and all inclusive unions to division into small craft groupings, and it has failed to impress the management and to win recognition and concessions; and

WHEREAS, The method of organizing workers by crafts, effective at an earlier stage of our industrial development and still effective in the industries and trades where craft and skill constitute a dominant part in the working and industrial process is not suitable to needs of organization in the basic, mass production industries, where great power held by the workers and collective industrial competence, rather than consideration of the individual worker's skill, is the effective basis for successful collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, The great success of the United Mine Workers of America, an inclusive organization of all workers in and around the mines, in obtaining practically complete unionization of their industry and an acceptable union contract of wages, hours and other protections, has amply demonstrated the advantage of using the method of organizing by industry in the basis mass production industries; and

WHEREAS, This issue of organization by industry rather than by craft was exhaustively debated in the fifty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, and more than one-third of the votes cast were in favor of granting the workers in the mass production industries the right to organize

their unions upon an all-inclusive industry-wide basis; and

WHEREAS, A committee, made up of eight important international trade unions, organized along both craft and industrial lines, such as the United Mine Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the United Textile Workers of America, the Amalgamated Clothing of America, the International Typographical Union, and others, assuming the name of the Committee for Industrial Organization, has been formed for the purpose of assisting the workers in the mass production industries in their organizing efforts, and the work of this Committee for Industrial Organization has already proved to be beneficial in many important instances, and it deserves to be given generous support by all units of the organized trade union movement of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, in this thirty-fifth convention assembled, instruct its delegates to the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor to cast the vote of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor in favor of granting industry-wide union charters to the workers in the basic mass production industries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor extend its fraternal greetings and pledge its co-operation to the Committee for Industrial Organization in its efforts to arouse the entire American Federation of Labor to the acceptance of the form of organization which seems to be, and has proved to be, effective as a means of bringing the millions of workers in the basic mass production industries into the fold of organized labor under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Negro Workers

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, We recognize the fact that all men are born equal and enjoy an equal right to the pursuit of happiness, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor in certain parts of the country through its discrimination against negroes prevent members of that race from joining the

ranks of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The Employers utilize the unorganized negroes as "scabs" in strike situations and to drive the standard of wages of the organized workers down, and

WHEREAS, The workers regardless of creed, color or race have only one common interest, namely, through united and collective effort increase the standard of life of the worker, Therefore Be It

RESOLVED, That all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor accept into membership members of the negro race.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Favoring Enactment of Federal Legislation Against Lynching

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Lynching of human beings and violent mob rule are a frequent practice in the United States, and

WHEREAS, Despite the protest voiced on all sides by leading organizations against the lynching of negroes, and recently of labor leaders active in strike regions, this outrageous practice still continues, and

WHEREAS, Constituted authority in some parts of the country were either unwilling or unable to bring to justice the perpetrators of such hideous crimes, Be It Therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record favoring the enactment of Federal legislation against mob rule or lynching in any form whatsoever in any part of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Support of Union-Labelled Products

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The purchasing of products of organized labor, produced by unorganized workers at low wages undermines the scale of wages of organized workers, and

WHEREAS, A low scale of wages diminishes the purchasing power of the worker, who is also a consumer; and

WHEREAS, A low purchasing power in turn increases unemployment and misery to the workers, Be It Therefore,

RESOLVED, That we support all products bearing the union label.

Referred to Committee on Union Labels.

Proposing A. F. of L. Launch National-Wide Movement Against War

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The danger of a World War is moving with an irresistible force upon us, and

WHEREAS, No matter what power of the World it will originate it will eventually involve the United States, and

WHEREAS, War is a source of fabulous profit for ammunition manufacturers and other war materials, and

WHEREAS, The untold misery and suffering of the last World War with its resultant unemployment and economic depression must repeat themselves with even still greater force, and

WHEREAS, The workers of the country have nothing to gain but everything to lose, Be It Therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record urging the United States to declare sanctions against any aggressor nation, and Be It Further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor launch a nation-wide movement opposing war.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Boycott of Hearst Publications

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, At the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor,

William Randolph Hearst was formally declared and condemned as an enemy of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, America's outstanding leaders despise him and regard him as an enemy of the people, and

WHEREAS, The Hearst newspapers are committed and dedicated to the spread of Fascism sponsoring and supporting anti-labor legislation, stirring up hatred among peaceful nations and fomenting war, and

WHEREAS, The Hearst newspapers deliberately distort and misconstrue news of labor's struggles, thereby hurting immeasurably the cause of labor, Be It Therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record favoring the boycott by organized labor of all publications controlled by Hearst.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Legislation Outlawing Company Unions

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Company unions are the creation of trusts and industrial mergers, used as a pretext to prevent the workers to organize themselves into genuine unions of their own creation, and

WHEREAS, Company unions deny workers the right to protest in any shape or form against low wages, long hours, speed-up system and intensive exploitation, and

WHEREAS, The stifling of free expression by workers as to condition under which they shall work, reduces them to a condition of slavery and lessens their standard of living, and

WHEREAS, Company unions are likewise a menace to organized labor and particularly to the trade union movement, Be It

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring legislation outlawing company unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Aid to Hitler Government

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel

and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Any economic aid granted by our government to the Nazi regime in Germany would only tend to preserve the inhuman and barbarous Hitler power, and

WHEREAS, the prolonging of the Nazi regime tends to perpetuate the sufferings of the German workers,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That this convention go on record opposing any economic aid to the Hitler government by the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Establishing A. F. of L. Food Department

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Only a small fraction of many thousands of workers employed in the food industry are at present organized; and

WHEREAS, Conflicting interests and cross purposes prevailing among the various organizations representing the food industry serve as barriers and prevent a genuine unification of all food workers, and

WHEREAS, This condition is responsible for subjecting food workers to brutal treatment and inhuman conditions of long hours and low wages, and

WHEREAS, An effective remedy may be brought about by the formation of a Food Department in the American Federation of Labor.

BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring the establishment of such a Food Department.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Proposing Disciplining Organizations That Patronize Non-Union Hotels and Restaurants

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor,

holding their affairs in establishments unfair to our crafts and to organized labor, are disgracing the principles of trade unionism, which they themselves preach but do not practice, and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding all the resolutions adopted in the past condemning such unworthy conduct, to this day the evil has not been eradicated, be it therefore

RESOLVED, This convention go on record to discipline any such organization for holding their affairs in non-union houses, provided a union house is available for the holding of such affairs, by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Legislation to Require That Commodities Shipped in Interstate Commerce Shall Bear Name of Manufacturer, City and State

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor, and Otto W. Brach, Toledo Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The large industrial concerns are building chains of industrial plants throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, In so doing they are trying to defeat Organized Labor by going into unorganized territories; and

WHEREAS, In the manufacture of their products it is not designated on these products the place of manufacture other than U. S. A., so that it can be determined whether or not the products are manufactured under fair or unfair working conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Incoming Executive Council to make an effort to have Congress enact a law prohibiting the sale of commodities in interstate commerce which do not bear, as well as the manufacturer's name, the city and the state of manufacture.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Practices Under So-Called Balanced Work Force of Navy Department

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Navy Department in instructions to Navy Yards and naval stations has stressed the necessity for conserving funds by reducing the number of first class ratings of mechanical

employees and establishing a so-called Balance Work Force, which includes mechanics paid at first, second and third class ratings, and

WHEREAS, These instructions are easily susceptible to interpretations which will result in first class mechanics of all the trades being forced to accept wage rates out of keeping with the qualifications of their trade and at the same time create the opportunity for the employment of competent mechanics in the government service at lower rates of pay under the maximum wage scales authorized in the schedule of wages enforced under the Navy Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor record its opposition to the principles and practices of the so-called "Balanced Work Force" which leads to wage reduction practices, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to support the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. in an effort to have the rules of 1921 re-established so that the intermediate and minimum ratings for mechanics may be eliminated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Displacement of Civil Service Workers by Emergency Workers

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor is opposed to any change in the status or abrogation of the Civil Service rights of civilian employees, classified or unclassified, and known as permanent employees; and

WHEREAS, Maintenance and repair work is being performed by emergency employes on United States Government property endangering the continued employment of permanent employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue its efforts to prevent the displacement of permanent employes by emergency workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Application to Place General Household Utilities Corporation of Chicago, Ill., on Unfair List

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, On Wednesday, May 6,

1936, all machinists and die and tool-makers employed by the General Household Utilities Corporation (manufacturers of Grunow refrigerators and radios) came out on strike because Mr. Wm. Grunow continued to refuse to meet with men for the purpose of establishing contractual relations, and

WHEREAS, Every lawful means have been taken by the International Association of Machinists to effectuate a peaceable and honorable settlement, using the good offices of the Conciliation Department of the U. S. Department of Labor, The National Labor Board, the Chicago Federation of Labor, International officers, etc., and

WHEREAS, The said Wm. Grunow, President of the Company has steadfastly refused conferences to all of the above mentioned officials by having his Secretary say "he is out of town, not in, in the plant, down town, home ill, etc.", when it was definitely known he was in his office, and

WHEREAS, That is the same Mr. Wm. Grunow who, several years ago, was an official of the Grigsby-Grunow Company, which firm was placed on that "We do not patronize" list of the Trade Union Movement, and

WHEREAS, the purchasing power of the organized workers, is a power indeed, that this unscrupulous and arbitrary employer refuses to take cognizance of; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to go on record placing the General Household Utilities Corporation of Chicago, on the unfair "we do not patronize list", as has been done by the Machinists' District Council of Chicago and the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Federal Investigation of Alien Situation on the Panama Canal

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There are employed by the United States Government on The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad approximately 10,000 British West Indian aliens, and

WHEREAS, Three thousand of these aliens are occupying skilled and semi-skilled positions in the crafts and in office helper positions, and

WHEREAS, Resolutions providing for the replacement of these three thousand skilled and semi-skilled aliens have been approved by the Metal Trades Department in several conventions, and

WHEREAS, Bills were sponsored by

the American Federation of Labor and introduced in both Houses of Congress during the last session providing for the replacement of these skilled and semi-skilled aliens by American citizens, and

WHEREAS, The result of this legislation is that the Senate voted a substantial sum for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of the alien situation on The Panama Canal, and

WHEREAS, A committee of five members of the Senate was appointed to make this important investigation but for various reasons were prevented from making the trip to the Panama Canal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to have the United States Senate follow out its intent to make a full investigation of the alien situation on The Panama Canal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Shorter Work Week Legislation for
Panama Canal and Panama Railroad
Employees**

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, In 1934 the Thomas Amendment providing for a 40-hour week with no reduction in salary for certain employees of the United States Government was passed; and

WHEREAS, Realizing the limitations placed on the application of the shorter work week, legislation was introduced in the last session of Congress providing for the application of the shorter work week to all Government employees alike; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal Administration has excepted the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad from legislation providing for Saturday half-holidays and has opposed the application of the 40-hour week measure to the employees of the Panama Canal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled be instructed to make every effort to have the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees included in any beneficial legislation reducing hours of labor for all Government employees.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

**Provision for Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama
Railroad Employees**

Resolution No. 35 — By Delegate

Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees and is fostering the principle of selective representation; and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location a long ways from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes; and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Appointments to West Point and Annapolis Military Academies from
Among Sons of Employees of the
Panama Canal and Panama
Railroad**

Resolution No. 36 — By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, In 1934 the Congress of the United States approved an amendment to then pending legislation providing for an appointment by the Governor of the Panama Canal to the Military Academy at West Point from among the sons of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and

WHEREAS, Before this time no such appointment has been allowed the employee residents of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Delegates and Resident Commissioners from outlying possessions of the United States, such as Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Alaska, have the privilege of appointing citizens from their own districts to both the Military Academy at West Point and the Naval Academy at Annapolis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled be instructed to assist and further whatever legislation may be introduced at the next session of Congress, which will provide for appointments to the Naval Academy by the Governor of the Panama Canal from among sons of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

25 Year Optional Retirement Legislation for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 37 — By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative as an employee grows older and his resistance is undermined; and

WHEREAS, Congress during a recent session passed a bill reducing the period of service in the Canal Zone for military personnel from three to two years because of these climatic conditions; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are all of such an age as will require them to work more than thirty years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 60 or 62; and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when computing retirement; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act but have a separate retirement law approved March 1, 1931, and incorporated into the Canal Zone Code, approved June 19, 1934; and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, 25 years of

service, with full annuity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled be instructed to make an attempt to secure for the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad 25-year optional retirement at 55 years of age, with full annuity, in the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Pension Legislation for Widows of Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union,

WHEREAS, Many bills have been introduced in past sessions of Congress to extend retirement benefits to widows of annuitants of Government employees; and

WHEREAS, The women of the Canal Zone, after long periods in the tropics, with the possibility of being left widows shortly after their husbands' retirement, must certainly become objects of charity or else try to compete in the open market for unsuitable work; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of the employees involved are not sufficient to leave any surplus to make these widows independent of the necessity of asking employment or seeking aid from others; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal employees have a special retirement act because of the unusual climatic and adverse living conditions in the tropics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, support legislation or amendments to legislation which will extend to widows of United States citizens, annuitants, of the Canal Zone Retirement Act, benefits of 2/3 of the annuities received by the employee before his death.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Federal Investigation of Alien Situation on Panama Canal and Panama Railroad

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There are employed by the United States Government on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad approximately 10,000 British West Indian aliens; and

WHEREAS, Three thousand of these aliens are occupying skilled and semi-skilled positions in the crafts and in office helper positions; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions providing for the replacement of these three thousand skilled and semi-skilled aliens have been approved by the Metal Trades Department in several conventions; and

WHEREAS, Bills were sponsored by the American Federation of Labor and introduced in both Houses of Congress during the last session providing for the replacement of these skilled and semi-skilled aliens by American citizens; and

WHEREAS, The result of this legislation is that the Senate voted a substantial sum for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of the alien situation on the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, A committee of five members of the Senate were appointed to make this important investigation but for various reasons were prevented from making the trip to the Panama Canal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled be instructed to make every effort to have the United States Senate follow out its intent to make a full investigation of the alien situation on the Panama Canal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Application for Change of Title

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Edw. W. Kaiser, Stove Mounters' International Union.

The Stove Mounters International Union ask your consideration and approval of the following resolution:

WHEREAS, In accordance with the mandate of the Stove Mounters International Union of delegates assembled in convention, in the city of Newark, Ohio, August 13-17, 1935, by resolution adopted that our title be changed from Stove Mounters International Union to Allied Stove Mounters and Stove Processors International Union. Due to the evolution and changes in the industry we represent, we are compelled to make this change in order to insure us of peace and harmonious relationship with those firms who have signed our agreements. Further, due to seasonal work of our industry, which in part is made up of stoves, enamel parts, refrigeration as-

sembly (not mechanical mechanism), packers of such parts, and such work pertaining directly to assembly line and sub-assembly, and preliminary work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the Stove Mounters International Union petition this convention to grant us the change of title as aforementioned, in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Masters, Mates and Pilots vs. Harbor Tow Boatmen Union and Railroad Marine Workers, Inc., New York

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate J. J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America is the only national labor group within the American Federation of Labor accorded complete jurisdiction over licensed deck personnel in the United States of America, and its insular possessions; and

WHEREAS, Said National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America has been a continuous affiliate of the American Federation of Labor for a quarter of a century; and

WHEREAS, Said National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America has rigidly maintained the ethical standards required of an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Two groups dual to the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, one known as Harbor Tow Boatmen Union, the other as Railroad Marine Workers, Inc., have been organized in the port of New York; and

WHEREAS, Said dual groups not only infringe upon jurisdictional prerogatives, of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, but also infringe on several other national and international groups within the American Federation of Labor, notably the International Union of Operating Engineers, the International Seamen's Union, the Carmen of America, and others; and

WHEREAS, Said dual groups have been organized and chartered with the consent and approval of Joseph P. Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Association despite our formal protest which was completely ignored and its tenets repudiated by Mr. Ryan in the public press; and

WHEREAS, The National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America resents not only the total dis-

regard of its jurisdictional rights, the infringement upon their membership rolls, but also the fact that a leading exponent of organized labor within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor would be so unethical as to violate the jurisdictional ethics of American Federation of Labor without the courtesy of even consulting the affiliates vitally interested; and

WHEREAS, The organization of those dual groups is a retrogressive policy for marine labor since it creates a union representation of no particular craft and bulks the men to a hash-like consistency which will give little or no material aid to the individual marine worker since his identity will be submerged in an unleavened mass while his own legitimate group is powerless to aid him; therefore be it and it hereby is

RESOLVED, That the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America does vehemently protest the organization of said dual groups as dangerous unions subversive to best interests of labor in the port of New York; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America record itself as unalterably opposed to the issuance of dual charters by any affiliate of American Federation of Labor which usurps the rightful jurisdiction of any other affiliate; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America respectfully petition this Convention to take such action as it deems expedient to set about restoring to the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America its complete jurisdictional rights as regards deck personnel on United States vessels (all types); and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommend a course of action whereby said dual groups, viz., Harbor Tow Boatmen Union, Local No. 933-3, also Railroad Marine Workers, Inc., can be either eliminated from the labor picture, or so regulated as to include those members not dual to other legitimate affiliates of the American Federation of Labor whose priority of jurisdiction entitles same to first consideration.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

To Organize Kraft-Phenix Cheese Corporation Employees

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Aug. Rosqvist, Idaho State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Two years ago the American Federation of Labor issued a charter to the Cheese Factory Em-

ployes Local Union No. 19826, Pocatello, Idaho, composed of employees of the Kraft-Phenix Cheese Corporation, of their Pocatello Factory, and

WHEREAS, These employees have considerably improved their conditions through their organization, but at this time are unable to progress any further due to the fact that the employees in the approximately fifty other plants owned or operated by this Corporation have no union organization, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention at this time direct the Executive Council to use its best efforts to organize these employees of the Kraft-Phenix Cheese Corporation Plants or Factories which are located in United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Thomas J. Mooney

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Tom Mooney, a member of the International Molders' Union of America for thirty-three years, has been confined to the St. Quentin penitentiary in the State of California for twenty years for a deed which informed people the world over know was committed by someone other than Tom Mooney; and

WHEREAS, The courageous attitude of our fellow unionist, Tom Mooney, through his twenty years of innocent and shameful incarceration, should inspire the membership of labor throughout the country to keep the Mooney issue alive and do all in their power to assist Mooney in his fight for freedom; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 1936 convention of the American Federation of Labor re-affirm its position in support of Tom Mooney and renew its efforts of a nation-wide campaign for Mooney's unconditional pardon.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Thomas J. Mooney

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates Lawrence O'Keefe, George W. Haas, and J. H. Wardley, International Molders' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney, a member of the International Molders' Union of North America for 32 years, has been imprisoned by the State of California for more than 18 of his best years on a life imprisonment sentence on the foulest frame-up conspiracy

ever recorded in the whole history of American jurisprudence; and

WHEREAS, This monstrous frame-up conspiracy against Thomas J. Mooney was conceived, inspired, directed, executed and paid for by the hireling henchmen Agents Provocature of the California non-union open shop employers, particularly the public utilities corporations of San Francisco, who had direct control of the district attorney's office and the police department; and

WHEREAS, The real motive behind this outrageous conspiracy is class fear and class hatred of Thomas J. Mooney, because of his aggressive, militant activity in the California trade union movement and his undying loyalty and devotion to the entire working class; and

WHEREAS, The original trial judge, Franklin A. Griffin, Captain of Detectives Duncan Matheson, in charge of the gathering of all the evidence, all of the living members of the jury that found him guilty, and the present district attorney have demanded his pardon; and

WHEREAS, Two commissions appointed by Presidents Wilson and Hoover investigated this case and branded the frame-up as "shocking to one's sense of justice"; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of other public officials, countless thousands of worthwhile men and women, organizations and many scores of the great daily newspapers and magazines throughout the world have branded this frame-up as a blot on civilization, the shame of America, and a disgraceful smear upon the escutcheon of the State of California and an international scandal; and

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney, was, by a directed verdict, upon the motion of the District Attorney, and over his protest, acquitted May 24, 1933, on an indictment identical to the one on which he was convicted 13 years ago; and with the verdict of not guilty still ringing in his ears, he was placed in irons and speeded back to San Quentin Prison for the rest of his natural life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates assembled in the 28th Convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, at Chicago, Ill. August 13 to 25, 1934, that we reiterate and declare once again our full and complete belief in the absolute innocence of our brother member, Thomas J. Mooney, and denounce with righteous wrathful indignation and scornful contempt the original framers of this foul conspiracy and every other public official who, subsequent thereto by his decisions, aiding, abetting, deeds or words of encouragement toward the continuation of this monstrous frame-up; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Molders' Union delegates to all conventions of the American Federation of Labor present this resolution for adoption.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Financial Appeal for Mooney and Billings

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Geo. G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings have languished in California penitentiaries for twenty years, victims of a despicable anti-union frame-up, the circumstances of which are only too well known to organized labor and all justice-loving citizens; and

WHEREAS, All of the witnesses upon whose testimony these two labor leaders were convicted have since either repudiated their testimony or have been thoroughly discredited and proven perjurers wholly unworthy of belief; and

WHEREAS, Judge Franklin Griffin, the trial judge, has denounced the methods employed to convict Mooney as "the dirtiest job ever put over" in any court; the attorney general of California urged a re-trial of the case in 1917; a special commission of inquiry appointed by President Wilson in 1918 denounced the trial as a "frame up"; the Wickersham commission appointed by President Hoover investigated the case and branded it as "shocking to one's sense of justice"; Associate Justice William H. Langdon of the California Supreme Court in December 1930, in a minority opinion in the matter of Warren K. Billings' Application for a Recommendation for Pardon, said, "I do know that there has been a failure of proof to such an extent that there is now not even a semblance of a case against him"; Matthew Brady, District Attorney of San Francisco County, declares that both Mooney and Billings were convicted on perjured testimony; William V. MacNevin, foreman of the jury which convicted Mooney, has made a special plea to the governor for release; and every other living juror who voted for conviction has appealed to the governor to grant an unconditional pardon to Mooney; and

WHEREAS, After twenty years of strenuous effort, Tom Mooney finally obtained a hearing on an application for a writ of habeas corpus in the Supreme Court of California, said hear-

ing being obtained under the mandate of the U. S. Supreme Court that Tom Mooney be accorded such a hearing; and

WHEREAS, The Tom Mooney habeas corpus proceeding before the California Supreme Court has now reached its final and most crucial stage after hearings lasting one year, during which Tom Mooney proved the issues of perjury, knowledge of that perjury by officials of the State of California, and suppression of material evidence proving Tom Mooney's innocence; and

WHEREAS, Final presentation of the case to the California Supreme Court involves further expenditures running into thousands of dollars for preparation of briefs, abstracts, findings and other documents; and

WHEREAS, Concentration on this phase of the Mooney-Billings case is paramount if victory is to be assured upon the probable appeal of the case to the U. S. Supreme Court; now be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirm its belief in the innocence of Mooney and Billings, and take upon itself the responsibilities of leadership in their final battle for justice; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention appropriate the sum of \$1,000, to aid Mooney's counsel by our guarantee that no legal stone is left unturned in winning freedom and vindication; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed hereby to circularize all national and international unions, State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Bodies immediately upon adjournment, embodying the contents of this resolution and requesting them to immediately appropriate sums of money to this cause and that they form committees in their respective local unions to stimulate interest in the case and to create public opinion, and to raise necessary funds and receive donations to this cause, all of the donations are to be transmitted to the stewardship of the San Francisco Labor Council.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Party

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate A. P. Bower, Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pa.

WHEREAS, The great mass of people of our country are suffering be-

cause of insecurity and poverty in these days when potential plenty offers comfort and happiness to all, and

WHEREAS, The Republican and Democratic parties who have ruled our country for the past many years have failed to solve the unemployment problem and to better the conditions of the average worker, and

WHEREAS, The need for unity of the working class on the political field is sorely needed as can be seen by the control of the police and military powers, the courts and the law making bodies by the banking and manufacturing interests through these old parties;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the Federated Trades Council in Special Meeting held on Monday, Oct. 26, 1936, strongly urge that the American Federation of Labor at their convention beginning in Tampa, Florida, on Nov. 16, 1936, go on record and lay plans for Independent Labor Political Action through a labor party on a National scale, and that such party shall divorce itself entirely from Capitalist Political Parties.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Labor Party.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate E. J. Preston, Mercer County, West Va., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Our national and international organization officers are not adhering to the principles of the Constitution with respect to the political rules, and are violating the laws of the American Federation of Labor by taking sides with one political party or another,

THEREFORE, We as members of this Central Labor Union do deem it advisable to seek relief from such actions by asking the American Federation of Labor to honor, respect and allow the rights of an organization to be called the "Labor Party," composed of and controlled by officers and members of labor organizations in city, county, and state groups, to be honored in such groups by the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of bettering the conditions of the working class through the legislative halls of our cities, counties, and states.

WE THEREFORE RESOLVE, That the American Federation of Labor should accept and grant the subordinate unions of this great national Federation of Labor, the consideration of forming, within the American Federation of Labor, under a constitution, a labor party, to be known as the

"Labor Party," controlled by the American Federation of Labor, and to be accepted by this national organization of labor to prevent any further splits or divisions of opinions on national selections of office holders which so seriously affect the working class of the American people.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its national convention of 1938 grant and agree to allow this proposed national movement through the local unions, central bodies, state federations, and other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to form a "Labor Party," and be an accepted section of this organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Chain of Labor Papers.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor in its struggle for a more just share of the product of its toil and a fuller, happier life finds itself more and more hampered by the lack of avenues of publicity; and

WHEREAS, The press has proved to be one of the greatest barriers to a clear understanding of the problems and expressions of labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 1936 convention of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee to study this important question of the labor press with a view to ultimately establishing a chain of labor papers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

School Ships

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate J. J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, There exists in the United States of America certain School Ships maintained either by State or joint State and Federal aid;

AND WHEREAS, The ostensible purpose of said School Ships is the training of cadets and officers for the American Merchant Marine;

AND WHEREAS, many young men accept the training merely to secure an education and speedily abandon the sea;

AND WHEREAS, Marine organizations regard these School Ships as undemocratic since the rank and file of men actually working on ships toward a marine career seldom receive appointments to same;

AND WHEREAS, Past experience has proven that this method of training has neither produced top notch officers nor permanent officer personnel for our Merchant Marine;

BE IT AND IT HEREBY IS RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Tampa, Florida, record itself as opposed to the continuation of said School Ships since it regards same as an inefficient waste of taxpayers' money and a source of discouragement and discredit to those young men who are painfully and patiently working their way to marine officers' status, either in deck or engine rooms of our Merchant Marine, because of their natural desire for a seafaring life and their willingness to master their jobs in the real training school for mariners, viz., starting on the bottom rung at sea aboard a real ship amid real seafaring men;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this Convention support the resolution herewith outlined by its affiliate, the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, and use its legislative and legal resources to secure the abolition of said School Ships as unjustifiable public expenses which do not return service for the taxpayers' money expended upon same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Refinancing of Farm Mortgages

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In Wisconsin a fine spirit of cooperation exists between the economic farm organizations and the labor unions, as represented by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor endorsed the Frazier-Lemke bill to re-finance farm mortgages; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued a statement just as congress was about to vote on this farm measure declaring labor's opposition, which carried considerable weight in causing its defeat; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor confer with the economic farm organizations on similar legislation at the coming session of Congress, with the object in view of bringing about the much needed cooperation of these two groups of workers, organized labor and organized agriculture.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Lundeen Bill (H. R. 6360)—Federal Aid to Public Schools

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Thomas J. Lyons, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The following resolutions were adopted by the New York State Federation of Labor at its Seventy-third Annual Convention held in Syracuse, N. Y., August 25, 26 and 27, 1936, and ordered presented to the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Equality of educational opportunities for all children throughout the nation is a great American ideal and is absolutely necessary to the preservation of our democratic institutions, and

WHEREAS, There can be no equality of opportunity to earn a living or to maintain decent standards of living unless all children can have equal opportunities for education, and

WHEREAS, Drastic cuts in educational budgets throughout the country, especially in vast poverty-stricken areas, have deprived millions of children of educational facilities which they have a right to expect in this, the richest nation of all history, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government has made vast appropriations for State highways and many other public improvements without the imposition of centralized control of these enterprises, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the New York State Federation of Labor endorse the principle of Federal Aid to public schools throughout the nation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That it endorse the Lundeen Bill (H. R. 6360), which provides for the maintenance of adequate school facilities throughout the nation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand that all Federal educational funds be equitably distributed to insure equal educational opportunity, regardless of race or color or economic status.

RESOLVED, That the foregoing resolutions be concurred in and adopted by this Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Education.

International Charter for Agricultural Workers

Resolution No. 52—By delegate Geo. G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Agriculture, the largest industry in the State, is still unorganized, and its peculiar make-up neces-

sitates special consideration on the part of the State Federation to organize; and

WHEREAS, Agriculture is statewide in scope, and is seasonal and localized by crops; compels the bulk of its workers to migrate, covering the entire State and sometimes into adjacent states, during a season of eight or nine months; and

WHEREAS, The workers engaged in agriculture and its numerous branches require little or no skill; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the State Federation of Labor, assembled in convention at Sacramento, Cal., September, 1936, petition the American Federation of Labor to grant an international charter for agriculture covering all workers in the production of farm products and the processes of manufacturing to a consumable product; and further be it

RESOLVED, That pending the establishment of an International Union a statewide Federal Charter be asked for California to cover all field workers engaged in agriculture.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Silicosis

Resolution No. 53—By delegate Geo. C. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Thousands of miners are dying yearly from an insidious occupational disease known as "silicosis"; and

WHEREAS, This disease is incurable, once contracted, yet is easily preventable through the installation of proper ventilating equipment; and

WHEREAS, Silicosis or similar diseases are prevalent in all parts of the United States where mining operations are carried on; and

WHEREAS, Recently much publicity has been given to the true conditions and results under which miners work; and

WHEREAS, Neither state governments nor the Wall Street controlled mining corporations have given the miners any protection from the disease except promises that have not been kept; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Carquinez Local No. 51, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, in convention assembled, do hereby go on record as demanding of the United States Government that they immediately take such steps as are necessary to protect the lives and health of these workers; and be it further

RESOLVED. That our delegates to the American Federation of Labor shall be instructed to present this resolution to that body and seek their concurrence; and be it further

RESOLVED. That copies of this resolution be sent to the United States congressional delegation and the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

High Seas Sardine Processing Plants

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Geo. C. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For several years the high seas processing vessels for California sardines, also known as pilchards, have been operating off the coast of California, and, beginning in the year 1935, in Oregon and Washington; and

WHEREAS, Said vessels employ 100 per cent union labor and have always dealt fairly and openly with their employees and the various represented unions; and

WHEREAS, Said vessels have given large and continuous employment throughout the sardine fishing season to many maritime workers with much increased employment ashore also flowing from their operation; and

WHEREAS, Said plants have also produced products valuable and important to agriculture and industry, with great benefits to the country at large by creating and making available employment, wealth and resources that would otherwise have been lost to the people; and

WHEREAS, Nevertheless, certain interests operating similar plants on the shore (said shore plants have not been unionized) have for several sessions of the California State Legislature sought the enactment of destructive legislation (e. g., Assembly Bill 950 at the 1935 session) against these high seas vessels, to the detriment of the Union workers deriving their livelihood from the existence of such high seas plants, and also these same interests did at the last session of Congress likewise attempt, but unsuccessfully, to destroy these high seas plants (e. g., House of Representative Bill 10395 and Senate Bill 4141); and

WHEREAS, Similar legislation is now threatened for the coming session of the Legislatures in California, Oregon and Washington, and the Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The shore reduction plants pay approximately one-third the

amount in labor costs per unit of production which is paid by the high seas plants; and

WHEREAS, There is no positive evidence of depletion of the pilchard and no adequate investigation has been made; but the shore plants, on one hand, while seeking to secure a monopoly to themselves, do in their legislative attacks against the high seas plants set up a cry of depletion and, on the other hand, while seeking larger permits from the California Fish and Game Commission, urge that there is no depletion; and

WHEREAS, The Japanese take annually more than three times the tonnage of a closely related species of sardine without apparent danger of depletion, and thousands of tons of the meal produced therefrom are imported into the United States each year duty free; and

WHEREAS, Foreign vessels, particularly Japanese, would be encouraged to enter the high seas sardine industry off the Pacific Coasts of the United States were our own vessels prohibited from operating; now, therefore, it is hereby

RESOLVED, By the California State Federation of Labor, at its Thirty-seventh Annual Convention, at Sacramento, California, in September, 1936, that this Convention go on record as being opposed to any such legislation as heretofore proposed and now threatening to destroy or damage the operation of the high seas sardine processing plants; that no drastic legislation be passed until an adequate scientific investigation has been made; that its delegate to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed and authorized to introduce at said American Federation of Labor Convention a resolution of similar import to this resolution; that a copy of this resolution be sent to the State Federation of Labor in Oregon and Washington, respectively, for their appropriate action, and also that the appropriate representatives of the California State Federation of Labor during the coming session of the California State Legislature be instructed to use their efforts to defeat the passage of such legislation adverse to the high seas sardines reduction plants and the labor they support.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Circularize Affiliated Unions in Support of Strike Against Remington-Rand Company

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate John

P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The trade union employees of the Remington-Rand Company were federated through the District Council Office Equipment Workers, which included some 6,000 employees in the Remington-Rand plants in Middletown, Conn.; Ilion, Syracuse, Tonawanda and North Tonawanda, New York; Marietta and Norwood, Ohio; and

WHEREAS, This District Metal Trades Council two years ago had negotiated an agreement with the Remington-Rand Company covering all of the trade union employees; and

WHEREAS, It became evident early this year that the Remington-Rand Company planned to destroy the trade union organization of its employees; and

WHEREAS, On May 26, of this year, the Machinists, Metal Polishers, Molders and members of the Federal Labor Unions in the company's plants were forced to go out on strike with the sanction of the American Federation of Labor and the International Unions affected; and

WHEREAS, The Remington-Rand Company in its efforts to intimidate strikers, made use of practically every method which had been employed to break strikes; and

WHEREAS, The Remington-Rand Company has spurned the efforts of Conciliators of the Department of Labor to effect an adjustment; and

WHEREAS, The strike is still actively in effect, the strikers indicating a courage and determination highly creditable to the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, These trade unionists now on strike to protect their right to maintain trade union organizations are entitled to every support which can be given to them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention extend its congratulations to the strikers for the heroic struggle they are carrying on in defense of their rights and of trade union principles, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to issue a circular to the trade union movement, requesting affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Councils, to give every moral and all financial assistance possible.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Organizing of Beer Can Industry

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate John

P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The 19th Convention of the International Association of Machinists concurred in a Resolution regarding the organizing of the American Can Company, and

WHEREAS, It is a known fact that millions of dollars worth of new buildings and machinery have and are still being purchased by both the American and the Continental Can Companies for the express purpose of making beer cans, and

WHEREAS, All cans for the purpose of canning beer are at the present time made under unfair labor conditions, and

WHEREAS, through the connection the organized labor movement has with breweries and other labor organizations employed in said breweries, it should be a rather easy task to curtail the use of these cans, and

WHEREAS, In the last year, the Crown Cork & Seal Co., Illinois Owen Glass Co., and other can companies, have seen the lucrative business the large can companies were doing, so they likewise have ventured into this field, and

WHEREAS, The labor movement should now realize the power of the beer consuming public and the possibility of its sincere desire to abstain from purchasing beer, canned in non-union made cans, if these cans and their contents were declared unfair; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to assist in an organizing campaign to organize the employees of these can manufacturing companies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor advise Trade Unionists to refuse to purchase canned beer until such time as beer containers are manufactured by workmen who are members of their appropriate trade unions having satisfactory agreements covering terms of employment and conditions of labor with their employers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing Dues and Tax Exemption for Members of Directly Affiliated Locals on Strike

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Rudolph Faupl, Fabricated Metal Workers Union No. 19340, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to require local trade and Federal labor unions to pay a per capita tax on its

members and to charge its members a minimum of one dollar (\$1.00) per member per month for dues, and

WHEREAS, This requirement imposes a burden on local trade and Federal labor unions who are conducting a lengthy strike or whose members are locked out, and

WHEREAS, After settlement of a strike or lock-out it is often difficult to get members to pay dues incurred during a strike or lock-out, and

WHEREAS, Such difficulty retards the progress of local trade and Federal labor unions,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That this 56th convention of the American Federation of Labor amend its Constitution and By-Laws to

Exempt local trade and Federal labor unions from paying a per capita tax on those members who are on strike and from requiring these members to pay dues, for the duration of a strike or lock-out directly affecting a local trade or Federal labor union, if such strike or lock-out exists for a period of two (2) weeks or more.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

King-Ramsay-Conner Defense Committee

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Geo. G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Shipowners on the Pacific Coast have used all known methods of resisting the efforts of Seamen to improve working and living conditions on the ships, and

WHEREAS, These methods have included the use of professional provocateurs, stool pigeons and armed thugs, which methods have resulted in eight killings and physical injury to hundreds, and

WHEREAS, Failing to break the unions with these methods, the shipowners, backed by the Industrial Associations and Chambers of Commerce, have perverted the functions of our government to frame leaders of the seamen on false charges, notably in Standard Oil frame-up of eight Maritime workers at Modesto last year, and

WHEREAS, Earl King, Secretary of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water-tenders and Wipers Association, Ernest G. Ramsay, former Patrolman and Frank J. Conner, Ship's Delegate, have been arrested, held illegally and are now charged with planning and assisting in the murder of George Alberts, Chief Engineer of the Point Lobos, in San Francisco Harbor, and

WHEREAS, The evidence against these beings is so contradictory, incredible and dependent on the testi-

mony of known provocateurs and stool pigeons that nearly a hundred San Francisco Bay Area unions have formed a King-Ramsay-Conner Defense Committee for the defense of these brothers, and

WHEREAS, This Defense Committee and its purpose has been endorsed by the Alameda County Central Labor Council, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the A. F. of L. 1936 Convention and request the indorsement of the King-Ramsay-Conner Defense Committee, condemning this attack on union labor, and therefore be it further

RESOLVED, That the 1936 Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby pledges its moral and financial support to the defense of these brothers and calls upon its affiliates to do likewise.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organization of Mass Production Industries

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Ralph Laundy, Independent Wholesale Grocers Warehouse Employees Union, No. 19572, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, In the great mass production industries, and in various other industries such as our own industry, food, millions of working people are still without benefit of organization, and

WHEREAS, A considerable number of these workers are desirous of joining labor organizations but are shunted off into company unions which are used against bona fide labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, The time is now ripe for a powerful drive to bring these workers into the trade unions,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Independent Wholesale Grocers' Warehouse Employees Union Local No. 19572 urges the 56th Annual convention of the A. F. of L. to support the organization drives in the mass production industries and to initiate one in the food industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

C I O

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Ralph Laundy, Independent Wholesale Grocers Warehouse Employees Union, No. 19572, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The great A. F. of L. has been divided and the effectiveness of its constituent International and

Federal Unions been weakened, as a result of the suspension of the International Unions affiliated to the so-called C. I. O., and

WHEREAS, Suspension by the Executive Council is in violation of the principles on which the A. F. of L. has been founded, and greatly hinders the organization of the unorganized; and the greatest need of the moment is for the trade union unity, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Independent Wholesale Grocers Warehouse Employees Union Local No. 19572 urges the 56th annual convention of the A. F. of L. to lift the suspension and restore full voting rights to all suspended Internationals, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That we urge the 56th Annual convention of the A. F. of L. to completely heal this breach and to cooperate and give full support to the organized drives initiated by such International Unions as the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the United Automobile Workers, the United Rubber Workers, etc., in order to build a more powerful united American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Farmer-Labor Party

Resolution No. 61.—By delegate Ralph Laundry, Independent Wholesale Grocers Warehouse Employees Union, No. 19572, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, Labor to date has confined its struggle for improvement in its living standards to the economic field with little attention given to its vast political strength, with the result that its economic gains are too often lost through its failure to reinforce these gains through organized effort on the political field, and

WHEREAS, A movement is now afoot amongst the ranks of labor throughout the country for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party inclusive of the farmers and based on a program in defense of labor's interests to enable the workers to send their own representatives, into the legislature, and

WHEREAS, Such important organizations as the United Textile Workers of America, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the International Automobile Workers of America and many others, as well as numerous state Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions and local unions, have gone on record in favor of independent political action by labor and the for-

mation of a Farmer-Labor Party, which would truly be representative of the people of the United States, and

WHEREAS, Numerous local organizations of the Farmer-Labor Party have already come into existence throughout the country offering fair prospects for the election of a number of congressmen and other local candidates on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket, and are gradually moving in the direction of merger into a national organization of working people, and

WHEREAS, Ever growing sections of the labor movement and its most far-sighted representatives are coming to see in the Farmer-Labor Party the only means we have of guarding the interests and rights of labor and the people from the growing menace of open shop and big business interests, of reaction, of facism, and war, now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the A. F. of L. goes on record endorsing the formation of a Labor Party organized on the basis of trade unions and inclusive of all other workers organizations, the farmers, and the middle classes to express their support behind the platform which would set forth the rights and needs of all working people and would provide guarantees for the defense of the civil rights of the people and their economic needs against encroachment by fascism and special privilege.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Apply Wagner Act. U. S. Employment Service, to Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 62—Introduced by Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Delegate, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico; Laura Iglesias, Delegate, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, On October 12, 1933, the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico brought to the attention of the Honorable Frances Perkins, U. S. Secretary of Labor, the helpless situation in which the employment service of Puerto Rico had been left after the operation of the Wagner-Peyser Act—Public No. 30—73rd Congress, creating a new United States Employment Service, since no provision had been made to provide financial aid for the employment service of the Island and its branch office located in the city of New York,

WHEREAS, The Hon. W. Frank Persons, Director of the U. S. Employment Service, under date of October 18, 1933, expressed in a communication to

the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico, that while the points brought to the attention of the U. S. Secretary of Labor, commanded the sympathetic interest of his Department, however, under the Act itself the U. S. Employment Service, was not empowered to assist in maintaining a system of public employment offices in Puerto Rico, due to the fact that the territory of Puerto Rico was not included in the Act, while there were included those of Hawaii and Alaska, all of which did preclude any possibility to include Puerto Rico,

WHEREAS, As stated by the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico to the Hon. Frances Perkins, U. S. Secretary of Labor, there is no place in the world where American citizens live, where the employment service is more badly needed than in Puerto Rico,

WHEREAS, There has been functioning in the Island of Puerto Rico a local employment service bureau which is a part of the Insular Department of Labor, but the appropriation is so limited that no effective work can be accomplished,

WHEREAS, In our opinion, more than 1,600,000 inhabitants of loyal American citizens living in the territory of Puerto Rico are entitled to enjoy the benefits of all social legislation intended to remedy such a social evil as unemployment,

WHEREAS, The Committee on Public Employment Exchanges of the Third National Conference on Labor Legislation, held in Washington, D. C., November 9, 10, 11, recommended, and the conference unanimously approved, "that the Wagner - Peyser Act be amended to include Puerto Rico"; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct and direct the Executive Council to request the U. S. Congress that the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act be made applicable to Puerto Rico through an adequate amendment to such Act by the Congress of the U. S.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Representation of Organized Labor in Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration

Resolution No. 63—Introduced by Delegate Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico; Delegate Laura Iglesias, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, Through Resolution No. 143 approved at the 55th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor the President of the A. F. of L. was instructed to communicate with the President of the United States to request and urge him to recommend and direct the Administrator of the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration to appoint a member of the A. F. of L. in the Island of Puerto Rico to represent organized labor in the Executive Committee of the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration,

WHEREAS, The results of the efforts put forth in connection with the above stated purpose are unknown so far to the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico and no satisfactory action has been taken by the proper authorities; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. be instructed to renew his efforts to secure due representation of bona fide organized labor in the Executive Committee of the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration so that the terms of the resolution approved by our previous convention be duly complied with.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Workers' Education, Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 64—Introduced by Delegate Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico; Delegate Laura Iglesias, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, The Puerto Rican labor movement and the Insular Department of Labor feel that there is an increasing need for workers' education in Puerto Rico which is designed to help workers understand the problems of their work, share in solving them and help them live more intelligently and effectively,

WHEREAS, A training center for workers education teachers was established in Puerto Rico through the activities of the American Federation of Labor and the Workers Education Division of the FERA, which trained teachers for this activity, and the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration which supplanted the FERA refused to provide funds to carry on the purposes of this program,

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor of Puerto Rico continued this work of workers education to a very limited extent, through voluntary service of the teachers trained for this activity, but such work cannot be continued on account of lack of funds, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, By this 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the President of the American Federation of Labor urge the proper Federal authorities, that workers' education be carried on in Puerto Rico as it is done among the different states; that funds from the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration or from any other available source be allotted for this activity; that the program of workers education be carried on under an adequate insular agency where organized labor would have due representation.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Opposing Naval Training Program
Similar to CCC**

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate E. L. Pickler, Central Labor Union, Norfolk, Va.

WHEREAS, The following quotation is part of an article from the Norfolk Virginian Pilot of November 5, 1936:

"Posey favors sort of CCC to check strikes. Shipping Commissioner would replace trouble makers on vessels.

"One way to prevent strikers among crews of American Ships is to provide a sort of seagoing unit of young men similar to the CCC, E. L. Posey, United States Shipping Commissioner at Norfolk, said yesterday.

"I believe that if young men of good moral character were trained for sea duty, in the manner in which those in the CCC camps are trained, our ships would be able to do away with the trouble makers and replace them with Americans who will live up to their promises.

"It is such conditions as these and others, Mr. Posey believes, could be remedied if the Government would train its own seamen to replace trouble makers on vessels flying Stars and Stripes."

AND WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Norfolk, Virginia, is unalterably opposed to the United States Government training strike breakers for any kind of work, trade, or calling; and

WHEREAS, This official of the United States Government suggests that our Government take from Chowder Head Cohen and others the contemptible job of training men to engage in dirty work;

NOW, THEREFORE, The Central Labor Union of Norfolk condemns the statements and suggestion of E. L. Posey as wholly unworthy of any responsible official of the Government, and we express our disapproval of Commissioner Posey for making them; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That copies of this resolution be sent to E. L. Posey, The American Federation of Labor, and the Secretary of Commerce. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**O'Mahoney Bill for Federal Licensing
of Corporations**

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. in convention introduced a resolution requesting the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have prepared a bill providing for the Federal licensing of individuals, partnerships and corporations engaged in interstate business at the Vancouver Convention, 1931; and

WHEREAS, The Cincinnati Convention 1932 reaffirmed the action taken by the previous convention of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The O'Mahoney Bill does not contain some of the essential features presented to the Vancouver and Cincinnati Conventions; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Executive Council to have incorporated in the O'Mahoney Bill, or in any other bill providing for the Federal licensing of corporations approved by the American Federation of Labor, the provisions called for by the resolutions introduced by the Metal Trades Department and approved by the Vancouver and Cincinnati Conventions.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

War and Fascism

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Ralph Laundy, Independent Wholesale Grocers Warehouse Employees Union, No. 19572, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The trade union movement is the first victim of fascism which moves to smash the organized labor movement wherever it takes power, throwing trade union leaders into concentration camps and prison, executing outstanding leaders and confiscating all trade union funds, and

WHEREAS, The experience of our brother workers in Germany, Italy and other fascist countries is a story written in their own blood and suffering, and

WHEREAS, Certain forces in the United States are working to establish fascism here, and

WHEREAS, The drive towards an-

other World War is already evident in the actions and preparations of fascist countries duplicated by our government through its billion dollar budget for military preparations,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That this 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in session in Tampa, Florida, go on record pledging itself to fight every manifestation of fascism and the drive towards war in the United States, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Convention go on record urging all trade unionists throughout the country to be on their guard against these twin destroyers of mankind, war and fascism, and that they cooperate with all agencies and organizations in the fight against war and fascism; copies of this resolution to be addressed to the President of the United States and to the Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

American Youth Act

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Ralph Laundry, Independent Wholesale Grocers Warehouse Employees Union, No. 19572, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The plight of the youth of America during the years of depression has come to be a matter of vital concern to the organized labor movement, and

WHEREAS, The young worker has had to bear the full brunt of unemployment and of unfair practices when employed, and

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act which is sponsored by the American Youth Congress and many labor unions including the Ohio State Federation of Labor is the only adequate, democratic and progressive program for youth, and

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act provides a fair program for putting young people to work at union wages, and

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act provides educational opportunities for those in need, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring the American Youth Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Political Status of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 69 — Introduced by Delegate Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico; Delegate Laura Iglesias,

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, The Island of Puerto Rico was formally surrendered by Spain to the United States on October, 1898, and by the Treaty of Paris, signed December 10 of the same year, at the close of the Spanish - American War, Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States, together with Vieques, Culebra and other small adjacent islands,

WHEREAS, By the Treaty of Paris, the future of the people of Puerto Rico was entrusted to the hands of our Nation and placed the supreme authority over Puerto Rico in the United States Congress, such high body to decide on the final political status of the Island,

WHEREAS, The Island of Puerto Rico has been under the American flag for nearly forty years, and nobody could successfully question that great progress has been made although progress made by the working class has not kept pace with that made by the privileged groups,

WHEREAS, The people of Puerto Rico have been loyal to the United States of America in peace and in war, although it has been repeatedly decided by the courts that the Constitution of the U. S. not always follows the flag,

WHEREAS, The political status of Puerto Rico is most peculiar because it is not a state, neither a territory, but some sort of unincorporated territory developing its activities under a special act of Congress, this peculiar situation having given rise to the discussion of different political formulas during the last thirty years,

WHEREAS, Although the people of Puerto Rico have collectively and repeatedly expressed their opinion through the duly constituted political bodies and labor organizations; labor having expressed most unequivocally that the "influence of the people of the United States in the destinies of the people of Puerto Rico has been, is and will continue to be civilizing, and with such convictions organized labor rejects every and all colonial political systems and insists upon keeping its permanent association with United States", and also the political parties of the Island at different occasions have expressed the same views,

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding this fact, there has been maintained in the Island, for the past few years, some agitation intended to sever the relations of the Island with the United States, such agitation having apparently induced a small number of U. S.

Congressmen to offer different formulas as to the final political status of Puerto Rico; among them being the granting of independence to the Island in a bill introduced in the Senate during the 74th Congress;

WHEREAS, The people of Puerto Rico believe that they are justified in claiming that the time has come when they, as American citizens, should request from Congress and from all other proper authorities, to make a plain and formal official declaration as to the intention of the U. S. towards the final political status of our Island, so as to do away with agitation and so as to enable us to determine the orientation to be followed by the people,

WHEREAS, The feelings and aspirations of the people of Puerto Rico as to the final political status which they hope to enjoy could be made known only through a proper and legal instrumentality by which the people might be accorded the opportunity to freely and democratically express their opinion,

WHEREAS, We sincerely believe that the people and the Congress of the U. S. are prompted by the best intentions and motives to be of service to our people and to guarantee its civil rights and liberties, which have been enjoyed to the fullest extent under the American flag during the American regime in the Island, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the 56th annual convention of the A. F. of L. to request from the U. S. Congress and the Federal authorities in behalf of the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico and of the U. S. that proper and immediate action be taken as follows:

1. That a frank, formal and official declaration be made public in reference to the intention of the Government of the U. S. as to the final political status to be enjoyed by the Island of Puerto Rico, this to be done in conformity with the authority granted to the U. S. Congress by the Treaty of Paris signed at the close of the Spanish-American War.

2. To request the U. S. Congress to pass a resolution authorizing and directing a referendum (plebiscite) be carried on in Puerto Rico without restrictions or limitations whatsoever, and so that in giving the people the opportunity to decide upon the final political status of the Island not only one political formula be brought to their consideration but all of those different plans, systems or political solutions that have been publicly discussed by the different political parties of the Island, and by the labor organizations such as a territory, state-

hood, independence, self-government, or autonomy of the Canadian or Australian type, associated free state, or any other plan offered so that the people be enabled to make the proper selection according to their wishes, ideals or political beliefs.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That in view of the fact that uncertainty, doubts and confusion have been created during the past year in the Island of Puerto Rico because of the agitation for Independence; taking into consideration that the effects of this agitation have been felt in business, and other activities in the Island and in the continental United States, all of which has been most detrimental to the interests of both the U. S. and Puerto Rico; and having in mind that the people of Puerto Rico are anxious that this situation be brought to an end, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is further instructed to take action on this proposal as soon as possible.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Amendment of Social Security Act to Provide for Workers of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 70—By delegate Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico, and Delegate Laura Iglesias, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union No. 18198, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Social Security Act are not applicable to Puerto Rico according to a ruling of the Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives as communicated to the President of the A. F. of L. under date of April 19, 1935;

WHEREAS, It would be of great help for the uplifting of the working classes of Puerto Rico and for the people in general of the Island to make applicable to the Island of Puerto Rico the benefits of the Social Security Act, the main objection being that Puerto Rico has its own tax law and does not pay any taxes into the Treasury of the United States;

WHEREAS, Some special form might be worked out by which the peculiar conditions of the island might be met through a proper amendment to the Social Security Act making it applicable to Puerto Rico and through specific authorization to the Insular Legislature to deal with the specific case of the taxes,

WHEREAS, It has been requested by

the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico that the benefits of the Social Security Act be extended to the workers of the Island,

WHEREAS, The Committee on Unemployment Compensation of the Third National Conference on Labor Legislation held in Washington, D. C., November 9, 10 and 11, 1936, made the following recommendation, which was unanimously approved by the conference:

"We urge that the proper authorities undertake to secure an amendment of the Social Security Act by the Congress to provide the benefits of the Social Security Act to the workers of Puerto Rico and all other territory comprising the United States of America," therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, By the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take the necessary steps before Congress to secure an amendment to the Social Security Act so that Puerto Rican workers may enjoy the benefits of this act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Endorsement of C. I. O.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate E. J. Preston, Central Labor Union, Mercer County, West Virginia.

WHEREAS, The C. I. O. has gone forth and has organized and helped conditions of labor in the mass production industries, and,

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has condemned the action of the C. I. O. and denied that Committee the right to go forth under the banner of the A. F. of L.,

BE IT RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth (56th) convention of the A. F. of L. at Tampa, Fla., November 16th, go on record of indorsing the policy of the C. I. O. in organizing the workers in mass production industries, and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the delegate of the Mercer County Central Labor Union request this convention to consider and vote on this Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Assignment of Organizers to West Virginia

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate E. J. Preston, Central Labor Union, Mercer County, West Virginia.

WHEREAS, Our Central Labor

Union has made an effort to organize the workers in this vicinity at our own expense and on our own time, which is spare time, and,

WHEREAS, It is the lack of finance and time, we find, as a hindrance to this kind of organizing and delaying the unionizing of the great numbers of workers in this vicinity, and,

WHEREAS, If there were more full time organizers provided, there would be more new members taken into the American Federation of Labor, who would be paying dues and per capita, which would more than offset the extra cost of the organizers.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assign at least three (3) more full time organizers and representatives in the state of West Virginia immediately.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

National Council of Workers in Enamelware and Kitchen Utensils Industry

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Rudolph Faupl, Fabricated Metal Workers' Union No. 19340, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, there is a need for better coordination between the various American Federation of Labor Local unions of employes, engaged in the enamelware and kitchen utensils industry, for the interchange of ideas, for the discussion and solution of the problems peculiar to the industry, and generally for the unification of their aims and method, and

WHEREAS, The attainments of the individual locals, the continuance of such attainments, and the securing of further benefits to the employes in the industry depends upon continued and greater organizational efforts among the unorganized workers in the industry.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That a permanent conference committee be established, consisting of two delegates from each American Federation of Labor local union in the enamelware and kitchen utensils industry, to interchange ideas, for the discussion and solution of problems peculiar to the industry, and generally for the unification of their aims and methods.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That such conference committee convene at least once in each year, and that the first annual conference be held at Terre Haute, Indiana, within sixty days hereafter.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a full time organizer and such other

organizers as may be necessary, be assigned by the American Federation of Labor for general organizational work among the employees in the enamelware and kitchen utensils industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Charters for Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate H. B. Perham, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS Industrial changes make it necessary to revise our laws to meet new conditions, and

WHEREAS, Our present laws affecting Federal Labor Unions have proved to be discouraging to that kind of organization, and the time has arrived to remove restrictions and make it possible for them to grow,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That Article IX, Section 11, of the constitution be amended by eliminating the first eight lines and up to the words "consent of such unions," and substituting thereof wording as follows: "Charters may be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union making a positive and clear definition of trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant."

That Article XIV, Section 2, be amended by eliminating in fourth and fifth lines the words "not in conflict with National and International Unions."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Government Work Relief Agencies

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; Joseph V. More-schl, International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor; Edwin E. Graves, Upholsterers' International Union of North America; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.; Sidney E. Le Bow, Central Labor Union, Lowell, Mass.

WHEREAS, The revival of trade and industry and agriculture has failed as yet to accomplish the reemployment of many millions of self-respecting Americans who want to maintain self-respect as well as to secure sustenance for their families and themselves, and

WHEREAS, The emergency agencies created by the Congress upon the recommendation of the Administration have provided work of constructive benefit to the community, as well as to those thereby enabled to earn some wage for self-sustenance, and

WHEREAS, The materials purchased for the use of these agencies has directly stimulated profits for industry and jobs for industrial and commercial wage earners, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, over a long period of years consistently opposed the penny-wise pound foolish policy of government doles, and

WHEREAS, The practice of relief at the hands of nearly bankrupt municipalities, as instanced recently in New Jersey, has achieved economy by curtailing the already meagre allotments for the poor and unemployed, and

WHEREAS, The prospects for achieving the reemployment of the millions of unemployed by absorption into private industry, in which mechanization, consolidation, and speed-up have so greatly reduced the opportunities for employment, and

WHEREAS, The spreading of work through a shorter working week seems to be the only feasible device as yet suggested for the reemployment of the eager millions and for the maintenance of the purchasing power upon which the continued prosperity of employer, employe and consumer alike depend, and

WHEREAS, Some governmental relief must be continued until the wage earners of our communities are again at work, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, endorse the continued maintenance of government work relief through the Public Works Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the Civilians' Conservation Corps and such other agencies, until such time as the thirty hour week or its equivalent, with no reduction of wages, is established on a national scale for the reemployment of the millions who are eagerly seeking self-sustaining employment in private commerce and industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. Supreme Court

Resolution No. 76 — By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge,

Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.

United States Constitution

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States is by no means a class instrument. Basically, the Constitution is a people's compact, designed to preserve the integrity of a democracy and conserve the interest and welfare of the people organized in that democracy. The Constitution is a flexible instrument. While the method of change may be over-exacting for a time of emergency, as at present, yet it is subject to change to meet the necessities of an ever-changing world.

Under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States the law-making power is vested in a Congress of Representatives elected by the people.

It is provided that the administration of laws shall be vested in the President of the United States, and in departments provided by acts of Congress to administer the law.

A Federal judiciary, the Supreme Court, is also provided in the Constitution, whose function it shall be to interpret the law and to adjudicate litigations under the law.

In no proviso in the Constitution of the United States is it expressly stated, or is implication therein that the Supreme Court shall have power to invalidate an act of Congress.

That the Supreme Court of the United States has usurped such power, and has exercised it in the interest of the propertied class, is a known, but not wholly accepted, fact.

Such usurpation by the Supreme Court is traitorous to the Constitution itself, defeats the fundamentals of democracy, nullifies representative form of government and violates every principle of the American Revolution and the purposes and objectives of the founders of this nation, and

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled has voted to bring this situation to the consideration of the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon the Congress of the United States, the need for asserting its full legislative prerogatives, so that any usurpation of legislative powers by courts of any nature, be promptly restricted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Uniform Workmen's Compensation Legislation Program

Resolution No. 77 — By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; Edwin E. Graves, Upholsterers' International Union of North America; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.; Sidney E. LeBow, Central Labor Union, Lowell, Mass.

WHEREAS, The principle of Workmen's Compensation for industrial accidents is now well established within almost all the states of the Union; and

WHEREAS, The scope of protection afforded to wage earners varies in every state; and

WHEREAS, The basic principles of private insurance carriers, if a stock company, is to earn a profit, or if a mutual company, is to reduce the premium costs; and

WHEREAS, The practice of insurance companies is to view the injured workman under the heavy handicap of urgent need as a litigant to be worsted in a legal duel at the expense of employer and employe alike rather than as a rightful recipient of compensation for injuries received; and

WHEREAS, The injured employe in Massachusetts receives only about thirty cents after medical, legal, investigation costs and profits are paid out of the premium dollar expended on his behalf by his employer as a cost of production ultimately assumed by the consumer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the co-operation of competent, experienced individuals to serve as a voluntary committee of experts in drafting a basic legislative program to be recommended to the respective state legislatures as a uniform workmen's compensation program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That international unions and State Federations of Labor cooperate with such committee of experts in the formulation of the Draft Bill and in the sponsoring of this bill in the several states.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Amendment to U. S. Constitution

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; E. A. Johnson,

Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people of the United States "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for common defense, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity"; and

WHEREAS, The people of the United States in 1932 elected a President and a Congress with a clear cut mandate to enact and administer legislation which would effectively achieve these fundamental purposes, and thereby rescue the nation from the paralysis in trade, industry, banking and agriculture which was threatening the foundations of our entire structure of government and society; and

WHEREAS, The people of the United States in 1934 signified whole-hearted approval of the activities of the Administration, by returning an overwhelming vote in its favor in the Congressional elections of that year; and

WHEREAS, The majority of the Supreme Court in invalidating the NRA, AAA and Guffey Coal Acts, have interpreted the Federal Government to be constitutionally impotent to protect the people of the several states from the consequences of economic anarchy; and

WHEREAS, The majority of the Supreme Court in invalidating the New York Minimum Wage Act by their extraordinary opinions in the so-called *Tipaldo* Case have declared that even state governments cannot establish standards which would protect the property or human values of an individual's labor; and

WHEREAS, When the ineffectiveness of state police agencies to cope with the interstate bandit Kidnapers, created a chaos which brought human life and personal property into jeopardy, prompt Federal intervention was demanded and obtained; and

WHEREAS, All elements of the community, except the criminals themselves, have hailed with approval the quick and effective response of Federal agencies in restoring law and order as soon as authorized by Congress to prosecute any who cross state borders for the purpose of, or with proceeds from, crimes conducted entirely within the political confines of a sovereign state; and

WHEREAS, In trade and industry any excessive hours of work, insufficient compensation, unguarded use of machinery, poisons or gas, extreme speed-up and denial of honest rights of collective bargaining within any one state, bring interstate consequences which affect the lives and

property values of citizens in other states; and

WHEREAS, It is our firm belief that the Constitution was designed to create one nation and one people, instead of a confederacy of forty-eight competing states, which lack the sovereignty of protecting their own citizens from exploitation within their own borders, and

WHEREAS, It is our firm belief that the political, economical and social health of our people demands protection from economic anarchy; and

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-first Annual Convention assembled, unanimously instructed its delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention to submit this matter for the serious consideration and affirmative action of the delegates in Convention assembled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the prompt passage of a Constitutional Amendment which will permit the Federal Executive and Congress to establish minimum standards of wages, maximum hours of work, regulation of work load, safeguards to regulate the employment of women and minors, rights to collective bargaining, and preventive measures to minimize the dangers of poisonous fluids or gases in any trade or industry or agriculture or banking, the materials, processes, or products of which enter interstate commerce the "due process" clause shall be specifically restricted to the due observance of appropriate legislative and executive consideration, impartiality and public purpose of such laws; and which will waive the present restrictions of the Federal Constitution upon concurrent or supplemental state legislation to achieve these purposes within purely intrastate business; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the failure to accomplish the speedy passage of such Constitutional Amendment, the state legislatures be urged in the interests of public health and safety, to establish a quarantine against the importation of any products manufactured or processed in other states, where unfair exploitation of labor is tolerated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Discrimination Against Negro Workers

Resolution 79—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Following the San Francisco Convention of 1934, in which Resolution No. 141, demanding the expulsion from the A. F. of L. any national or international union whose constitution or ritual contained clauses against

the membership of workers because of race or color, a committee of five trade union workers, consisting of John E. Rooney, Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers; John Brophy, United Mine Workers of America; John W. Garvey, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union; Jerry L. Hanks, the Journeyman Barbers International Union; and T. C. Carroll, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Ways Employees, was appointed by President Green, and conducted an investigation into discriminations in the trade unions against Negro workers, for two days in the A. F. of L. Building in Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, The report of the committee appointed by President Green never was formally presented to the Convention, as the adopted resolution No. 141 of the San Francisco Convention demanded, but on the contrary, a statement was prepared and submitted to the Atlantic City Convention by George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, who was appointed by President Green to deal with the report of the aforementioned committee, which statement minimized the question of discriminations against Negro workers, but stated in part, as follows: "... We are of the opinion that since each affiliated national and international union has complete autonomy that the welfare of the Negro worker will be best served by a campaign of education of white workers to bring to them the necessity of solidarity in the ranks of the workers and the voluntary elimination of all restrictions against full rights of membership to the Negro. The American Federation of Labor has consistently advocated the organization of all workers and we reaffirm that policy. The economic welfare of the workers can best be served by complete unity of purpose and action. We therefore recommended that all national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor conduct a continuous campaign of education to bring to the white workers the necessity for greater unity of the workers in the labor movement to the end that all discrimination against Negroes will be removed," the said statement being accepted and adopted by the convention; and

WHEREAS, Discriminations against Negro workers by trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. are still rife and flagrant in utter nullification of the many high-sounding declarations by numerous conventions of the A. F. of L. for equality for Negro workers, and the elimination of race and color prejudice, and in violation of the constitution of the A. F. of L., said discriminations consisting not only of color clauses in constitutions and rituals of

national and international unions, but in many other subtle and varied ways, both against Negro workers going into the unions, and devious machinations to deny them jobs after they are in the unions and are paying their dues and taxes; and

WHEREAS, Negro workers have demonstrated that they possess the will and capacity to organize and fight, picket and strike along side their white brothers and sisters for union recognition and conditions, as seen among the needle trades, coal miners, longshoremen, and share-crop and tenant farmers, unions in which Negro workers are accorded equal rights and treatment; and

WHEREAS, So long as one black worker is denied trade union recognition, equality and protection and is victimized by capitalist exploiters, and is prevented from realizing security, no white worker is safe in the possession and exercise of his alleged freedom, and since working class solidarity, the only hope and salvation of the workers, is not possible of attainment so long as one worker is barred entrance into a union because of race or color, nationality, religion, political faith or sex; and

WHEREAS, In this period of crisis, when the employing class is seeking to crush and stamp out the trade union movement with fascist ferocity, and gives no thought or consideration to a worker because he accidentally may be a white man, a white woman or a white child, seeking only to coin the blood and sweat of all workers into dollars for profit, the A. F. of L. should cease to pussy-foot, evade and dodge the question of Negro rights in the trade unions and frankly face it in the interest not only of the Negro worker but of its own moral, intellectual and spiritual growth and power and future; for no honest and sincere trade-union official or worker who has witnessed the dire ravages of this depression and noted the growing threat of the Big Business interests, to the right and interests of the workers, can, in good conscience and sound trade union ethics and principle, slam the door of the trade unions in the face of a worker merely because God made him black. No self-respecting Negro worker can accept the stigma of race inferiority which exclusion from trade unions attaches to him, and no truly fair-minded white worker or leader should expect or demand it. There being no more shameful and disgraceful blot upon the name of the A. F. of L. than this discrimination and jim-crow policy of certain unions in the A. F. of L., and the disposition of the A. F. of L. to permit it to continue; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American

Federation of Labor, assembled in Tampa, Florida, goes on record as condemning all forms of discrimination against Negro workers, and demands the elimination of the color bar from all constitutions and rituals of national and international unions, making it mandatory that if any union affiliated with the A. F. of L. with color clauses in their constitutions or rituals fail to eliminate the said clauses in their next conventions and report same to the Executive Council, that the said national or international, stands automatically expelled from the A. F. of L., and call upon the central and state bodies, departments, national and international and federal unions to create an anti-race prejudice committee, to hold hearings on the extent and nature of discriminatory practices against Negro workers in their own unions and among the unions in their locality, and to agitate and educate the workers of the need and value of working class unity for defense and protection against capitalist oppression; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. can, with as much constitutional justification, expel a union which violated its own, the A. F. of L. Constitution, by barring workers on account of race or color as it can justify constitutionally the expulsion of ten national unions because of alleged violation of democratic trade union procedure.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Negro Labor Organizer

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, aroused and victimized by the depression, sentiment for trade union organization among Negro workers throughout the country is stronger than it has ever been before; and

WHEREAS, the heroic fight of black workers in the ranks of trade unionists, such as the needle trades workers, miners, longshoremen, teamsters, motion picture operators, musicians and building trades workers, etcetera, has demonstrated that Negro toilers will and can battle for union conditions against the employers, and no more desire to be strike breakers than the white workers; and

WHEREAS, There is no Negro organizer now under the direct supervision of the American Federation of Labor, and since previous conventions have only given perfunctory approval of resolutions calling for an appointment of Negro labor organizers, but have actually never done anything about it; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Tampa, Florida, go on record as authorizing President William Green to appoint one or more paid Negro general organizers so that they may help promote, in cooperation with the national, international and federal unions, a program of organization and education among the black and white workers of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Ethiopia

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Italian Fascist Dictator, Mussolini, drunk with imperialist power and with wild expansionist dreams, has invaded, and raped, captured and overthrown the ancient and independent kingdom of Ethiopia in violation of every principle and concept of democracy and of the Covenant of the League of Nations; and

WHEREAS, The people of Ethiopia have been forced by superior arms of the Italian army to vacate Addis Ababa and to surrender certain sections of their beloved country, but are by no means conquered and subdued; and

WHEREAS, Ethiopia, having mistakenly staked its faith in the honor and word of the League of Nations, has been double-crossed and sold down the river by the scheming, hypocritical, imperialist capitalist nations, which, like Banquo's ghost, rises ever and anon, to haunt and bedevil their consciences while they mouth empty phrases about democracy and peace; and the black Ethiopian warriors continue to harass the Italian invaders and to stand guard of the vast stretches of the great hinterland, and since the League of Nations still recognizes the sovereignty of Ethiopia and its brave ruler, Haile Selassie; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its fifty-sixth annual convention, assembled in Tampa, Florida, herewith condemn this unspeakable and shameless attempt by the Italian overlord, Il Duce, to lynch a great people, and calls upon the United States of America, in particular, and the nations of the world in general, and the working people everywhere, to refuse to recognize the bloody and bayonet reign of Italian Fascism in Ethiopia, and extend adequate loans to the Ethiopian people to aid them in the repossession and defense of their country, and the re-

establishment of their sovereign authority.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Party

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The two old parties, Republican and Democratic, are supported and controlled by the same type of business interests, of only varying magnitude, that are primarily and fundamentally opposed to Industrial Democracy for the workers; and

WHEREAS, The old policy of the A. F. of L. of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, obviously divides the labor vote, and is bankrupt and ineffective in securing fundamental and constructive results in federal, state and city legislation and administration, since this policy makes for chaos and confusion in the political thinking of the workers; and

WHEREAS, Legislation favorable to the workers is quite often either unenforced or declared unconstitutional by an anti-labor or indifferent administration, government agencies, or court decisions, thereby nullifying the will of the people; and

WHEREAS, Republican and Democratic government officials have used the police and state militia to prevent lawful picketing, and practically neutralized the Norris-LaGuardia law, and ruthlessly suppressed freedom of speech and assembly in times of industrial crisis, the only times when civil liberties have any meaning or reality to the workers; and

WHEREAS, the sentiment for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party is rapidly spreading and taking root among the workers, farmers, the liquidated middle classes, professionals and progressive elements throughout the country, and since already a national labor party nuclei have been established, such as the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota, the Progressive Party of Wisconsin, the American Labor Party in New York, and Farmer-Labor Party movements on the make in Connecticut, New Jersey, Illinois, Michigan; and the Non-Partisan League, organized by a group of national and international unions, affiliated with the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth annual Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled in Tampa, Florida, go on record as favoring the formation of a na-

tional Farmer-Labor Party, embracing all trade unions—nationals, internationals, departments, councils, local and Federal, unions, central labor bodies, state federations, and all workers, regardless of race, creed, color, nationality or political beliefs, and instructs President Green to call a conference of all trade unions affiliated, and unaffiliated, with the A. F. of L. together with independent, working-class political movements, and progressive and liberal groups and individuals, into a national conference some time in 1937 for the purpose of definitely establishing a national Farmer-Labor Party.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Rescind Suspension of International Unions Affiliated With CIO

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The logic of the needs and demands of the A. F. of L., the official spokesman of the labor movement in the United States of America, require and cry out for the unity of the workers, unity as a condition to the successful defense of the civil and industrial rights and economic gains of the workers in advancing the cause of collective bargaining, reducing long hours of work, improving working conditions, raising the standard of living and the enactment of enlightened and liberal social welfare legislation; unity—as a condition for the successful offense against the citadel of a deadly reaction, open shop exploitation, the sinister device of company unionism, euphemistically sugar-coated as employee representative plans, the American Plan and Industrial Parliaments, and the menacing hydra-headed monster of fascism; and

WHEREAS, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has suspended ten international and national unions, comprising the Committee for Industrial Organization, representing roughly 40 percent of the membership of the A. F. of L., which does not only weaken the labor movement, by effecting a grave and destructive division in the ranks of the workers, but also sows the seed of bitter and rankling dissension that may eventuate in a shattered movement of the workers, and in an eternal, devastating and bloody civil war between the opposing forces of organized labor, fighting for jurisdiction, which can only make the exploiting capitalists laugh, since they alone can benefit from labor's folly of turning its own sword upon itself; and

WHEREAS, The upshot of the controversy centers in the announced plan and efforts of the C. I. O., under the leadership of John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, to organize the steel workers, in particular, and the workers in the mass production industries, in general, into industrial unions, which the A. F. of L., despite its professed intentions, has never seriously attempted in a manner calculated to achieve success, because of craft jurisdictional obstacles, which prevented mass organizing campaign offensives of the workers, which alone could capture the imagination of the wage-earners and withstand the brutal and merciless onslaught of the finks, agents provocateur, stool pigeons, gun-men, state militia, public and private police, and the poisonous propaganda of the capitalist press; and

WHEREAS, Experience has shown that it is utterly impossible to organize mass production industries along the old craft union lines, because of conflict in jurisdictional claims, the many and varied crafts as a result of technological progress, lack of power to centralize control of the organizing plans, resulting in a multiplicity of directing staffs, and consequent campaigns, the absence of the co-ordination and integration of the organizing man-power and financial forces and resources for instant and concentrated action; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. Executive Council has set up as a condition to the reinstatement of the ten unions in the C. I. O. the abandoning of the Committee for Industrial Organization on the grounds that the A. F. of L. can not tolerate an organization within itself, affecting, as it alleges, divided authority, and that the formation of the C. I. O. is in violation of all democratic procedure in the trade union movements, because the Atlantic City Convention had, by majority vote, rejected the proposals of these ten unions for organizing the mass production industries; and

WHEREAS, The C. I. O. vigorously contends that the Executive Council exceeded its constitutional authority and right in suspending the ten national and international unions affiliated with it and that the suspension or expulsion of national and international unions can only be executed by the A. F. of L. Annual Conventions, and that the industrial form of organization of the workers in the mass production is its only and chief objective, the achievement of which it is not disposed to compromise, but that it has no desire to foster dual trade unionism in any form or to promote a competing organization with the A. F. of L.,

and that it does not desire to destroy or injure the existing craft unions of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, President William Green and the A. F. of L. Executive Council have repeatedly contended that the sole issue involved is trade union democracy and not industrial unionism against craft unionism, and that the American Federation of Labor has accepted and will continue to accept and foster industrial unionism and craft unionism, side by side with each other; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Tampa, Florida, go on record as rescinding the suspension of the ten national and international unions composing the C. I. O., and instructs and authorizes President Green to invite by telephone or telegram the ten suspended unions to come to the Tampa Convention of the A. F. of L. for restoration to their normal and legal status and for participation in the fellowship spirit of our great parliament of the workers here assembled, under the provision that the C. I. O., as an organization, shall be discontinued, but that the A. F. of L. agree herewith, to continue the prosecution of the organization of the workers in the mass production industries, including steel, rubber, automobiles, aluminum, etcetra, along industrial lines and under the plan, procedure, strategy and tactics of the organizing campaign as set forth and set up by the steel workers organizing committee and the C. I. O.; and that the A. F. of L. proceed immediately to intensify the drive to organize the steel workers and throw its entire financial and man-power resources behind the campaign, without any change in the organizing personnel and direction, except that the control of the organizing campaign and machinery shall reside in the hands of President Green and the Executive Council who shall appoint a committee of five whose chairman shall be John L. Lewis to map and execute the organizing campaign of the mass production industries, the said committee to be responsible to the Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The Scottsboro Boys

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Scottsboro boys have become a symbol of American persecution and torture of the American Negro, since these nine boys have

been sentenced to die in the electric chair, despite overwhelming evidence to establish their innocence of the crime of which they have been accused, and have languished in prison for more than five years, with a recent tragic and unhappy attack upon one of the boys by a guard; and

WHEREAS, Every respectable national Negro organization, religious, civic, economic, political and social service, have endorsed the fight for the release of these boys, and a National Committee, headed by Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City and Colonel William J. Schlefflin, treasurer, with a large number of outstanding citizens, have examined the evidence in the case and are convinced of their innocence; and

WHEREAS, the continued imprisonment of the boys and their death would tend to injure the cause of working class solidarity between the black and white workers, and since a large section of white workers in Alabama desire the boys release, and since the case of the boys will come up for trial in the courts some time in January, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled, in Tampa, Florida, go on record as condemning the cruel persecution of these boys, and call for their unconditional freedom.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Angelo Herndon

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, An old Slave Insurrection Law, enacted during pre-Civil war days by the slave owners to perpetuate the horrible institution of slavery, which was finally abolished by a Civil War, has been resurrected under which Angelo Herndon, a young Negro labor organizer, was sentenced to twenty years on a Georgia chain gang; and

WHEREAS, The conviction of Herndon is equivalent to the conviction of the labor movement, since any labor organizer, white or black, may be picked up and sentenced to the chain gang, under this archaic and barbaric law, which is an instrument of oppression and persecution of the workers who may seek to exercise their right of collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, Judge Hugh M. Dorsey, in one of the lower Courts of the State of Georgia, declared the slave insurrection law unconstitutional, and since the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia, has reversed the decision of

Judge Dorsey upon an appeal action; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Tampa, Florida, go on record as condemning the revival of the old Slave Insurrection Law for the persecution of labor organizers and calls for its repeal and the freedom of Angelo Herndon.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Law Against Lynching

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Some five thousand or more persons, one thousand of whom are white, have been lynched in the United States of America in the last forty years, some of these being women who were riddled with bullets, with their pregnant stomachs ripped open, emptying a child to the ground whose head was crushed by the heels of uncivilized white barbarians, who on Sunday, piously prated about God, moral purity and race superiority; and

WHEREAS, great mobs, allegedly superior white citizens dance like mad dervishes around the charred bodies of black human beings, burnt upon the fires of race hate and bigotry, while their wild eyes flash the savage glint of sadistic glee, symbolizing mentally deficient and childish morons, crudely enjoying a Roman holiday of merriment, having been stirred by the false illusions of defending the honor of white women, by dangerous and selfish demagogues of church, press and state; and

WHEREAS, lynch and mob germs, like disease germs, know no race, color, nationality, religious or sex lines, since social history shows that whenever lynch and mob rule becomes an institution, that the Negro may be the unhappy victim today, but that tomorrow it may be a mob howling for the blood of a Catholic, for the blood of a Jew, or the blood of a worker fighting for his union, or a citizen of unpopular political belief; and

WHEREAS, lynch-mobs and vigilantes, variously known as the Black Legion, Ku Klux Klan, continue to flaunt their bloody shirts and white gowns in flagrant defiance of all constitutional government of the individual states that are helpless to stop this unspeakable crime against humanity and civilization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled, in Tampa, Florida, condemn this nameless, horrible and indescribable lynch and mob terror as a menace to human

rights and an attack upon civilized society, and a blow to our democratic institutions, and call upon President Roosevelt and the Congress to enact a federal law against lynching, namely, the Wagner-Costigan Anti-lynching Bill, with the view of wiping out this shameless blot of barbarism from America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to the members of the House and the Senate, urging them to back this measure as expressing the will and spirit of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Thomas J. Mooney—Warren Billings

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Pietro Lucchi, Harry Begoon and Samuel Mindel, International Fur Workers Union of United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, Mooney and Billings have been imprisoned for nineteen years against the overwhelming weight of evidence to the effect that they have been framed up and unjustly convicted, due to the efforts of the open shop employers, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record demanding the immediate release of Mooney and Billings, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be directed to develop a nationwide campaign for the release of Mooney and Billings from prison.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organization of Fur Workers.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Pietro Lucchi, Samuel Mindel and Harry Begoon, International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada is now engaged in a campaign to organize the Canadian territory, as well as the remaining unorganized fur workers in the United States of America, be it therefore

Resolved, That the fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record pledging to give the utmost support of the American Federation of Labor to the effort of the International Fur Workers Union, to organize the entire fur industry in Canada, as well as in the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Thirty-Hour Week Bill

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Pietro Lucchi, Harry Begoon and Samuel Mindel, International Fur Workers Union of United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record for a 30-hour, 5-day week and

WHEREAS, According to the statistics compiled by the Federation, there are still several million unemployed workers in this country, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor, goes on record in support of the Black-Connery Bill for a thirty-hour week and be it further

RESOLVED, That all of the International and Local unions be circularized for the adoption of the 30-hour bill in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

William Randolph Hearst

Resolution No. 90 — By Delegates Pietro Lucchi, Samuel Mindel and Harry Begoon, International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, Mr. William Randolph Hearst has been using his wealth and his control over newspapers and other news and radio agencies for the purpose of carrying on a vicious anti-labor and anti-union campaign throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Hearst's anti-labor campaign resembles in many ways the activities of the fascists in Europe against the trade unions and the labor movement generally, and

WHEREAS, The anti-labor policy of Mr. Hearst is particularly demonstrated in his refusal to grant collective bargaining to his editorial employees who have chosen the Newspaper Guild as their bona fide trade union to represent them, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record condemning and protesting against the anti-labor activities of William Randolph Hearst.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Dismissal of Dr. Jerome Davis from
Yale University Divinity School**

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate J. F. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, Dr. Jerome Davis of Yale University faculty has appeared in Milwaukee several times as an informed lecturer on social and economic questions; and

WHEREAS, He is known to thousands of people in Milwaukee for his brilliant research in the field of social science presented in his book "Capitalism and Its Culture"; and

WHEREAS, He is the duly elected president of the American Federation of Teachers, a recognized affiliate of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Labor organizations were the first to fight for and to secure free public school education in this country and today recognize that academic freedom is an integral part of such public education in a democratic society; and

WHEREAS, The announced dismissal of Dr. Davis from the faculty of Yale University in view of his pronounced social and economic views is a direct threat to such academic freedom and to an international labor union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council support the action of the Yale and New Haven Local of the American Federation of Teachers in urging the Yale Corporation to reconsider its action and to reappoint Professor Davis as recommended by the Board of Permanent Officers of the Divinity School; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council to the convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to present a resolution protesting the action of the Yale Corporation.

(Adopted at the regular meeting of the Federated Trades Council November 4, 1936.)

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Application to Place A. J. Lindemann-Hoverson Company, Milwaukee, Wis.,
On Unfair List**

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate J. F. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, More than six hundred

employees of the A. J. Lindemann and Hoverson Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, manufacturers of Alcazar, Lindemann and Hoverson Kerosene and other brands of electric, gas, kerosene and gasoline stoves, were forced to go on strike August 20, 1935, because this firm, in violation of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, discharged workers who had started a movement to organize the employees of this company; and

WHEREAS, This company has turned down every effort to settle this strike on a reasonable basis and has rebuffed government conciliators, local judges and other parties who have sought to bring about an adjustment of this controversy; and

WHEREAS, Members of the International Association of Machinists, International Molders Union, International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and the Metal Polishers International Union are involved in this strike which is still in progress with an active picket line; and

WHEREAS, The Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee has placed this firm on its "We Do Not Patronize" list; and

WHEREAS, The 55th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor by unanimous vote adopted a recommendation of its Committee on Industrial Relations providing that this matter be referred to the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor "to be taken up with the National Labor Relations Board and that every effort be made to adjust this dispute in such manner that the right of the employees to organize is guaranteed and maintained and that in the event of failure in accomplishing this that the Executive Council and officers be instructed to take such further action as may be necessary;" and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council and officers have been unable to bring about an adjustment as outlined in the recommendation of the committee; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to inform all units of the Federation of the anti-labor attitude of the Lindemann-Hoverson Company, and to urge all members of organized labor and their friends and sympathizers not to purchase products manufactured by this company.

(Adopted at regular meeting of the Federated Trades Council November 4, 1936.)

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Proposing Amendment to Law Regulating Basis of Representation of Local Unions in Central Bodies

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate J. F. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is passing through a period of fundamental changes in policy and practices; and

WHEREAS, The present method of determining representation of Local Unions affiliated to Central Labor Unions has caused much dissension and disruption thereby destroying the fundamental purpose of organization and in some localities has created dual unionism; and

WHEREAS, Upon those who believe in organization devolves the responsibility of extending organization and helping others to understand the spirit and purposes of unionism; and

WHEREAS, It is the contention of local unions having a large membership and paying a greater share of the per capita tax that enables Central Labor Unions to carry out the program of solidifying organized labor and organizing the unorganized, that the present law governing representation in Central Labor Unions be amended and proportional representation substituted; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor amend Sec. 11 of Article XI to read as follows:

"The representation of local unions entitled to affiliations in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 100 members or majority fraction thereof."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Proposing Legislation to Prohibit Banks and Insurance Companies From Financing Business Enterprises Imposing Unfair Conditions of Employment

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, Savings Banks and savings departments of Trust Companies and domestic life insurance companies

control the great proportion of the liquid wealth of wage earners, wax rich and powerful on other people's money, and in doing so finance employers especially and frequently hostile to the aims of organized labor;

WHEREAS, The real underlying assets and wealth of this nation are contained and independent wage earners, free from employer interference in the creation and maintenance of self organized trade unions and thus possessed of ability to increase purchasing power with resultant stimulus to an increase of consumer demand for goods and service;

WHEREAS, Employer interference with the right of self organization of employees threatens industrial peace and thus the security and value of wage earners' savings in such banking institutions and life insurance companies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to file legislation with the incoming Congress to amplify the safeguards now surrounding the legal investments so-called, of and by such institutions by requiring that no such institutions invest money under their control in securities or otherwise, whenever such moneys are to be used in any enterprise or business that has to do with the employment of labor, unless the issuer of such securities or other business borrower comply with obligations identical to those indicated and set forth in Section 7 and related sections of the Wagner Labor Act, so-called; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge all State Federations of Labor to undertake like action to that end that those in control of the life savings of wage earners and thus the credit of our country may not make use of such wealth to finance employers antagonistic to the aims and activities of the trade union movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Prevailing Wage Rate on Government Work

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Jas. W. Soutter, Trades and Labor Assembly, Des Moines, Iowa.

WHEREAS, Due to a depression in private business enterprises, the Federal Government has, during the past few years, and still is, expanding its participation in all manner and kinds of public improvements in particular and also in semi-public improvements by a contribution of funds; and

WHEREAS, the Federal Government

will in all probability continue to expand by contribution, grants or loans to states, counties, cities, school boards and all other governmental sub-divisions funds for the purpose of either direct employment of men or for the letting of contracts by various governmental sub-division for various enterprises upon which employment will be found for our people; and

WHEREAS, the intention and desire of the President and the Congress of the United States in this assistance is to provide employment, besides the construction of worthwhile improvements; and

WHEREAS, In many states the sub-division of the government receiving the funds lets contracts for the construction of the projects and in so doing fails to require, as a condition of the contract, that the prevailing rate of pay in the community in which the project is to be constructed is to be paid; and

WHEREAS, The failure on the part of the governmental sub-divisions in the letting of the contracts to require the payment of the prevailing wage by contractors has reacted not only to the serious detriment of the employees on said projects themselves but also to the general contracting business in these communities by furnishing unfair competition and unjust and unequitable discrimination among workers; and

WHEREAS, This unfortunate general situation regarding the wrecking of wage scales and the fostering of unfair competition and practices between contractors is unjust, unfair and un-American and contrary to the intent and purposes of the Federal Government in the giving of such aid and assistance; and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of the membership of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, through its delegates, at Tampa, Florida, on this 16th day of November, 1936, that such condition should be corrected and the abuses discontinued and the prevailing rate of wage paid on all projects wherein Federal funds, either directly or indirectly, are utilized.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That this Convention of the delegates to the 1936 Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Tampa, Florida, hereby declare in favor of Congressional and Presidential action which will make it mandatory and obligatory that on any work, whether performed directly by the Federal Government or any governmental sub-division of any state, territory, county or city in which Federal funds are utilized, in part or in whole, by contract or otherwise, that all men working upon any of said projects shall receive and be paid for

their services, both skilled and unskilled, the prevailing rate of pay in the community in which the project or the work is being performed but in no event shall such pay be less than the minimum set forth by the Federal Government heretofore in its work program; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be sent to the Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States; Madam Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, and copies of the proceedings of this Convention containing this Resolution be sent to each and every member of both the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That it be the sense of this Convention that the officials of our organization and its sub-divisions use all possible legitimate means to bring about the necessary steps to carry out the object and purposes of this Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Child Labor Amendment

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates E. J. Manion and H. B. Perham, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS, Numerous conventions of this organization have passed resolutions favoring the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers did by convention action in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, May 12, 1936, unanimously adopt a resolution to extend its efforts to secure the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution; and

WHEREAS, While there is no Child Labor problem, as such, in the railroad industry, nevertheless, we have children who are in need of education and protection from premature toil; and

WHEREAS, The control of child labor with its corollary, the extension of education, is of national importance and deep concern to all of us; and

WHEREAS, Because of the lack of Federal regulation of child labor, there is injustice to children in States with low standards because they are deprived of equal opportunity with others for health, education and immunity from injurious labor; and

WHEREAS, There is also injustice to employers in States with high standards since they compete with employers whose labor costs are low because of child labor; and

WHEREAS, We find that we are all involved in the social problem presented by the under-privileged child because of the injustice that affects all citizens as a result of the exploitation of child labor; first, because civic and economic progress is hampered when the young are not equipped to become responsible and productive members of society; second, the mobility of population characteristic of modern times, and due primarily to the technological displacement of labor, brings many of the ill-equipped from states with low standards to those with high standards; and

WHEREAS, The workers' right to form labor unions, to bargain collectively, and to participate through delegated representatives in the making of laws which regulate his civic conduct is well established, and since in the exercise of this inherent right, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers, pursuant to convention action, is actively engaged in promoting by all legitimate means at its command, the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in the pursuit of this policy of social justice, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers has assumed a considerable financial burden; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recognize the convention action of The Order of Railroad Telegraphers as indicative of social progress and extend its aid to this worthy cause by reiterating its approval of the Child Labor Amendment and urging its affiliates in the twenty-four States which have not ratified this constitutional amendment to concentrate their efforts severally and jointly with other organizations and committees in progressing ratification of the Child Labor Amendment through the Legislatures of these twenty-four States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Administration of Walsh-Healey Bill

Resolution No. 97 — By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Laurence Foley, The Granite Cutters' International Association of America; M. W. Mitchell, Journeymen Stonecutters' Association of North America.

WHEREAS, The enactment of the Walsh-Healey bill establishes the prin-

ciple that those who enjoy the benefits of substantial contracts from the Federal Government, must assure to their employees the privilege of working conditions of at least a minimum American standard; and

WHEREAS, The effective administration of this Act has been delayed by the lack of a suitable appropriation; and

WHEREAS, The successful operation of this Act can and should substantially benefit the working people of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the provision of sufficient funds for the vigorous enforcement of this Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Department of Labor be requested to establish regional offices for the more effective administration of the Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Department of Labor be urged to provide for the appointment of accredited workers' representatives to serve on the staff or advisory committees of the Department and of each of its regional offices, so that the working people may have a voice in the administration of this Act enacted in their behalf.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organization of Laundry Workers

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate W. C. Brooks, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of the United States and Canada are at this time only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Laundry Workers' International Union at this time will not warrant or permit in placing any additional organizer in the large number of cities and the various states to organize the unorganized laundry workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all the State Federations of Labor and City Labor Councils and to all of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize the laundry workers in their districts and localities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Labor Representation in Administration of Federal Reserve and Reconstruction Finance Acts

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates

Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, The national labor policy of our Government is set forth especially in Section 7 and related sections of the Wagner Labor Relations Act so-called, intended to permit the workers to organize freely into organizations of their own choosing without interference of any sort from employers, and

WHEREAS, The physical agencies of the Federal Government, such as the Federal Reserve System and its member banks, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, conduct their activities in complete neglect and disregard of such national labor policy, and

WHEREAS, There should be coordination between national labor and financial policies of the Federal Government so that they shall not work at cross purposes, and

WHEREAS, Without such coordination there is ever threatening excessive fluctuation in prices and diminution of purchasing power of wages and thus impairment of the underlying agricultural and commercial assets supporting the national credit structures, and

WHEREAS, High standards of business and labor practice will guarantee stability and improve the character of national assets and resources as a basis for credit, and

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor in its Fifty-first Annual Convention assembled voted to urge action by the American Federation of Labor to correct these conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare that it is of the opinion that organized labor is entitled to representation on the Federal Reserve Board and subordinate Federal Reserve agencies and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, equal to that accorded to Agricultural and Industry, and that such agencies shall require as a condition of eligibility for credit or other financial assistance, unless such monies are to be used in any enterprise or business that has to do with the employment of labor, that the borrower shall not conduct its business activities in a manner antagonistic to the national labor policy set forth in the Wagner Labor Relations Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to seek amendments to the Federal Reserve and Reconstruction Finance Acts in effectuation of such declaration to the

end that credit and financial policies of the Federal Government work in harmony with the national labor policies and to afford due and entitled recognition to the Trade Union Movement equal to that now afforded organized management and finance and organized agriculture.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Farmer-Labor Party

Resolution No. 100—By Delegates Pietro Lucchi, Samuel Mindel and Harry Begoon, International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The last convention of the International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada went on record for a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States, and

WHEREAS, The presidential election has demonstrated unmistakably that labor throughout the United States desires independent political action and that wherever Labor Parties or Farmer-Labor Parties were in existence they received the overwhelming support of the workers and progressive people generally, and

WHEREAS, Only through a Farmer-Labor Party can the workers be guaranteed the necessary political expression in the executive and legislative bodies of the national, state and local governments, and

WHEREAS, Only a Farmer-Labor Party, backed by the organized trade union movement can effectively combat the reactionary forces seeking to deprive the workers of their fundamental rights, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record for the immediate establishment of a national, all-inclusive Farmer-Labor Party in the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Granting of Charter to International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate S. Hershkowitz, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, About seven thousand pocketbook and novelty workers are organized in twelve locals in the United States and Canada in the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union; and

WHEREAS, the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union has collective and individual agreements covering the entire markets in New York City, Chicago, Jersey City, Perth Amboy, N. J., Stroudsburg and Mauch Chunk, Pa., Norwalk, Conn., Middletown, N. Y., and Toronto and Montreal, Canada; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of luggage workers and belt workers can be organized by said International; and

WHEREAS, The United Leather Workers International Union claiming jurisdiction over the pocketbook, luggage, belt and novelty trades held no convention for nineteen years, its General Executive Council did not meet for eight years, and its membership has dwindled down to about two thousand; and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of leather workers are now organized into independent organizations refusing to join the United Leather Workers International Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to issue a charter to the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union giving it jurisdiction over the pocketbook, luggage, belt, and novelty trades.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Investigation of "The Future Craftsmen of America"

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is being promoted an organization of boys to be known as "The Future Craftsmen of America," composed, according to the tentative organization plan, "of three affiliated organizations; namely, Apprentice Craftsmen of America for the apprentice group, Junior Craftsmen of America for the All-Day trade group, Amateur Craftsmen of America for the Industrial Arts group;" and

WHEREAS, While no revised plan has come to our attention, but the tentative plan carries all the indications and language of open-shop employers, setting forth, among others, as objectives "to assist the apprentice in acquiring *** accuracy, thoroughness, judgment, quality of workmanship, speed, loyalty, safety and personal and working relationships;" membership grades and privileges being based on

the boys having productively invested from \$12 to \$100; and

WHEREAS, The organization of the Future Craftsmen of America was understood to be held in abeyance until after the convention of the American Vocational Association, December 4 and 5, 1936, the promoters nevertheless called a convention a few weeks prior at Detroit at which anti-labor employers furnished the entertainment; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement throughout all history, up to the advent of the Vocational School, has been the sole sponsor of craftsman development, and continues to be the agency most deeply concerned in industrial training; and

WHEREAS, It appears that the assertion has been circulated that the organization has the approval of labor, when, in fact, labor, notably in Wisconsin, has protested the setup as tentatively announced; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to cause a thorough study to be made of the plan of organizing the prospective craftsmen of this nation and take measures, if in their judgment it seems necessary, to prevent our boys from entering avenues which may prove hazardous to their future without proper safeguards of their economic welfare.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Union Barber Shops in Convention Hotel Headquarters of American Federation of Labor and Affiliated Organizations

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates Wm. Birthright, Anthony Merlino, John B. Robinson, Charles T. Crane and Patrick H. Regan, Journeymen Barbers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America was organized nearly a half a century ago and has been affiliated with the American Federation during its entire existence, and

WHEREAS, Its Officers and members have at all times harkened to the moral appeal of all affiliated bodies, and

WHEREAS, In times gone by very little effort has been made on the part of those who were responsible for the arrangements of Convention Headquarters in the various Convention Cities as to whether the Barber Shops in the Hotels were unionized or not, and

WHEREAS, This same condition exists in many of the States where State Federation of Labor Conventions are held.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED That we, the undersigned Delegates to this Convention from the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America do hereby appeal to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to urge those responsible for the arrangements of future conventions to do all within their power to see that at least the Barber Shops in the Headquarters Hotel be organized under the J. B. I. U. of A., and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That the Executive Council request and urge all International and State Federations

of Labor to cooperate with the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, especially when having future Conventions and use their utmost endeavors to see that the Barber Shops at the Hotel Headquarters display the Union Shop Card of the J. B. I. U. of A.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At five o'clock Delegate Koveleski moved that the convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, November 17th.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at five o'clock the convention adjourned.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Tampa, Florida,
November 17, 1936.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees — Adcock, Alter, Bender, Burke (M. J.), Breidenbach, Cahill, Cahir, Carle, Christman, Coleman (A. N. Jr.), Davis (Jerome), Dobbs, Duldmer, Durkin, Evans (A. A.), Finnegan, Foley (Edward M.), Forbes, Gatelee, German, Gibson, Glasgow, Graham, Hansen, Harrison (J. W.), Haywood, Hefferly, Hill, Holt, Hudak, Hudson, Hunter, Irwin, Johnson (C. W.), Jones (John T.), Jenkins, Kane (J. C.), Keegan, Kindred, Klarish, Knopka, Kuenzli, Kirby, Lisse, Majors, Maney, Marehesi, Matlin, Mayer, Mayeur, Merritt, Minton, Moulin, Mundell, McCain, (U. S.), Nischwitz, O'Neill, Owens, Paten (Simon Van), Powers (Geo.), Price, Prior, Reed (Geo.), Reynolds, Reznicke, Rosqvist, Saltus, Scherr, Schreier, Sexton, Shave, Stoffels, Tracy (Wm.), Turnblazer, Will, Williams (Clemon), Williamson, Zaritsky.

President Green: The Chair presents to you our very dear friend, Father F. J. Clarkson, for the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rev. F. J. Clarkson, Pastor,
Sacred Heart Church)

We believe in God the Father, Who created us, and in God the Son, Who redeemed us, and in God the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth and holiness.

I call upon these three persons: the Father of Power, the Son of Redemption, and the Spirit of love and charity to guide your every thought and your every action in this Congress to His own glory and renown.

I pray God to direct your plannings and your resolutions as He alone would have them.

God first and last in every human life.—

Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Sabbath direct the foot-steps, guide the hearts and make firm the resolutions of this 56th Congress of the American Federation of Labor. For Thyself alone.

Almighty God, we humbly ask your blessing.

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce the addition of the name

of President P. J. Morrion, of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, as a member of the Escort Committee to accompany Director Lillenthal, of the Tennessee Valley Authority, to the convention hall this morning.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Morrison for an announcement.

Secretary Morrison: There are plenty of proceedings in the back of the hall. If any man's name is misspelled, or any mistake appears in any of the resolutions, I would ask that you so indicate in the proceedings and hand the correction to the Assistant Secretary.

President Green: The Chair will call upon the Secretary to read a message from Governor Sholtz, of Florida.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

St. Louis, Mo.,
November 15, 1936.

Hon. Chas. E. Silva, Secretary,
National Convention of
American Federation of Labor,
Franklin St., Central Trades
and Labor Assembly,
Tampa, Florida.

Please express to the members of the American Federation of Labor my sincere regrets that my attendance here at the Governor's conference makes it impossible for me to welcome them in person. However, I send them my sincere greetings and best wishes for a most successful convention and assure them that we are pleased and honored to have them hold their convention in Florida. Best regards.

DAVE SHOLTZ, Governor.

New York, N. Y.,
November 15, 1936.

William Green, President,
American Federation of
Labor in Convention Assembled,
Tampa, Florida.

We wish you, your fellow officers and delegates assembled a very happy and successful convention. The American Federation of Actors wishes to thank your members for the splendid support given us in the past and as-

sure you of our fullest cooperation at all times.

RALPH WHITEHEAD,
Executive Secretary,
American Federation of Actors.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials

Delegate Davis, chairman of the committee, submitted the following supplemental report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommends the seating of the following:

Glen Drake, representing the Grand Rapids, Mich., Federation of Labor with 1 vote.

Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20221, Stockton, Calif., Warren Brown, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo., Henry Garcia, 1 vote.

The Committee recommends the seating of Francis P. Fenton in place of Edward M. Foley, to represent the Haverhill, Conn., Central Labor Union, as previously recommended.

Brownsville, Pa., United Trades Council—Richard Mayers, 1 vote.

International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees—E. J. Brock.

Fredericktown, Pa., Central Labor Union—C. O. Williams, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. C. Lewis, 1 vote.

Minneapolis, Minn., Central Labor Union—Sander Genis, 1 vote.

Pottsville, Pa., Central Labor Union—Louis Yagoda, 1 vote.

Jasper, Ala., Central Labor Union—U. S. McCain, 1 vote.

Brunswick, Ga., Central Labor Union—T. McClellan, 1 vote.

Akron, O., Summit County, Central Labor Union—Wilmer Tate, 1 vote.

Appalachia, Va., Central Labor Union—William Minton, 1 vote.

Shelby County, Ala., Trades Council—Ed Price, Sr., 1 vote.

Tarentum, Pa., United Labor Council of Tarentum and Vicinity—John Hudak, 1 vote.

Taylorville, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Ray Edmundson, 1 vote.

Westville, Ill., Central Labor Union—Thomas Hunter, 1 vote.

Winfield, Ala., Central Labor Union—George Reed, 1 vote.

Zanesville, O., Central Labor Union—Frank J. Bender, 1 vote.

Zeigler, Ill., Central Labor Union—John Moulin, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—Frank Hefferly, 1 vote.

Houston, Tex., Labor Council—Mrs. Francis G. Egan, 1 vote.

Agricultural Workers' Union No. 19994, Blissfield, Mich.—Albert Markva, 1 vote.

Cement Workers' Union, United, No. 19466, (1 vote), Martins Creek, Pa.; Cement Workers' Union, United, No. 20321, (1 vote), Stockertown, Pa.; Cement Workers' Union, United, No. 20281, (1 vote), Nazareth, Pa.—Harold Williamson, 3 votes.

Delegate Davis moved the adoption of the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Howat, Secretary of the committee.

Delegate Sams, (Indiana, Pennsylvania) Central Labor Union: Do I understand that this is the complete report of the Credentials Committee?

President Green: No, the Credentials Committee is continued all during the convention and will bring in such reports as it may find necessary to submit to the convention.

Delegate Sams: "Mr. Chairman, I, as a delegate from the Central Labor Union of Indiana, Pennsylvania, have not been seated as yet, although my credentials have been handed in to the Credentials Committee. I would like to know why it is that I have not been seated.

President Green: I would advise you to take it up with the committee. They will adjust it, I know. I recommend that you see the chairman of the committee and Secretary Morrison.

The motion to adopt the supplemental report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Assignment of Resolution No. 79

Secretary Morrison: I desire to say that on pages 234, 235, and 236, there appears Resolution No. 79, the reference of which the printer failed to indicate. The resolution is referred to the Committee on Resolutions. I am giving this information now so that the delegate who introduced it will know that this resolution will be in the hands of the Resolutions Committee in about a half hour.

Correction

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce a correction in the sub-heading of one of the sections dealt with in the report of the Executive Council. On page 100 of the report of the Executive Council the Chair desires to change the heading, "Memorandum Submitted by the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association," to the following: "Case of the Lithographers Versus the Printing Trades Organizations."

The note of the change in the heading will appear in the printed proceedings of today's convention.

Escort Committee

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce the appointment of the following committee to meet and greet the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada upon their arrival in this city. I am not sure when these fraternal delegates will reach Tampa, but I should like to have this committee inquire and arrange to meet and greet them upon their arrival. I will appoint upon that committee Brother Christian Madsen, Painters, Thomas E. Burke, Plumbers, and William Collins, of New York. I trust that committee will arrange to meet and make inquiry regarding the arrival of these fraternal delegates, and officially meet and greet them when they reach this city.

Addition to Committee

President Green: The Chair announces the addition of the name of Brother John B. Easton, President of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor, to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

May I again call your attention to the constitutional provision which provides that resolutions may be introduced within the time limit provided for by law, which expires at midnight tonight. Those who desire to introduce resolutions today and up until midnight may do so by submitting them to Secretary Morrison at your convenience.

The Chair now calls for the report of the Auditing Committee.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

Delegate Davis, Chairman of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, Delegate Gordon will read the report for the committee.

Delegate Gordon, on behalf of the committee, read the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Auditing Committee appointed by President Green, pursuant to the requirements of Article III, Section 4, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, presents the following report for the consideration of this Convention:

Your Committee has made an audit of the books and records covering all the financial transactions of the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year beginning September 1, 1935, to and including August 31, 1936, and is ready to report that we find all books and records accurate and correct in every respect.

We have also been to the Riggs National Bank and the City Bank and inspected and counted the various securities held by the American Federation of Labor. We include in this report our findings.

The total receipts and total disbursements for the respective accounts are as follows:

Receipts

Balance on hand, August 31, 1935	\$ 622,954.53
Per Capita Tax	\$453,817.37
AMERICAN FED- ERATIONIST ...	227,649.90
Defense Fund for lo- cal trade and fed- eral Labor Unions: Per capita tax from locals ...	124,701.45
Initiation fees	48,795.26
Reinstatement fees ...	6,916.50
Supplies	13,043.44
Interest	19,462.71
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	9,215.06

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Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	9,836.19
Dividend on Union Labor Life Insurance Stock	150.00
Profit on sale of \$75,000 Federal Land Bank Bonds	10,312.50
Profit on exchange of \$98,000 Federal Land Bank Bonds	490.00
Total Receipts.	\$924,390.38
Transfer from Defense Fund to General Fund	50,000.00

Total including Transfer	974,390.38
Grand total	\$1,597,344.91

Expenses

General	\$683,844.93
AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST ..	134,602.89
Defense Fund:	
Strike Benefits to local trade and federal labor unions	151,656.02
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	7,835.08
Total expenses.	\$977,938.92
Transfer from Defense Fund to General Fund	50,000.00

Total including Transfer	1,027,938.92
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Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1936	\$ 569,405.99
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Recapitulation

In General Fund	\$ 58,782.13
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	510,623.86
Balance on hand, August 31, 1936	\$ 569,405.99

Gompers Memorial Fund

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1936	\$ 118,073.23
Interest on fund investments ...	15,510.89
Total Receipts	\$ 133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1936	117,748.87

Balance on hand August 31, 1936	\$ 15,835.25
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Funds deposited as follows:

Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust Account	\$ 1,266.66
Riggs National Bank checking account	7,068.59
United States Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000) ...	7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1936	\$ 15,835.25
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We have checked the bank balances and counted the securities in this account and find them correct as reported.

Sleeping Car Porters Injunction Fund

Receipts from January 13, 1933 to and including March 31, 1933	\$ 660.00
*Amount forwarded to M. P. Webster, President	660.00

*The full amount of this fund was paid over to the Sleeping Car Porters from the General Fund, American Federation of Labor, pending the reopening of the Mt. Vernon Bank. The Mt. Vernon Bank consolidated with the Washington Mechanics Savings Bank and released 40 percent of deposits. We transferred \$264.00, which amount represents 40 percent, to the General Fund of the A. F. of L. The remaining 60 percent or \$396.00 will be transferred as it is released by the Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.

Money Held Account

Riggs National Bank (Subject to check)	\$ 609.90
Less outstanding checks	609.90

The American Federation of Labor Building Fund

Receipts

Balance on hand, August 31, 1935	\$ 57,417.86
Rents	\$ 33,358.00
Interest:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds \$ 187.50	
Federal Land Bank Bonds	1,300.00
	1,487.50

Sale of waste paper	\$2.04
Refund Premium Fire Insurance ..	100.74

Total receipts	35,008.28
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Receipts and balance	\$ 92,426.14
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Expenses

Maintenance:	
Pay roll (building employees)	\$ 15,832.20

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Taxes	2,759.44	
Electricity	1,411.58	
Fuel (coal)	1,064.55	
Supplies	1,074.58	
Upkeep and repairs	784.26	
Plastering and Painting	2,277.50	
Cleaning windows	431.25	
Insurance (liability)	134.30	
Insurance (fire)	600.00	
Water rent	184.70	
Hauling ashes and trash	188.00	
Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.)	21.46	
Upkeep and repairs of elevators ..	276.99	
D. C. Unemployment tax	90.81	
Total expenses	27,131.62	
Balance on hand, August 31, 1936	\$ 65,294.52	
Recapitulation		
Receipts and balance	\$ 92,426.14	
Expenses	27,131.62	
Balance on hand August 31, 1936	\$ 65,294.52	
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:		
Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust .. \$	1,218.31	
Riggs National Bank \$ 12,632.37		
Less outstanding checks	85.54	12,546.83
\$40,000 Consolidated Federal Farm Loan Bonds, 3½% received in exchange for \$40,000 Federal Land Bank Bonds, 5% plus premium ¼%		
\$300.00	\$ 38,050.00	
\$6,000 3½% U. S. Treasury Bonds at 99 21/32	5,979.38	
\$10,000 U. S. Savings Bonds	7,500.00	51,529.38
Balance on hand August 31, 1936	\$ 65,294.52	

We have checked the bank balances and counted the securities in this account and find them correct as reported.

Your Committee has counted all securities and determined that the funds of the American

Federation of Labor are deposited and invested as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	\$225,000.00	
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	2,070.32	
U. S. Treasury Bonds (4½-51) (\$50,000) at 98-18/32	49,281.25	
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%)	100,000.00	
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%)	1,531.25	
Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$ 377,882.82	
\$27,000 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%)	\$ 23,355.00	
\$98,000 Consolidated Federal Land Bank Bonds 3%	89,590.00	
Total investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds	\$ 112,945.00	
Riggs National Bank (Subject to check)	\$ 75,455.39	
Less Outstanding checks	15,877.22	59,578.17
City Bank (Subject to check) ..	2,000.00	
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (Subject to check) ..	2,000.00	
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock) 300 shares at \$50.00 ..	15,000.00	

Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1936

In conclusion, your Committee desires to make the following comments:

The total receipts from all sources amounted to \$924,390.38, while the total expenses amounted to \$977,938.92. The expenses, therefore, were \$53,548.54 more than the receipts. It should be borne in mind, however, that the expenses included an item of \$151,656.02 which was paid out in strike benefits to Local Federal Labor Unions. Had it not been for this large amount paid out of the Defense Fund, the total receipts would have exceeded the total expenses in a substantial sum.

In other words, if the \$151,656.02 paid out in strike benefits were to be eliminated from the expenses, the total receipts would have exceeded the

total expenses in the amount of \$98,107.48. In this connection, we would like to make the recommendation that consideration be given to the practicability of increasing the per capita tax from the directly affiliated local federal labor unions to the American Federation of Labor to help offset the large amounts that the Federation is being required to pay for strike benefits.

Referring to the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, the official publication of the American Federation of Labor, we observe that the magazine continues to prosper and the figures in this report reflect a substantial amount of revenue from this source.

There was a considerable amount of detailed work involved in making this audit; however, the excellent condition of the books and records and the splendid cooperation of Secretary-Treasurer Morrison and his capable assistants, made it possible for us to complete the audit within the time allotted to us.

Finally, your Committee wishes to commend the officers of the American Federation of Labor for their sound judgment in investing the surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor in Government Bonds and we desire to recommend that this policy be continued.

AUDITING COMMITTEE:

J. N. DAVIS, Chairman
A. GORDON
JOHN HOWAT, Secretary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair will refer the suggestion contained in the report to the Committee on Law.

I present to you now at this time an outstanding American citizen and a great executive. You will recall that I announced to you yesterday that Director Lillenthal, of the Tennessee Valley project, would be here this morning for the purpose of delivering an address. He is here and it affords me a great deal of pleasure to present him

to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. I can say for him, because of personal knowledge and understanding, that as an administrator and as a great executive having in charge one of the greatest governmental projects ever launched by this great country, he has always manifested a fair, sympathetic attitude toward labor and the representatives of organized labor. The relations established between the Director administering the affairs of this great TVA project in the Southland and the representatives of organized labor have been of the most satisfactory nature. That speaks much to us. Director Lillenthal is commended to us very highly because of his understanding of labor, its purposes, its hopes, and its ideals.

I am glad indeed to present to you such a distinguished citizen, such a sympathetic, warm friend of labor, a great administrator and a great executive, because he has shown by his actions that he possesses all those qualifications. Officers and delegates in attendance at the convention, I present to you David E. Lillenthal, Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

MR. DAVID E. LILIENTHAL (Director, Tennessee Valley Authority)

President Green, officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor, ladies and gentlemen—I count it a special honor to have had an invitation to be your guest at this convention. It happened that for some ten years as a lawyer I worked on behalf of groups of organized workers in the city of Chicago, and I take great pleasure and satisfaction in that experience.

I particularly welcome this opportunity to talk to the representatives of millions of American men and women from all parts of the country, to tell you of the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority—what TVA is doing, why it is doing it, and what the project means to the people of the United States. But particularly I want to tell you what there is about the TVA project that is of special importance to you as representatives of organized labor, and to working men and women everywhere.

The TVA has its origin in the World War. You remember that we needed

nitrites for explosives. President Wilson and Congress ordered the building of a dam and powerhouse at Muscle Shoals, to produce power to make those nitrites. After the war, private interests tried to get Congress to turn that power plant over to them. In session after session, Senator Norris led a fight to keep Muscle Shoals in the hands of the public. And organized labor was in the thick of that fight—on the public side.

Labor saw that Muscle Shoals was part of a larger issue. That issue was the unified development by the public of the public's own resources. As far back as the Portland convention, 13 years ago, your Federation unanimously adopted a resolution opposing "the subsidizing" of any "privately owned and operated power system." Your convention then proceeded to urge a broad program, in words that are prophetic: "We individually and collectively urge," you said, "the necessity for a coordinated public development and control of our water resources for the service of the people, at cost, giving due regard to the four-fold duty of water for domestic supply, for irrigation, power production and navigation, and to the necessity for floodwater storage and control; and we urge the withdrawal and curtailment of special privileges to private interests controlling this natural resource for incomplete and costly development for private profit."

But your hope of a "coordinated public development" was not shared by the men, who, through those years, sat in the White House. You know what happened. Twice Congress acted; twice bills were vetoed. And then came the election of a tried friend of conservation, a man who for years had fought for public rights in power—Franklin D. Roosevelt. Shortly after his inauguration in 1933, the President sent a message to Congress drawing a picture of a many-sided public development. He said:

"It is clear that the Muscle Shoals development is but a small part of the potential public usefulness of the entire Tennessee River. Such use, if envisioned in its entirety, transcends mere power development: it enters the wide fields of flood control, soil erosion, afforestation, elimination from agricultural use of marginal lands, and distribution and diversification of industry. In short, this power development of war days leads logically to national planning for a complete river watershed involving many States and the future lives and welfare of millions. It touches and gives life to all forms of human concerns.

"I, therefore, suggest to the Congress legislation to create a Tennessee

Valley Authority — a corporation clothed with the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. It should be charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory for the general, social and economic welfare of the nation.

The corporation the President recommended was to take over and operate the Muscle Shoals power plant, to make profits for the stockholders of the TVA, who are the 125 million men, women, and children of the United States. The largest part of those stockholders of TVA are the working men of the United States and their wives and children. Congress adopted his recommendations and passed the Norris Bill. And TVA went into action on a broad front.

TVA is not only building a series of huge dams for the improvement of navigation and flood control, and the development of hydroelectric power; it is not only constructing and operating a network of transmission lines, carrying power to homes, farms and industries. Of these things I am sure you know. But equally important is the fundamental research in farm problems; practical efforts in saving the soil from washing away; working out means of increasing farm income; the operation of a large experimental plant producing a new phosphate fertilizer—these and other activities are spread upon a broad working canvas, affecting the daily lives and future hopes of almost six million men, women and children in a vast area of our country.

These are some of the things that are going on in the Tennessee Valley. But what is the purpose of all this activity? You can sum it up in this way: Here, for the first time in America, the people have set up a vast testing ground for the nation, where they can determine for themselves how the natural resources of water and land and power can best be developed and conserved and used—not for the benefit of a few privileged individuals, but for the benefit of the entire community. The lessons that are learned in carrying on this project will be available to other sections of the country. As TVA progresses the methods, the ways of doing things, the kind of organization, the success we have in spreading the benefits of natural resources, can be put to work in other unified regions of the United States.

The TVA was not set up as an emergency organization; nor is it a relief activity; nor a power company. TVA is a thoroughgoing effort on a long-time basis to meet the responsibilities

of government by bringing to the people of a great region the fruits of the natural resources that the nation owns.

The Muscle Shoals fight would have been even harder for Senator Norris and his colleagues had it not been for the support of organized labor. And the task of the TVA Board has been made easier because of labor's support. During the three and one-half years that the TVA has been a going concern, we have been heartened by the support—the active, cordial backing of a vast number of men and women in the ranks of labor. I speak without the slightest fear of contradiction when I say that in the Tennessee Valley region working men and women, both the leaders and the rank and file, are with the Authority unanimously. But the support from labor is not confined to the Valley area; it extends into sections of the country far distant from the immediate effect of the TVA program.

Why does labor support the TVA? The answers are not difficult to find. **First of all, labor is for TVA because TVA is for labor.** When I say TVA is for labor I do not mean that we join with those smooth-mouthed gentlemen who extoll the virtues of labor, who orate in general terms about the rights of labor. When I say TVA is for labor I mean that the TVA **record**; from the outset to this hour, shows in deeds and not in mere words that this government agency operates according to the best standards and traditions of the labor movement.

Let's get down to cases. TVA has a labor policy, adopted by its Board of Directors. This policy was not concocted by theorists, nor was it laid down on the barrel-head, take-it-or-leave-it fashion, by a hardboiled representative of management. This policy was the outgrowth of genuine democracy as applied to labor relations on a huge construction job. All the way up and down the Valley, representatives of labor and of management met together and worked out the principles to govern on this job. A newspaper man described it in this way:

"Well-versed students of industrial problems regard the far-reaching agreement, which represents a model for Government and private industry, as remarkable not only for its text and the brief time in which it was negotiated, but also for the fact that no acts of strife accompanied its writing.

"This novel pact of men and management was not written in blood on the traditional field of industrial warfare, nor was it handed down from on high and meekly accepted by the employees as the best they could hope for with-

out an agonizing struggle. It was, instead, the product of true collective bargaining.

"In 22 short paragraphs the 'Employee Relationship Policy' resolved conflicts that have cost many lives, countless millions in property and untold suffering in the industrial world."

What does that labor policy provide? Well, of course it provides first of all for collective bargaining. But collective bargaining — there's a horse that you don't buy without looking at its teeth. In recent months it looks as if everybody has come out for collective bargaining; you take your choice as to what they mean. If you were to believe everything that has been said in the past few months, you would think that labor had suddenly won its long fight for the right of collective bargaining. Nobody here is so simple-minded as to believe that. It's one thing to **talk** about collective bargaining; it's quite another thing honestly to **practice** it. Collective bargaining is a reality on the TVA job. It is being practiced honestly and effectively, and the results have been excellent for labor, for management, and for the stockholders, who are the American people. It works.

Many of you for years have been urging that if management would really give the workers on the job a chance to make themselves heard, through representatives of their own choosing; if management would look to labor for aid in its problems; it would not only be to labor's benefit but to the benefit of management as well, beneficial to the job at hand.

Some of you may remember an article by Samuel Gompers on this very subject in the **Federalist** for August, 1924.

"To overlook the power workers seems incredible blindness. . . . The organizations of wage earners . . . can make available . . . the information and experiences of those who know power problems as only those who handle them can . . .

"To include the union among the functional divisions of the industry removes a cause of incalculable industry waste. . . . To accord to the union opportunity to perform its constructive function means linking another power group into a coordinated system. Each worker is a power unit contributing both physical and brain power. . . . Each human power unit may be working automatically and unthinkingly, or each may alertly use tools, machinery and materials, vigilantly watching each development with that creative attitude of mind that assures progress. The union is essential to maintaining this quality of workmanship.

The union makes these individual power sources a coordinated, directed power undertaking, assures the worker his rights and makes it possible for him to concentrate on his duties. The union coordinates individual capacities into a power pool."

TVA is this kind of a coordinated "power pool," a pooling of the abilities of thousands of workers and supervisors, working on a job they believe in, a job to which they give their best. It is important to you to know that one of the largest construction jobs ever undertaken by Government or private business is being run the way I believe American citizens everywhere would like to have the job run, the way I am sure the leaders and the rank and file of workmen want the job done.

When TVA began its first construction work three years ago, the Act gave the Board a choice of how to carry out the job. We decided that, with minor exceptions, the job would be done by force account and not by contract. There was to be no "middle-man" between the TVA and labor. That meant that the responsibility for the labor policy for hours, rates of pay, working conditions, and the adjustment of disputes rested squarely on the TVA. We didn't pass the buck to contractors.

The question of wages was pretty well determined by the Congress, which required that prevailing wages should be paid and that in determining the prevailing wages due consideration should be given to those arrived at by collective bargaining. That in itself is an important fact.

The crux of any labor policy is the relation between management and labor, particularly the attitude of management toward organized labor. How TVA met this issue is a matter of concern to every man here. In the labor policy the Board of Directors of TVA declared: "The Board recognizes that responsible organizations and associations of employees are helpful to such cooperation." That means cooperation between employees and management. Here is a frank recognition that the organization of labor into bona fide unions is essential to the successful achievement of the full purposes of this project.

This is more than a matter of efficiency in carrying on a construction project, although we are convinced that it is the most efficient way of doing it. This is more than merely a matter of recognizing responsibility to human beings on the part of the Government. This policy goes beyond these things. I believe that organization, effective, responsible, bona fide organization of wage earners, is essential to the pre-

servation of democratic institutions. And so it is sound policy for a governmental corporation such as TVA to remove obstructions in the way of the self-organization of its working forces.

One thing I want to be made clear: The responsibility for organizing men so that they can more effectively cooperate in management is YOUR job; it is not the job of TVA. There is no room for paternalism or employee welfare hokum in this set-up. The only thing a TVA worker ever found stuffed into his pay envelope, besides his wages, was a copy of the TVA labor policy telling him about his right to organize and bargain collectively.

Organization has progressed among the working forces of the TVA because the management specifically has removed those all too common obstacles to the natural desire of men to associate themselves for mutual benefit. Thus, the TVA labor policy recognizes the right of employees to organize and, in the exercise of this right, assures them that they shall be free from any and all restraint, interference or coercion ON THE PART OF THE MANAGEMENT and supervisory staff. Channels are established so that an employee, through his representative, can present his claim or grievance in an orderly way. He can be assured of a fair review, not only by his immediate superiors but, if he is not satisfied, by a properly constituted appeal authority as well. The door is wide open for him and his associates to bring their difficulties, criticisms or suggestions to the attention of the management as a normal, legitimate expression of the employees' interest in the job. We of the Board of Directors, and the supervisory staff welcome this method of facing job problems and dealing with them frankly.

When TVA is discussing major policies, and rules and regulations affecting rates of pay, hours, and working conditions, we invite your local and international representatives to sit in. As an illustration of this, the Personnel Division of TVA, which the Board holds responsible for interpreting and administering its labor policy, held its annual conference three months after the labor policy had been adopted. To this conference were invited the business agents and representatives of your unions who are day after day in touch with their members on the job. This conference threshed out problems which were coming to light in the application and administration of the policy labor had helped management to formulate.

The TVA has met its responsibility, and, in its part of the bargain, labor has met to the fullest its part of the responsibility. Let me cite some instances: When TVA needed more skill-

ed iron workers at Norris Dam and could not find them among the applicants from the immediate area, our personnel division turned immediately to Whitey Rounds, International Representative of the Structural Iron Workers for the Tennessee Valley area. They explained to him the qualifications of the men desired. Knowing the trade and the men who follow that trade as he did, he immediately got into action. Within a week he had located a group of men from which were selected four of the smoothest-operating, most efficient riveting crews that the construction superintendent had ever seen. This same practice has been followed successfully with other groups and is now a normal procedure.

Another illustration of how management and organized labor are working together on the TVA project: The job committee, sometimes called grievance committee, of one of the carpenters' locals noticed that used lumber was not being salvaged as economically as the committee thought it ought to be on one of our construction projects. So it drew up a plan for wrecking concrete forms by using apprentices and laborers which would make it possible to save thousands of feet of lumber. Management might have caught this item before it was too late. Labor saw it first and helped save this material to the Authority. Management welcomes active cooperation of this kind. These carpenters thought of themselves as partners in the enterprise. The local committee made the suggestion because it wanted to save the Authority's money, the taxpayer's money, your money—not to put management "on the spot."

Another illustration: My friend, Dan Tracy, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, became convinced that constructive labor-management cooperation could best be advanced by setting up a system which would deal justly and more promptly with those minor and time-consuming grievances which arise on every job, and eliminate those without merit before they got started. With the help of his co-workers in the I. B. E. W. and after consulting with management, he proposed such a plan, based on the labor policy. It was initiated last summer. It is now functioning. It will tend to clear the way and leave time for the bigger cooperative tasks of labor and management.

These are but a few of many examples that could be cited to show the way in which TVA management and labor are meeting their respective responsibilities in doing a big job. That's why I say that labor is and should be for TVA because TVA is for labor. The effect of this cooperative relationship between management and labor is not

going to be confined to the Tennessee Valley. Everyone knows that if labor and the TVA management can establish that this is the businesslike as well as the humane way of running a big construction and operating job, that will have a profound influence, as an object lesson, in all other sections of the country.

Now, I want to give another reason why labor should be for TVA: BECAUSE TVA IS FOR THE FARMER. Some years ago it might not have been as clear as it is today why labor should support a project because that project was in the interest of farmers. I need not expand on that argument here since the demonstration this country has had of the mutual dependence of labor and farmers during the years of depression and recovery. Labor has learned that when the farmer is flat and "busted," he can't buy the things that you people are producing for industry. And when the millions of farmers are unable to buy the products of industry, then workmen are going to be thrown out of the factories and into the streets. And of course it works the other way too. The farmer has learned through bitter experience that when the workers in industry are out of jobs, they can't buy the things that the farmer raises, and down go the prices of wheat and corn and cotton and beef.

So I am confident that what TVA is doing in cooperation with the farmers' own organizations and institutions in the Valley area, toward a rehabilitation of farm income, is something that keenly concerns labor. If TVA is a constructive force for agriculture, then it is almost equally a constructive force for labor.

What IS TVA doing for agriculture? Obviously there is not time to tell you the details of a program that touches upon the whole problem of making a living on the farm, of saving the soil. Throughout the broad expanse of this Valley area you will find a working program in effect. Only part of this war on soil loss is carried on by the TVA directly. For the most part it depends upon the activity of farmers on their own lands, upon education, and upon example. All the technical resources of the Department of Agriculture and of the land grant colleges have been combined with those of the TVA, and with those of the farmers and their agencies, for a planned attack upon a national problem as important to the part of the country you come from as it is to the Tennessee Valley States.

Labor should be for TVA because of what TVA is doing to make electricity more widely available in the more than 20 million homes of America, available at prices that will make the conve-

nience and comforts of electricity possible in the most modest home.

Every month the heads of more than 20 millions homes in the United States lay down about 58½ millions of dollars for their electric bill—every month. The household bill for electricity in 1935 was \$702,600,000. These homes made an investment in electric appliances of one billion dollars in 1935 alone. Most of these homes are the homes of American workmen. They supply the largest share of this monthly bill of \$58,500,000. They invested the largest part of this \$1,051,000,000 in electric home appliances last year. Invested it out of their savings and paid dollar for dollar. There is no water or wind in that investment.

No wonder American labor is interested in TVA. For TVA is bringing DOWN the rates of electricity and bringing UP the use of electricity all over the country. What we want and what you want is electricity at rates low enough that the average workman's home can enjoy not merely lights and a radio, but all the numerous conveniences which ought to be in every home. We used to be told that it couldn't be done, that it was not financially feasible, that it would bankrupt the companies if electric rates were brought down within the reach of the ordinary home. That argument has disappeared; it has been exploded.

Two things exploded it: One was the discovery by the American people that there was enough money being made in the electricity business to support a whole series of companies piled one on top of another called holding companies. If the business was as profitable as all that, then it was plain that we could do with fewer holding companies and more electricity. And the second thing that exploded the notion that electric rates could not be low were the TVA yardstick electric rates. When the TVA put in its low yardstick rates, the private companies in the region cut their rates drastically, away below the average for the country. These companies at the same time predicted dire disaster and bankruptcy. Instead of that, the use of electricity grew by leaps and bounds, and so did their revenues. Thousands of homes that have never had electricity now enjoy it because rates are low. Hundreds of thousands of homes that heretofore used electricity only sparingly because it was expensive, now use it for many purposes.

In this gathering, particularly, I am sure you are thinking about this as I am, in terms of human beings—what this doubling and trebling of the use of electricity will mean in relieving drudgery, in making life easier and

more comfortable in homes all through the country.

The effect of this demonstration that lower rates are possible has been felt all over the country. The TVA dams and transmission lines are a kind of insurance against another outbreak of holding company abuses, a kind of insurance that electric rates in this country will continue their downward trend so that electricity can become more and more a servant in the average American home.

And finally, labor is for TVA because we both have the same reactionary enemies. Labor can well judge TVA by its enemies.

I don't need to tell a labor audience that any program for the benefit of the great masses of people has bitter and powerful enemies. You know that this project is up against a stiff battle. The forces that tried to grab Muscle Shoals have not abdicated. They are still fighting TVA. The "Big Boys" are opposed to the TVA labor policies, for if TVA succeeds these labor policies may be put into effect elsewhere. As soon as TVA was created the propaganda machine was oiled, and put into high gear, grinding out fiction about TVA, and dishing it out in all kinds of pretty and expensive packages.

When you hear these false statements about TVA, you members of organized labor, I want you to remember that the enemies of TVA are the enemies of labor. They are the very same crowd that have been fighting you all these years—the same reactionary crowd using the same tactics of lies and lawsuits that they have used against you. Our enemies are the same, and to a remarkable extent our friends are the same. Look over the list of men in public life who are fighting labor's battle—President Roosevelt, Senator Norris, Senator La Follette, Senator Wagner—and many, many others, right down the line—and you will find they are the men who are promoting and defending the TVA program.

Labor cannot be neutral. This is the fight of every man in this country who believes that the natural resources of the richest nation in the world should be developed for the benefit of all the people of the country. My friends in the ranks of labor, you have a stake in the success of TVA. This is your fight.

President Green: May I, in your behalf, thank Director Lillenthal for his visit this morning and for the scholarly and inspiring address which he delivered. I know I can extend to him the assurance of the officers and dele-

gates in attendance at this convention that the American Federation of Labor stands as one of the greatest friends of the Tennessee Valley Authority project. Please rely upon our full support and our full cooperation in the development of that great national project. I thank you for coming here. Your address will become a part of the permanent proceedings of this convention of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green

I wish to present to you Delegate Gainor, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, appointed yesterday on a committee to meet our friend, your friend and a friend of all the people, I call him Brother Mead, of Buffalo. I present Vice-President Gainor, who will in turn present the Congressman to you—Vice-President Gainor.

VICE-PRESIDENT GAINOR

Mr. President and fellow delegates: We are honored today by the presence of a distinguished guest who is also a brother, a pal, a sincere friend of long standing. This man's life reads like a romance. Born at Mount Morris, New York, at the age of twelve he began service as a water boy on the Lackawanna Railroad at Buffalo. Advancing steadily, before he reached his majority he became a member of the Switchmen's Union and served with distinction as an officer and a member.

Elected at an early age to the Assembly of New York, he served notably during that period of progressive legislation in writing upon the statute books of the State of New York much progressive legislation. His achievements there led to his election to the Congress of the United States, and now, after nine terms of distinguished services he has been elected again by an unprecedented majority. In the Lower House he has won wide distinction and fame, and we look forward with hopeful anticipation to his soon being called upon to serve in a greater position of leadership.

Throughout it has been his privilege to contribute to progressive legislation and advocacy of timely social advances, and particularly as far as the postal service is concerned. His contribution to the postal welfare has

been of such noteworthy and permanent moment as to make his name loved and revered in a million homes throughout our land. As Chairman of the Post Office Committee, he has done many good things, and now his name and fame are inseparably associated with the enactment of the postal forty-hour week law. It is now in the second year of its operation, and has been an unqualified success. Both on its own account and for the emulation of all industry it records an epochal social advance.

Personally and officially, and on behalf of this committee, representing several groups of trade unions, I have the honor to present to this convention Honorable James M. Mead.

HONORABLE JAMES M. MEAD

Mr. Gainor, President Green, distinguished visitors, delegates to the convention, and friends: I assure you that it is indeed refreshing for one who has enjoyed, or endured, a political campaign, enjoyed by its happy termination, perhaps would be a better word, to come down here into this hospitable center of the South and to spend a few days taking even an inactive part in the deliberations of this convention.

The change is not only interesting, but it is most refreshing. When President Gainor referred to the fact that we recently emerged from a political campaign, some of the predictions made early and late in that contest came to my mind. But the thought uppermost in my mind, when I think of the campaign from this end of those struggles, is the splendid example America sets for the world, because when we fight the world knows that we are engaged in a real contest, and when that fight is over, in characteristic American style, that fight is settled and the victor and the vanquished go forth unitedly to build up this great Republic of ours.

In sobering the influences of those who might be over-enthusiastic, the press and the humorist and the philosopher take a great part. I know when in the more difficult and trying days of political avalanches that went in the other direction, those of us who were in the minority group had to take it on the chin with a smile—and that we did it in that characteristic American way. And that we forgot the campaign and the losses, and even the names of those who ran for office against our cause.

But in this campaign the humorist is playing his full part and helping the American people who were engaged on the other side of the conflict to forget

it and start anew. I recall some of the funniest incidents of the late campaign, which shows the spirit of sportsmanship of the American people. I refer to the predictions made by the managers of the great political parties. If you will read tonight what they said a few weeks ago you will probably be able to see the humor connected with those statements.

But recall with me what Jim Farley said when, in the parlance of a letter carrier—like perhaps Ed Gainor would say—"The campaign is all over, we have it in the bag." And then he said, "I claim every state in the Union," but of course at that time Jim didn't know that as Maine goes so goes Vermont.

And even funnier was the contribution made by Mr. Hamilton, a young, forceful, aggressive leader of the opposition. When he said before the election, "The trend toward Landon is unbelievable"—and really it was. But the greatest contribution was made by Bill Lemke when he said, "I'll throw this election into the House." But he didn't explain what house.

I attended my first convention as a member of Congress at Buffalo, at the outset of the World War, when two great leaders addressed that gathering, the distinguished predecessor of your splendid President, the late lamented Samuel Gompers and the great chieftain of our Republic, the late lamented Woodrow Wilson. I remember the stirring messages they delivered in the opening sessions of the convention, and recalling the development that has taken place in this country of ours, and in this world of ours, changes in its social, political, and economic nature, we marvel at the progress that we have attained, of the mighty contributions to our social and humanitarian advancement. We marvel at the inventive genius of men that in this score of years has redoubled the output of the American factory; the giant contributions made by the wireless and radio and all the other uncanny developments which have written a great chapter in the progress of mankind. But with it all, perhaps too much thought and attention has been given either to the problem of production and too little thought and too little attention to the problem of consumption.

In the midst of this great era, when machine productivity reached its zenith, instead of bringing blessings to the world, it impoverished twenty-five millions of our people. In reviewing the political history of the world since 1917 until today, we find that thirty-five major radical political changes

have been made in the nations of the world. Check with me the capital of every industrial country of the world and you will find that the machine age in which we live and the great economic upheaval associated with that development, has caused unrest and civil strife, revolt, and open revolution. You have witnessed with me the abdication of the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns and others, and you have witnessed with me the coming of the Nazi, the Fascist, and the Communist forms of government. You have seen these changes take place as the world struggles to solve the tremendous problems associated with the machine age in which we live.

We see the coming of rightist and of extreme leftist divisions. In analyzing these changes from the standpoint of labor we recognize the fact that whether it is Fascism or Nazism, labor lost. In England and America, the last bulwarks of democratic government, there remain alone the traditional privileges and liberties that labor has long enjoyed. In these parliamentary nations labor still enjoys the instrumentalities which give to us the right of expression, which grants to labor the right to consolidate their power and responsibility through untrammelled democratic procedure.

Only in Washington and London can there be found rest from the rapacious rush of oppressive government, and only in those two countries is there opportunity for the friends of labor to make their mighty contribution to the solution of this vexing world problem. When another age comes the example we gave to the world in 1789, when we loosed the shackles from the slaves of that period, and caused kings to abdicate their thrones, and gave the benefit of citizenship to countries that copied after our form of government there will be another coming of popular governments, because in these parliamentary governments we have preserved the agencies for solving the economic riddle. We have given to our people a better measure of economic security, and saved those traditions of liberty for which the human heart in every section of the world clamors.

And so, my friends, recognizing the changes, political, economic, and social, that have taken place in this world of ours since that convention in Buffalo twenty years ago, and realizing the importance of our form of government to the forces of labor, to those interested in the expansion of the right of men to organize and bargain collectively, realizing that in the parliamentary systems of government such as ours, religion has its finest oppor-

tunity of expansion and political organization is given every opportunity to voice the will and sentiment of the masses of the people, we are proud of our country and of the example it sets to the world. We have a great stake in this economic question and its solution by America in an American way. Aided by the American labor movement, it will not only bring added privileges to the masses of our people in America, but will spread the blessings of democratic government throughout the industrial world and bring back the rich privileges they formerly enjoyed by copying the form of government laid down by our founding fathers.

My friends, we must make our contribution to the world. We must, in the solution of this economic question, solve it in an American way, solve it by maintaining our democratic philosophy, our parliamentary system, solve it by retaining private enterprise under Government regulation, solve it by making labor free, and under the power and authority of government identifying the workers in every line in democratic unions which truly represent them, and bring to them the fruits of their labor. This American plan of 1936 must influence the world today as did the plan of 1776. We must continue the progress we have already made, because we lead the world in a solution of its economic difficulties. We must hold our gains on every front and consolidate them, and then go on to further and better achievement.

We must stop the exploitation of our children everywhere by local ordinance, state law or constitutional amendment if it is necessary, and it is. We must protect and preserve American womanhood from the strain of the machines on which she is forced to labor. We must dignify American manhood by a Government that will insist that he not only have the right to organize, but that that privilege be accorded to him without interference or coercion. We must reduce the hours and increase the wages of the toilers in order that they may enjoy the benefits of the machines with which they labor. We must clean up our slums and give the American people a healthier and better place in which to live. We must assure our widows and orphans and our aged that they will be cared for and taken from competition for jobs. We must master the machine or we are building a Frankenstein that will control us.

We must give the world an American system of Government that will exceed and excel all the governments of the dictators and despots of the Old

World. And a crying need in this fight is what a great philosopher once said, the necessity to stop war. We need a moral equivalent for the nationalistic and the patriotic spirit that is manifested only in war. We must in this fight to rid America of the evils that have denied our workers the privileges they should enjoy, raise it to the dignity of a crusade. We must continue this battle for a better life. I exhort you, the militant organization that must lead in this fight, to join with that militant leader that guides the destiny of our nation and who will, by reason of the mandate of the American people, govern it again for the next four years. I ask you to lead in that fight as you have in the past. Send forth your legions everywhere. Utilize every effective force within your organization. Make this the greatest fight since America became free. Let your goal, whether we must veer to the right or to the left, be to make this a happier country.

Secure to our people religious and political liberty for all time, and with it secure for them economic liberty. Let us never retreat in the aggressive policies of this great organization. May the symbol of the American Federation of Labor and the flag of this, the greatest Republic in the world, be the inspiring symbols that will lead our people on to victory. When victory is ours, victory will also be a victory for the oppressed people in every industrial nation of the world. Carry on until America, through your efforts, basks in the sunshine of a better economic day. I thank you.

President Green: Congressman Meade has brought to us a most inspiring message. As he spoke to us this morning, he speaks for you in the halls of Congress when labor measures are pending. He has never failed us; like the Rock of Gibraltar he has stood immovable in defense of legislative measures sponsored by and approved by the American Federation of Labor. Congressman Meade occupies a very large place in the hearts and in the affections of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. We are glad, we are happy, because of the recent election in the city of Buffalo, notwithstanding the fact that he was opposed by those who claim to represent the liberal, progressive thought of the nation, the constituents of Congressman Meade and our friends

in Buffalo re-elected him to Congress by a triumphant majority. He will be there in the next session, his voice ringing out as it did this morning in defense and in behalf of labor. In your name I thank the Congressman for his visit this morning and for the inspiring address he has delivered. We ask him to remain as long as he can as the guest of the American Federation of Labor.

The Chair wishes to announce that the Secretary of Labor will attend and address the convention of the American Federation of Labor tomorrow at 11 o'clock. Please bear that in mind. A cordial invitation is extended to the people of this city who may find it possible to be present to be in attendance at the convention tomorrow for the purpose of listening to the address of the Secretary of Labor. I might add to that this information: That this great convention of the American Federation of Labor is open to the public. Our conventions, figuratively speaking, are goldfish bowls. There is nothing considered as exclusive, it is an open forum, the public is invited, we ask them to sit in during our sessions, and particularly tomorrow.

I will appoint as a committee to meet, greet, and escort the distinguished Secretary of Labor when she arrives in the city, Vice President Harrison, Vice President Tobin, and President Berry, of the Printing Pressmen. I ask them to meet and escort the Secretary of Labor to the convention tomorrow.

It now seems appropriate that we should carry out the very sentimental custom which we have always observed in conventions of the American Federation of Labor, to call the roll of our departed brothers and sisters during the past year and to pay to them our deserving tribute of respect. So for the moment may I ask you to resolve this convention into a brief memorial service for the purpose of paying our tribute of respect

to our departed brothers and sisters during the past year.

I have here the names of those who are gone, who passed away during the past year, as they were reported to the office of the American Federation of Labor. I know I have not the names of all included in this list. The Secretary will call a roll of the names, then those of you who are here and know of other distinguished representatives of labor who passed away and whose names are not recorded in this list, I ask you to rise and announce the names. The names of these departed brothers and sisters will appear in the permanent proceedings of the American Federation of Labor. We will pay to them our tribute of respect and affection. Secretary Morrison will call the roll of the names of those who passed away during the past year, and you will be privileged to add to them the names of any who are not included in the list by Secretary Morrison.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

LIST OF LABOR OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR DECEASED SINCE THE 1935 CONVENTION, WITH DATE OF DEATH 1935-1936.

HENRY KOCH, Financial Secretary, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union. Died, December 28, 1935.

SAM SQUIBB, President, Granite Cutters' International Association of America. Died, December 23, 1935.

T. V. O'CONNOR, Former President, International Longshoremen's Association. Died, October, 1935.

FRANK KEANE, Former Secretary, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada. Died, December 29, 1935.

WILLIAM J. MURPHY, General Organizer, American Federation of Labor, Bloomfield, New Jersey. Died, March 2, 1936.

BEN I. DAVIS, Editor, "Amalgamated Journal," Dormont, Pa. Died, March 23, 1936.

- J. C. SHANESSY**, President Journeymen Barbers' International Union, Indianapolis, Indiana. Died, April 6, 1936.
- WILLIAM M. COLLINS**, President, Railway Mail Association, Chevy Chase, Maryland. Died, May 5, 1936.
- W. T. ALLEN**, Member of Executive Board, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Died, June 7, 1936.
- JOHN J. SCANNELL**, Former Secretary, Michigan State Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan.
- L. H. ROUSE**, President, "Big 6," International Typographical Union, Jersey City, New Jersey. Died, July 7, 1936.
- CHARLES F. SCOTT**, Secretary, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America. Died, August 20, 1936.
- JACOB FISCHER**, Former Vice-President, American Federation of Labor, Indianapolis, Indiana. Died, August 24, 1936.
- CHARLES F. HOHMANN**, Financial Secretary, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, Chicago, Ill. Died October 1, 1936.
- JAMES O'CONNELL**, President, Metal Trades Department, Washington, D. C. Died, October 30, 1936.
- WILLIAM B. MAHONEY**, Special Organizer, American Federation of Labor, Staten Island, New York. Died, November 6, 1936.
- MICHAEL J. KELLY**, 1st. Vice-President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. Died, August 4, 1936.
- ERNEST BOHM**, Formerly Organizer for the Brewery Workers and in recent years President of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Organization of New York City.
- MRS. L. GEE**, Secretary, United Garment Workers of America, Local 228 of Portland, Oregon. Died, October, 1936.
- E. A. COMPTON**, General Chairman, O. R. T., Denver & Rio Grande Railway, Denver, Colorado. Died, May 26, 1936.
- CHAS. W. MURPHY**, General Chairman of the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad since 1918. A member of the Brotherhood for 22 years. Age 62. Died, July 24, 1936.
- L. L. BRIDDELL**, General Chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, on the Alton Railroad since 1928. A member of the Brotherhood for 18 years. Age 40.
- MISS KITTY DONNELLY**, Cleveland, Ohio, former Vice-President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International League of America. Died, November, 1935.
- JAS. F. McGRATH**, Many years General Chairman of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway for the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, and at the time of his death, was Vice Chairman of the Baltimore & Ohio System. Died, November 11, 1936.
- EDWIN L. HITCHENS**, Cincinnati, Ohio, Member of the International Typographical Union for 50 years. Age 76. Died, December 28, 1935.
- T. J. CREAGER**, Springfield, Ohio, Charter member of the Typographical Union of Springfield, Ohio, since 1882. Age 74.
- C. W. FARRINGTON**, Past President of the Nevada State Federation of Labor 32 years. Member of Carpenter Local 971, Reno, Nevada.
- W. A. BURNS**, Past President of the Nevada State Federation of Labor. Member Federal Union 17614.
- W. W. CORDELL**, Second Vice-President of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union. Died, September 3, 1936.

President Green: I wish to announce the death of one who attended practically every convention of the American Federation of Labor during its entire history, except perhaps one. She passed away during this year. Many of those who attend conventions of the American Federation of Labor regarded her as almost the mother of the organization. She was a devoted friend of the American Federation of Labor. During a large part of her life she was active in behalf of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I refer to the death of Mrs. John Morrison, who passed away during the year 1936. She was a regular attendant of the American Federation of Labor conventions, and was, in a very large way, the mother of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: And now, having read the list of names, I ask that we observe our beautiful custom of all standing silently for a minute while we pay a silent tribute to our departed friends.

(Everybody present arose and re-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

mained standing in silence for one minute.)

President Green: Delegates are requested to patronize those places of business where official cards are exhibited. There is a picture of the Gompers' Memorial and pictures of some of the officers on the cards.

Vice-President Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: A number of restaurants in town have these cards exhibited who do not have any union help.

At 12:15 o'clock the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Second Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees — Adcock, Alter, Bender, Burke (M. J.), Breidenbach, Cahill, Cahir, Carle, Christman, Coleman (A. N. Jr.), Davis (Jerome), Dobbs, Duldmer, Durkin, Evans (A. A.), Finnegan, Foley (Edward M.), Forbes, Gatelee, German, Gibson, Glasgow, Graham, Hansen, Harrison (J. W.), Haywood, Hefferly, Hill, Holt, Hudak, Hudson, Hunter, Irwin, Johnson (C. W.), Jones (John T.), Jenkins, Kane (J. C.), Keegan, Kindred, Klarish, Knopka, Kuenzli, Kirby, Lesse, Majors, Maney, Mayeur, Merritt, Minton, Moulin, Mundell, McCain (U. S.), Nischwitz, O'Neill, Owens, Patten (Simon Van), Powers (Geo.), Price, Prior, Reed (Geo.), Reznicek, Rosqvist, Saltus, Scherr, Schreier, Sexton, Shave, Stoffels, Tracy (Wm.), Turnblazer, Will, Williams (Clemon), Williamson, Zaritsky.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Davis, on behalf of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommends the seating of the following:

Indiana, Pa., Central Labor Union—Darrell (Eddie) Sams, 1 vote.

The Committee recommends the seating of Mabel Melvin in place of Arnold Streck, to represent the Wausau, Wis., Central Labor Union, as previously recommended, Miss Melvin being the alternate for the original delegate, who is ill.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Miss Susan Jenkins, who is here this afternoon, represents the Consumers' Union of the United States. It was my privilege to meet Miss Jenkins a year ago or more when she was connected with a strike at a plant in New Jersey. She showed a fine spirit on that occasion. Those who knew her held her in high admiration. She is connected with this organization and I have accorded her the opportunity of telling something about it. She is thoroughly compe-

tent and capable of doing so. I am pleased to present to you Miss Susan Jenkins, representing the Consumers' Union of the United States.

MISS SUSAN JENKINS (Consumers' Union of the United States)

Mr. Chairman, delegates to the fifty-sixth American Federation of Labor convention—I am sorry that I have not been able to place on the tables a copy of the Consumers' Union reports. I arrived too late to do that. However, tomorrow morning there will be samples of the Consumers' Union reports on the tables, so all those delegates who are interested can examine it.

It has been gratifying to read in the newspapers of the last few days how the great American corporations are distributing millions of dollars to their employees in the form of wage increases and bonuses. When it comes to paying a Federal tax on surplus profits and finding an answer to the demands of a vigorously awakened labor movement, there is nothing so close to the heart of the corporation director as the welfare of his working people.

The newspapers have given plenty of space to this fine demonstration of what we might call, "Be Kind to Employees Week." But there is another story that somehow never gets into the papers. That story would tell how the great corporations, while distributing a \$25 Christmas bonus with the right hand, reach out with their left hand to take several times that amount from every worker's family by the simple method of selling inferior goods for exorbitant prices.

Everyone in this audience knows that it is almost impossible for the ordinary buyer to get shoes and stockings, razor blades and laundry soap, automobile tires and mechanical refrigerators, of satisfactory quality for a fair price. You have all been stuck not once but many times with inferior goods for which you paid good money.

The corporations that sell you merchandise don't get stuck in their own buying. Whether it is raw materials or truck tires that they purchase, they buy according to carefully prepared specifications, or on the basis of accurately charted performance. They get one dollar's worth of goods for every dollar that they spend because they buy on the basis of technical in-

formation. They don't buy Zerone anti-freeze for company cars because a beautiful advertisement in Collier's Magazine says, "Even at 215 degrees below . . . Zerone protects." They select their anti-freeze on the recommendation of a competent laboratory, and you can be sure that they don't pay anywhere near \$1 a gallon, too.

I speak today for Consumers' Union of United States, an organization of working people and consumers that is working 12 months of the year to give the average American a bonus. We don't pay anyone a bonus directly. Our members collect the bonus for themselves by using our technical information in order to get the best value for the money they spend every week, every day. We give our members all of the facts—we rate all kinds of products by their brand names. We told our members why the 1936 Plymouth and Ford were better buys than the Chevrolet; why a Norge refrigerator is a better buy than a Westinghouse.

Of course we don't say that our method is original, but we do say that we are the only organization of our kind in the field today. Quite frankly, we are using the same technique for our laboratory reports that is employed by the large corporations and the United States government. We ignore the advertisements, and go to the laboratory or to expert consultants for the facts.

In addition to telling our members exactly which brands are Best Buys, which brands are Also Acceptable, and which are Not Acceptable, we go one step further. And we consider it an important step. So far as possible, we tell which products are union-made, and which are made by strike-breaking, union-hating employers. Many leaders of organized labor have helped us in this part of our work. We were encouraged to read in the Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators an article on Consumers Union that stated, "Organized labor, carrying on its long, incessant campaign for the union label, should get up on its hind legs and cheer for the first consumers' organization that shows a clear comprehension that workers are consumers and most consumers are workers."

We don't ask you to stand up and cheer. But we do ask for even more help from the international unions and from local unions in collecting facts on labor conditions. Please don't wait for us to write to all of you for information—send us your black lists and your white lists. Give us factual evidence, and tell us the brand names of the products involved. We'll publish the information for the guidance of nearly 20,000 American

families. Our address is 55 Vandam Street, New York City.

I have occasionally heard of wives of trade unionists who do not always buy-union-made goods. I am sure that these instances are rare, but it is a well known fact that women sometimes forget trade union principles when they fight their way up to the bargain counter. My suggestion is this: A word to the wives should be sufficient. Let them know that Consumers' Union has tested many brands of silk stockings—to mention only one product that women buy—and found that some union-made stockings are much better values than the scab brands on the bargain counter. When women all over the nation buy union-made goods regularly, half of the men's battle for higher wages and decent working conditions will be won.

I hope that the day will come when the newspapers will organize a "Stop Gypping the Consumer Week." Unfortunately, the hope is a distant one, since the very manufacturers who are most successfully gypping the consumer are the ones who spend the largest sums for newspaper advertising. Meanwhile, Consumers' Union is fighting this fight for the wage earner; and with the wage earner's help, we'll make a substantial weekly bonus possible for all employees.

President Green: We all appreciate this address delivered by Miss Jenkins. We are glad to welcome her here and we know that you have all been benefited by the information she has given you. Her address will appear in the printed proceedings of today's convention.

The Chair desires to submit for incorporation in the record of today's proceedings the report of the fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the sixty-eighth annual convention of the British Trades Union Congress. This report is submitted by Brothers William J. McSorley and Edward J. Canavan, who attended the British Trades Union Congress held at Plymouth, England, last September:

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Report of Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress

To the Members of the
Executive Council:
Greetings:

We, your fraternal delegates, selected to represent the American Federation of Labor at the 68th Annual Sessions of the British Trades Union Congress, beg leave to submit the following report.

The 68th Annual Congress was called to order by Mr. A. H. Flindlay, President, on Monday, September 7th, 1936, at 10:00 A. M., in the Guildhall at Plymouth, England.

Your delegates were introduced at the opening of the Congress sessions and attended all subsequent sessions until the close of the Congress.

Addresses of welcome were made to the Congress by Mr. H. M. Medland, Lord Mayor of Plymouth, who welcomed the delegates on behalf of the people of Plymouth; Mr. E. V. Waterling, President of the Plymouth District Trades Council, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the trades unionists of Plymouth and vicinity. To both of these addresses, the President of the Congress, Mr. A. H. Flindlay, responded on behalf of the delegates to the Congress.

The report of the Secretary of the Congress showed that there were 601 delegates in attendance, representing 214 unions from 17 trade bodies, with a total membership of 3,614,551.

There were fraternal delegates invited to address the Congress from the following organizations:

The Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, M. P., British Labour Party;

Mr. John R. Toms, from the Co-Operative Union;

Mr. H. Jacobsen, from the International Federation of Trade Unions;

Mr. Fred Molineux, of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada;

Mr. Edward Canavan, and

Mr. William J. McSorley, of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the General Council was submitted to the Congress, and was contained in a printed volume covering more than 200 pages of closely printed material touching upon every conceivable subject affecting the lives of the trade unionists of Great Britain as well as the general public at large.

The General Council of the British Trades Union Congress consists of 32 members, selected from 17 trade groups, each represented by from one to three members. This Council acts in the same capacity as the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and prepares the agenda, with recommendations to be submitted to the Congress each year.

This Council also appoints the President of the Congress each year

as well as selecting the city wherein the Congresses shall be held.

The agenda prepared for the 68th Annual Congress contained 59 resolutions touching upon approximately the same number of subjects.

One of the important subjects given consideration by the Congress was the application for membership by the Communist Party for affiliation with the British Trades Union Congress. This attempt upon the part of the Communist Party to align itself with the trade union movement of Great Britain was commonly termed the "popular front" movement. This attempt to affiliate the Communist Party with the British Trades Union Congress was defeated by an overwhelming majority by the delegates to the Congress. Among other things, the General Council reported upon this subject, and I am herewith quoting a part of their report to the Congress:

"Communist Tactics: Old and New

"After all these years of subsidized effort to convert British Labour to Communist belief, the membership of the Communist Party in this country was reported to the Communist International in 1935 as being about 7,000.

"It is this abject failure to secure a substantial membership that has dictated the more subtle tactic of the 'United Front.'

"This insidious method has been promoted in almost countless ways, as suggestion after suggestion, direction after direction, plan after plan, have emanated from the Communist International.

"In its earliest phase the National Unemployed Workers' Committee was used to exploit the most helpless section of the Labour Movement as a force for antagonism, dissent and disruption.

"This was followed by the creation of the National Minority Movement, whose avowed object was to organize dissent among the membership of the trade unions, and to capture positions of influence from which to further Communist propaganda in the Industrial Movement.

"This was no British conception. It was inspired and conducted from Moscow under the instruction and direction of the Red International of Trade Unions, as a part of a world plan uniformly applied without regard to varying conditions. For a time the plan worked. Then the British trade unions, alive to the disruption caused within their ranks and to the menace to industrial solidarity, exposed the machinations of the Minority Movement, whose influence rapidly declined. Failure in this direction, too, was confessed by the British Communists at

Moscow last year. It was essential that new tactics should be adopted.

"The new tactics provide that the entire Communist membership within a given industry must be mobilized in a Communist fraction, in factory cells, and in trade union branch Groups. All these are to be in contact as individuals with Communist Group leadership—locally, regionally, and nationally—so that in every phase of Communist activity in the trade unions central responsibility for leadership will be determined by the leading organs of the Communist Party.

"This new militant process, like the 'Minority Movement,' is obviously designed to achieve the same disruptive Communist ends.

"Trade unions cannot enter into collective bargaining without accepting responsibility in carrying out their agreements. On numerous occasions, however, the Executives of unions have been faced with unofficial strikes, deliberately fomented by Communists and directed not so much against the employers as against executive authority and the unions themselves. When the mischief has been done and men have been victimized, the Communists have promptly deserted them, leaving the trade unions to deal with the difficult situation created by their pernicious intervention in union affairs."

The Congress went on record, by an overwhelming majority, in favor of establishing of a universal forty-hour week, and instructed all affiliated organizations to begin, as soon as possible to bring about the realization of this progressive step.

The Congress went on record as regretting the action of the representatives of the British employers at the Geneva Conference of the I. L. O. in refusing to approve the forty-hour week universally. Upon this question, the President of the Congress, had the following to say in his annual report:

"THE FORTY-HOUR WEEK

"Conditions of life among the wage-earners are such that they feel themselves cheated of the benefits obtainable from the progress of human knowledge and the achievements of science and invention. Instead of enriching human life and widening the boundaries of human freedom, every development in industrial organisation, in technique and mechanical equipment, have intensified the workers' servitude. Hours of labour, which could have been materially reduced if the technological changes, promoted by science and invention were not turned simply to the profit of those who control industry, remain practically unaltered. The movement towards the forty-hour week is practically at a standstill. At the International Labour Conference in June this year at Geneva,

representatives of employers, with the support of several Governments including, I am ashamed to say our own, maintained their successful obstruction. They were able to prevent the adoption of draft conventions on the forty-hour week in four of the five industries to which it was sought to apply the standard. Only for one body of workers was the forty-hour convention obtained and that, significantly, was for those engaged on public works, or on building or civil engineering works financed or subsidised by Governments. Objections were also raised by employers' representatives, but unsuccessfully, I am glad to say, to the convention providing for holidays with pay."

The Congress also went on record by adopting a resolution petitioning the British Government to use its influence in order to protect the rights and the interests of the Jewish emigrants in Palestine.

Much consideration was given by the delegates to the Congress to the international situation existing in Europe, especially as it applies to the turbulent conditions and the attempts at the complete destruction of the trade union movement in Germany, Italy, Austria and Spain. Upon this subject the General Council reported in part that:

"There has been no slackening in the persecution carried on by the Nazi and Fascist Governments. Many of our former Trade Unionists and Socialist comrades are still languishing in concentration camps and prisons. During the past year mass arrests were made in Germany. Torture was employed in order to obtain confession. In the beginning of this year public opinion was stirred by the news of the mass trial of several hundreds of workers in Wuppertal, in Germany. A public protest was made and as much publicity given to the trial as was possible in the Press of our own and other countries. In Austria, influence used through diplomatic channels brought some alleviation in the lot of certain prisoners. The National Council of Labour sent Mr. Philip Price, M.P., to Vienna in order that his presence in the Courts during one of the trials might symbolise the British workers' anger at the policy of tyranny and oppression which the Austrian authorities were pursuing.

"After Austria, came the revolt of the Spanish workers, which, especially in the Asturias, unfortunately caused the death of many men and women. From the International Solidarity Fund, help was extended and assistance was given from such International Trade Secretariats as the Miners' International. The General Council sent appeals to the Spanish Government and President. In this

way Trade Unionists were saved from the death penalty, which the first fury of the reaction had brought upon them."

Upon this same subject the General Council reported that they had been able to assist many refugees to other countries, the United States, South Africa and South America, where these refugees were able to find employment. The Council further reported upon this subject that they had expended on behalf of the International Solidarity Fund the sum of approximately \$500,000, for the relief of these trade union refugees.

The Congress gave consideration to the lengthy report submitted by the General Council dealing with the advisability of extending the power and influence of the International Trade Union Movement to embrace all countries of the world, to the end that the trade union movement of the world will have a better opportunity to observe and take part in all questions affecting their future.

Your delegates were pleased to note on all sides the indications of industrial recovery in Great Britain, and we think it would be well to herewith quote that part of the address of the President to the Congress regarding this subject:

"Economic Recovery

"From the economic standpoint the outlook is brighter today than it was when we met a year ago. Unemployment has decreased. There are approximately half-a-million more insured workpeople in employment now than were at work last year. But the number of unemployed workers is still very large. According to the latest official figures available the total on the registers of the Employment Exchanges is over 1,652,000, and a very large proportion of them have been workless for twelve months or more. Industrial production has increased. There has been a considerable recovery in British exports. A marked improvement is also visible in retail trade. The upward trend in economic conditions is reflected in the very substantial increase of Trade Union membership your General Council is able to report this year, and in the upward movement of wages in which many Unions have participated."

Your delegates were impressed with the large volume of business transacted in the five-day sessions of the Congress.

Your delegates were extended every kindness, consideration, and courtesy by the officers and members of the British Trades Union Congress during our stay at the sessions of the Congress.

Both of your delegates fully and deeply appreciate the honor conferred upon us by the American Federation of Labor in selecting us to represent this body at the 68th Annual Sessions of the British Trades Union Congress.

Fraternally and respectfully submitted,

EDWARD J. CANAVAN
WILLIAM J. MCSORLEY

Presentation of Fraternal Delegates

President Green: I am pleased to advise the officers, delegates, and visitors in attendance at the convention of the arrival of one of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and his good wife. Brother George Gibson, fraternal delegate, from England, is here. He is associated with the Mental Hospital and Institutional Workers' Union of Manchester, England. I want you to know him and Mrs. Gibson, so that when you meet them at the hotel or on the streets, or at the convention, you will know that they come to us from far across the sea to convey to you the fraternal greetings of the workers of Great Britain.

I present to you Brother Gibson, so that you may become acquainted with him.

Of course he brought his "watch" with him, so that he would be safe here in America, and particularly in Tampa, Florida. I present to you Mrs. Gibson.

Then we have the fraternal delegate and his wife from the Dominion of Canada, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. I present them to you so that you may know them—Brother George R. Brunet, of Montreal, Canada, and Mrs. Brunet, who is accompanying him here as a guest at this convention.

Later on, perhaps tomorrow, the associate of Brother Gibson from the British Trades Union Congress will arrive and I will be glad to present him when he reaches Tampa.

At some later date during the sessions of this convention the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian

Trades and Labor Congress will extend to you the fraternal greetings of those they have the honor to represent.

In connection with that matter I wish to announce the appointment of a Good Will Committee. I announce as the members of that committee Brother Adam Adamski, of the United Garment Workers' Union, and Brother Frank Welkel, representing the Bookkeepers and Stenographers' Union of Washington, D. C.

It does not appear that any of the convention committees are ready to report. Because of that fact, it seems that the business of the convention for today is completed. We will now have to await the reports of the different committees.

In that connection may I again announce that the time limit for the introduction of resolutions will expire at midnight tonight. Those of you who have resolutions to be introduced in this convention will please present them to Secretary Morrison between now and midnight.

Announcements

Delegate Woodmansee, Springfield Federation of Labor:

The adjourned meeting of the Labor Press will be held tonight at 8:00 o'clock at the Tampa Terrace Hotel. Some of the members could not attend last night on account of previous engagements. This will be the final meeting of the Labor Press.

Secretary Morrison: I am requested to announce that there will be a meeting of the delegates representing all Central Labor Unions and Trades and Labor Councils immediately following the afternoon session, on the right hand side of the hall from the main entrance.

Additions to Committees

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of Mrs. Allie B. Mann, of the American Federation of Teachers, as a member of the Committee on Education; also the appointment of Brother Michael J.

Colleran, of the Plasterers' International Association, as a member of the Committee on Resolutions.

Prevailing Wage For Engineering Employees on PWA Projects

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Previous Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have recorded themselves as favoring the payment of prevailing rate of wages to all employees; and,

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States in enacting the National Industrial Recovery Act on June 16th, 1933, established the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, and provided for the payment of the prevailing rate of wages to be paid to all employees; and,

WHEREAS, Pursuant to this act of Congress, the Administrator of Public Works, the Hon. Harold D. Ickes, issued regulations providing that the payment of the prevailing rate of wages for services rendered be made to professional and semi-professional employees, and defined such terms to include technical engineers, architects, and draftsmen; and

WHEREAS, After the date of promulgation and taking effect of such regulations including engineering employees, the Government of the United States and the City of New York acting through their respective agents, the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works and the Bd. of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City entered into a Loan and Grant Agreement whereby the Federal Gov't loans the City of New York 70 percent, and makes an outright grant of 30 percent of a total of approximately (\$25,000,000) Twenty-five Million Dollars, for the completion of portions of the City-Owned Independent Subway System known as PWA Project N. Y. 2741, a self-supporting project; and

WHEREAS, The City of New York employs their technical engineers architects, and draftsmen on this project and pays their salaries out of funds provided by the PWA Administration pursuant to the Loan and Grant Agreement N. Y. 2741 dated May 17th, 1934, and amended in 1935 to provide moneys with which to legalize payments of salaries of the technical staff; and

WHEREAS, The City of New York fails to pay the prevailing rate of wages, and fails to pay the minimum

equivalent rate of \$1.20 per hour; and actually on this project reduced the salaries of their engineering employees in amounts equivalent to reductions of twenty to forty (20-40 percent) percent, so that at present these salaries are even below the equivalent hourly, and accumulated yearly salaries paid to technical men on Works Progress Administration Relief Projects; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as unalterably opposed to the use of Federal Funds for payment of wages of employees as improper where such payments do not conform to the laws of Congress and the regulations issued pursuant thereto governing the use of Federal Funds; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the President of the United States and the Administrator of the Public Works Administration to direct full enforcement of the regulations regarding wages of engineering employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to President Roosevelt, Administrator Ickes, Senators Wagner and Copeland of New York, and Mayor LaGuardia and Controller Taylor of New York City with the request that they co-operate in seeing that the engineering employees on PWA Project N. Y. 2741 receive the prevailing rate of wages for services rendered and to be rendered in accordance with the mandates of Congress, and as more fully detailed in claim previously filed with the Public Works Administration.

Introduced by International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions at request of Local 65, New York City, whose members are employed on PWA Project N. Y. 2741.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Naval Construction Plans to Be Prepared by the Drafting Personnel of the Navy Department

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Naval defense of the United States requires that Commissioned Officers of the Navy should be competent to design as well as command all types of Naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, Much of the designing of Naval vessels has been done by private Naval construction designers and private corporations; and

WHEREAS, The Building of certain

cruisers was delayed more than a year because of the failure of private corporations to prepare the plans provided for in their contracts with the Navy Department; and

WHEREAS, It is not advisable that the responsibility for preparing Naval construction designs should be left in the hands of private designers and shipbuilding corporations; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor request the President of the United States and the Navy Department to establish within the Navy Department a staff of Commissioned officers of the Navy competent as designers, so that the Navy Department will depend upon its own designing and construction officers instead of private interests; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all Naval construction plans in the future be prepared by the drafting personnel of the Navy Department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Food and Drugs Act

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-fourth Annual Convention, assembled in San Francisco October 1, 1934, unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing Senate Bill 1944, the proposed revision of the Federal Food and Drugs Act then pending in Congress;

WHEREAS, The type of exploitation represented by abuses in the food, drug and cosmetic industries are particularly burdensome to American labor;

WHEREAS, The public is now inadequately protected against such abuses under the existing Federal statute;

WHEREAS, Protecting the consumer's health and pocketbook is of special importance to the millions of workers whose purchasing power is depended upon to furnish the profits to industries producing dangerous and fraudulent products;

WHEREAS, The lobbyists for commercial interests have thus far prevented the enactment of this much needed legislation; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor devote every effort to securing the early enactment of a new food, drug and cosmetic act, provided that such legislation in no way restricts the Government's power to seize and remove from the market any deceptive or dangerous products; provided further that it does not hamper the adjudication of such seizures by requiring their trial in jurisdictions

prejudicial to the consumer's interest; and provided further that such legislation grant to the Department of Agriculture full punitive power to regulate food, drug and cosmetic advertising; and be it further

RESOLVED, That labor's representatives in Congress be instructed to support such legislation with said provisions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Hon. Sam Rayburn, Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and to the Hon. Virgil Chapman, sponsor of said legislation in the House of Representatives, and to the Hon. Royal S. Copeland, its sponsor in the Senate.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Requesting Reduction in Per Capita Tax For Nurses and Hospital Professionals

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals, No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The low salaries of nurses and other hospital professionals has resulted in very great hardship in the payment of the present required union dues; and

WHEREAS, The majority of hospital professionals are unorganized; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reduce the per capita tax of thirty-five cents per month to Federal Locals in order that said Locals will be enabled to reduce their dues from the required minimum of one dollar per month which will aid in the organization of this group of professional workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the reduction of per capita tax be considered at the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Urging Amendment of Social Security Act to Include Employees of Non-Profit Institutions

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals, No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The benefits accruing to employees from the present Social Security Act are denied to employees of charitable, religious and non-profit institutions who receive low wages and in particular to the nurses and other

hospital workers who perform tasks injurious to health; and

WHEREAS, This group is in need of old-age and unemployment benefit, so, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Title 2, Title 8, Title 9 and all other Titles of the Social Security Act which excludes by definition of "employment" all employees of non-profit institutions be amended to include employees of non-profit institutions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor supports and approves this amendment to the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

CIO

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals, No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The nurses and other hospital professionals of the Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals as new recruits to the ranks of organized labor feel the need of support from a unified labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The recent division in the ranks of organized labor will adversely affect our organization in its efforts to demonstrate to our unorganized the advantage of being a part of a unified labor movement

BE IT RESOLVED, That the present division in the American Federation of Labor be amicably settled and that provision for this settlement at the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor be made by the convention assembled.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Glass Bottle Blowers Jurisdiction Over Factory Employees

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate H. A. Alltop, Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council, Fairmont, W. Va.

We the Officers and Delegates of the Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council of Fairmont, W. Va., submit to the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, this Resolution, and sight many reasons why the jurisdictional grant made to the Glass Bottle Blowers Association at the 1914 Convention held in Philadelphia, Pa., should be changed; and

WHEREAS, Organizers throughout many parts of the country have made many attempts to organize the Em-

ployes of the glass bottle factories without success; and

WHEREAS, The president of the Glass Bottle Association has given the different organizers the wrong interpretation of their jurisdiction, wherein he states his organization has jurisdiction over all employes in and around a glass bottle factory, and that his organization will organize the workers as they see fit; and

WHEREAS, Such statements have, since March, 1933, deprived many local unions from being organized in many different cities. Among them Fairmont, W. Va., Huntington, W. Va., Charleston, W. Va., in these plants there are Wood Box Builders, Carpenters, Machinist, Electricians, Engineers, and Firemen, that do not come under the grant made to the Glass Bottle Blowers Association; and

WHEREAS, The Glass Bottle Blowers Association continues to refuse to permit the lehr, packers, sorters, shippers, furnace workers, to join their organization, and this condition alone hinders the other workers in these many plants to get organization; and

WHEREAS, The Owens Illinois Glass Company has formed a strong Company Union, requiring the organized workers to belong to it. Also pay monthly dues, making a condition entirely unsatisfactory to the workers in these factories; and

WHEREAS, There are some three thousand men and women working in these W. Va., plants that are continually seeking some one to organize them; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The jurisdiction granted to the Glass Bottle Blowers Association be changed to read Glass Machine Operators, and Glass Machine Foremen only; and be it further

RESOLVED, A committee be appointed to work out a grant of jurisdiction of the lehr, sorters, packers, shippers, and other unskilled workers around glass factories and report back to this 56th convention for action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Senate Investigations of Operations of Labor Spy and Strike-Breaking Agencies

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under Senate Resolution 266, introduced after action taken by the Atlantic City convention, Senator LaFollette's sub-committee of the Com-

mittee on Labor and Education has, with a most meagre appropriation, already uncovered shocking facts concerning the espionage, armed strike-breaking, munitioning of plants, incitement to vigilantism, and other forms of interference with legitimate labor organization, operated by the dominant anti-union corporations of the land; and

WHEREAS, The LaFollette investigation has only scratched the surface of these evils, partly because spy and strike-breaking agencies are destroying files, hiding witnesses or openly defying the investigation, and partly because these agencies' great industrial employers are pursuing the same tactics and adding the threat of obstructive litigation; and

WHEREAS, This brazen effort to smother a Senatorial investigation is aided by some of the so-called most eminent corporation lawyers, while their industrial clients are not dropping their vicious anti-labor practices but only carrying them on more secretly, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demands that the LaFollette investigation be pressed to the hilt, commends the initiative and cooperation of the National Labor Relations Board in this investigation, calls upon the Senate to appropriate at least \$200,000 for the LaFollette committee, directs the President of the Federation to circularize all affiliated unions urging that they bring this need to the attention of the Senators in their states, and further directs the Federation officers to press this action of the convention on appropriate authorities immediately on the reconvening of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Vote for Residents of District of Columbia

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The un-American conditions prevailing in the District of Columbia, whereby the residents are denied all participation in their government, both local and national, is a condition of tyranny under which no American should be required to live;

AND WHEREAS, Through the denial of the right of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia, a political unit exceeding in population each of ten of the States, its people are prevented from the exercise of the most valued right of free men. The enforced

prejudicial to the consumer's interest; and provided further that such legislation grant to the Department of Agriculture full punitive power to regulate food, drug and cosmetic advertising; and be it further

RESOLVED, That labor's representatives in Congress be instructed to support such legislation with said provisions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Hon. Sam Rayburn, Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and to the Hon. Virgil Chapman, sponsor of said legislation in the House of Representatives, and to the Hon. Royal S. Copeland, its sponsor in the Senate.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

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Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals, No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The low salaries of nurses and other hospital professionals has resulted in very great hardship in the payment of the present required union dues; and

WHEREAS, The majority of hospital professionals are unorganized; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reduce the per capita tax of thirty-five cents per month to Federal Locals in order that said Locals will be enabled to reduce their dues from the required minimum of one dollar per month which will aid in the organization of this group of professional workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the reduction of per capita tax be considered at the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

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Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals, No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The benefits accruing to employees from the present Social Security Act are denied to employees of charitable, religious and non-profit institutions who receive low wages and in particular to the nurses and other

hospital workers who perform tasks injurious to health; and

WHEREAS, This group is in need of old-age and unemployment benefit, so, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Title 2, Title 8, Title 9 and all other Titles of the Social Security Act which excludes by definition of "employment" all employees of non-profit institutions be amended to include employees of non-profit institutions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor supports and approves this amendment to the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

CIO

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals, No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The nurses and other hospital professionals of the Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals as new recruits to the ranks of organized labor feel the need of support from a unified labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The recent division in the ranks of organized labor will adversely affect our organization in its efforts to demonstrate to our unorganized the advantage of being a part of a unified labor movement

BE IT RESOLVED, That the present division in the American Federation of Labor be amicably settled and that provision for this settlement at the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor be made by the convention assembled.

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WHEREAS, Organizers throughout many parts of the country have made many attempts to organize the Em-

ployees of the glass bottle factories without success; and

WHEREAS, The president of the Glass Bottle Association has given the different organizers the wrong interpretation of their jurisdiction, wherein he states his organization has jurisdiction over all employees in and around a glass bottle factory, and that his organization will organize the workers as they see fit; and

WHEREAS, Such statements have, since March, 1933, deprived many local unions from being organized in many different cities. Among them Fairmont, W. Va., Huntington, W. Va., Charleston, W. Va., in these plants there are Wood Box Builders, Carpenters, Machinist, Electricians, Engineers, and Firemen, that do not come under the grant made to the Glass Bottle Blowers Association; and

WHEREAS, The Glass Bottle Blowers Association continues to refuse to permit thelehr, packers, sorters, shippers, furnace workers, to join their organization, and this condition alone hinders the other workers in these many plants to get organization; and

WHEREAS, The Owens Illinois Glass Company has formed a strong Company Union, requiring the organized workers to belong to it. Also pay monthly dues, making a condition entirely unsatisfactory to the workers in these factories; and

WHEREAS, There are some three thousand men and women working in these W. Va., plants that are continually seeking some one to organize them; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The jurisdiction granted to the Glass Bottle Blowers Association be changed to read Glass Machine Operators, and Glass Machine Foremen only; and be it further

RESOLVED, A committee be appointed to work out a grant of jurisdiction of thelehr, sorters, packers, shippers, and other unskilled workers around glass factories and report back to this 56th convention for action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Senate Investigations of Operations of Labor Spy and Strike-Breaking Agencies

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under Senate Resolution 266, introduced after action taken by the Atlantic City convention, Senator LaFollette's sub-committee of the Com-

mittee on Labor and Education has, with a most meagre appropriation, already uncovered shocking facts concerning the espionage, armed strike-breaking, munitioning of plants, incitement to vigilantism, and other forms of interference with legitimate labor organization, operated by the dominant anti-union corporations of the land; and

WHEREAS, The LaFollette investigation has only scratched the surface of these evils, partly because spy and strike-breaking agencies are destroying files, hiding witnesses or openly defying the investigation, and partly because these agencies' great industrial employers are pursuing the same tactics and adding the threat of obstructive litigation; and

WHEREAS, This brazen effort to smother a Senatorial investigation is aided by some of the so-called most eminent corporation lawyers, while their industrial clients are not dropping their vicious anti-labor practices but only carrying them on more secretly, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demands that the LaFollette investigation be pressed to the hilt, commends the initiative and cooperation of the National Labor Relations Board in this investigation, calls upon the Senate to appropriate at least \$200,000 for the LaFollette committee, directs the President of the Federation to circularize all affiliated unions urging that they bring this need to the attention of the Senators in their states, and further directs the Federation officers to press this action of the convention on appropriate authorities immediately on the reconvening of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Vote for Residents of District of Columbia

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The un-American conditions prevailing in the District of Columbia, whereby the residents are denied all participation in their government, both local and national, is a condition of tyranny under which no American should be required to live;

AND WHEREAS, Through the denial of the right of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia, a political unit exceeding in population each of ten of the States, its people are prevented from the exercise of the most valued right of free men. The enforced

absence of this large block of fully competent Americans at the recent election was an occasion of shame and humiliation to these our fellow-Americans. All other Americans throughout our country must also share in the humiliation of permitting the existence at the Nation's Capital of conditions so contrary to our fundamental principles of government;

AND WHEREAS, This community of more than half-a-million Americans is as vitally interested in all governmental policies as any of their fellow-Americans who, under the stimulus of the recent political campaign, have had their interest in public affairs heightened—as well as their desire to have this intolerable situation terminated;

AND WHEREAS, THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR has many times recorded its endorsement of the proposed Constitutional amendment which will cure this anomaly and give the residents of the District of Columbia recognition as national Americans and voting participants in the Councils of the Nation.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That, in the opinion of the American Federation of Labor in its 56th annual convention assembled in the City of Tampa, Florida, this 20th day of November, 1936, the time has arrived when the Congress of the United States should immediately pass by the required 2-3 vote of both Senate and House of Representatives and submit to the States for ratification the proposed amendment to the Constitution empowering Congress to grant to the residents of the District of Columbia voting representation in the Senate and House of Representatives, the vote for President and Vice President, and the same rights before the Courts of the United States, as citizens, as possessed by the citizens of a State. We can see no reason whatever for further delay in the righting of so great a wrong against this large body of our fellow-Americans.

RESOLVED, That the officers and proper committees of this body be and are hereby authorized and directed to petition Congress and the State legislatures and to take such other aggressive and continuous action as will aid in the early emancipation of a worthy people from the tyrannical rule under which they now live.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Democracy vs. Dictatorship

Resolution No. 113—By Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Several of the great na-

tions of the world have abandoned democratic forms of government and now are being ruled by dictators; and

WHEREAS, The peoples of these nations, under their dictators, have lost every semblance of liberty which they formerly possessed, among which were the right of free speech and freedom of the press, the right of public assemblage, liberty of conscience, and association in organizations for their mutual benefit; and

WHEREAS, In addition to the loss of these rights and liberties by the peoples of these nations now under the rule of dictators, the philosophy underlying democratic principles that the state exists for the welfare of its citizens is being controverted and repudiated and the philosophy that the citizens exist only for the benefit of the state is being declared by these dictators and taught; and

WHEREAS, The rise of dictators and the establishment of dictator forms of government in several great European nations have not only destroyed the liberties of the people but proven oppressive to them; and,

WHEREAS, These dictators are teaching a doctrine of enmity instead of amity toward other races, nations and established religions; and,

WHEREAS, The fruits of such dictatorship and their teachings will be war, which may result in the destruction of the liberties of other peoples, and tighten and strengthen the chains of the dictators upon those now suffering under them, until liberty throughout the world may be obliterated, and the whole cruel procedure have to be gone through with again, as recorded in history, before individual rights and liberties are re-established; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we deem it advisable to call to the attention of wage earners and other citizens of the United States that the liberties and recognized rights of the common citizens in this and other nations where democratic forms of government maintain were won upon a thousand battlefields and by the martyrdom of those who dared to preach the doctrine of equal rights and liberties for all the people; and

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declares that there is no substitute for liberty; and, further

RESOLVED, That we believe a few of these rights, liberties and guarantees, won after a thousand years of effort, and which are lost under dictator forms of government, should be called to the attention of every American citizen. They are:

The right of the people to select representatives to enact and administer the laws under which they shall live, thereby making government rest upon the consent of the governed;

The separation of church and state and the right of all citizens to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences;

The right of petition;

The right of trial by jury;

The right of habeas corpus;

The right of free speech and a free press;

The right of public assemblage;

The right to be secure in one's papers and person from unlawful seizure;

The right to belong to lawful organizations promotive of the welfare of the individuals composing them;

The right of the free movement of a citizen from one locality to another; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in the City of Tampa, Florida, declare our fealty to the democratic principles upon which our government is founded, and to the Government of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Union-Made Cement

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates James Gallo, United Cement Workers' Union No. 18421 and John R. Tauscher, United Cement Workers' Union No. 20066, Oglesby, Ill.

WHEREAS, The newly formed National Council of United Cement Workers, formulated the plans to inaugurate an extensive campaign to organize all the unorganized workers in the cement industry, and

WHEREAS, The 54th annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor unanimously concurred in the request to use their influence and urge the organized labor movement to use and handle only union-made cement, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through its affiliated National, International, Central Labor Unions and Federal Labor Unions, can assist in this organizing campaign, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Tampa assembled, be requested to use their influence through its labor press, by correspondence to

the various State Federations, National and International Unions, Central Labor Unions and Federal Labor Unions and other methods, to urge and request the organized labor movement to use and handle only union-made cement, manufactured by organized cement plants.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Charge of Labor Persecution Against Standard Oil Company in Pacific Coast Maritime Strike

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate John A. O'Connell, Labor Council, San Francisco, Calif.

WHEREAS, In March, 1935, a strike was called against the Oil Tankers of the Standard Oil Company of California and other Pacific Coast Oil concerns by the Pacific Coast District Committee of the International Seamen's Union of America; and

WHEREAS, The Standard Oil Company took the most active part in fighting the strikers by every vicious means for which this Company has become notorious throughout the Nation; and

WHEREAS, During the progress of the strike nine members of Pacific Coast Maritime Unions were arrested on the public highway by Standard Oil Company private detectives, and were subsequently charged and tried in Modesto, California, on four serious counts; and

WHEREAS, The record of the trial revealed that the arrest has been promoted and instigated by agents provocateurs, stool pigeons and detectives in the employ of the Standard Oil Company, and further that the special prosecutor, Glenn Devore of Fresno, California, was an employee of the Standard Oil Company and other Oil companies, as admitted in open court by Cleary, the labor hating district attorney; and

WHEREAS, The jury acquitted the defendants on all the serious charges and returned a compromise verdict on the least serious one, namely "reckless and malicious possession of explosives," with a recommendation for leniency; and

WHEREAS, This conviction was secured wholly on the testimony of the paid stool pigeons and private detectives of the Standard Oil Company; and

WHEREAS, The conviction was a deliberate attack by the Standard Oil Company against organized labor; and the imprisonment of these defendants is an injury to and a crime against American labor; and

WHEREAS, Edward Vandeleur,

President of the California State Federation of Labor, in his report of September 16, 1935, to the annual convention, and also the convention itself, by UNANIMOUS vote, declared their belief in the innocence of the Union members, and pledged full moral and financial support toward their complete vindication and immediate liberation, and furthermore placed the products of the Standard Oil Company on the "We Do Not Patronize" list; NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT

RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor is in full accord with the action voted by the 1935 California State Federation of Labor Convention, and pledges the prestige and resources of the American Federation of Labor, to bring the facts of the "MODESTO STANDARD OIL CONSPIRACY" before the people of the United States; and be it, further,

RESOLVED, That this Convention wire to our fellow Unionists at San Quentin State Prison in California assurances of support, and that it telegraph protests and demands for the vindication and immediate release of the defendants to Governor Frank F. Merriam at Sacramento, and to the State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, San Quentin, California; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That adequate publicity of this action be given and all friends of labor be urged to refuse patronage to the enemies of labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Endorsement of Independent Committees Organized for Legislative and Political Activities

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate Ben Weintraub, Photographers and Photo Finishing Employees No. 19893, New York City.

WHEREAS, During the past year bills were introduced in Congress, in State Legislatures and in City Councils that would seriously curtail the rights of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor will be faced with the necessity of bringing increased pressure to bear on local Congressmen, who are sensitive to the will of the people who elected them, to take action against anti-labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, In one case a Trade Union Committee on Anti-Labor Legislation, initiated for the purpose of making the voices of trade union members heard, has involved the member-

ship of over 150 local unions of the American Federation of Labor and a number of District Councils in New York City, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 56th Annual Convention agree to cooperate with and avail itself of the services of such local organizations against anti-labor legislation that already exist throughout the country, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor encourage the formation of such organizations that can aid in combatting anti-labor legislation through national and local action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Suspension of an International Union by the Executive Council Not to Become Effective Until Approved by Convention

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis., and Ervin W. Zumach, Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.

RESOLVED, That Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by the insertion of the following clause:

"Section 13. The suspension of an affiliated National or International Union by order of the Executive Council shall not take effect until approved by a two-thirds majority vote of the delegates assembled at a regular convention."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Proposing Boycott of Hearst Publications

Resolution No. 118 — By Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, At the 1935 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, William Randolph Hearst was formally declared and condemned as an enemy of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, America's outstanding leaders despise him and regard him as an enemy of the people, and

WHEREAS, The Hearst newspapers are committed and dedicated to the spread of fascism, sponsoring and supporting anti-labor legislation, stirring up hatred among peaceful nations and fomenting war, and

WHEREAS, The Hearst newspapers

deliberately distort and misconstrue news of labor's struggles, thereby hurting immeasurably the cause of Labor, Be It Therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention again go on record favoring the boycott by organized labor of all publications controlled by Hearst.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Legislation Providing for the Use of National Guard in Strikes

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Tydings-McCormick Bill has been protested by labor bodies, liberals, and legal authorities on the grounds that its passage would seriously curtail the rights of labor in protesting the use of the National Guard in strikes and in opposing war, Therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth annual convention condemn this bill and make all efforts to prevent its re-introduction either in original or amended form, and to prevent the introduction of similar bills at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Condemning Fingerprinting of Workers

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, It has been the custom in the United States of America to fingerprint only felons, and

WHEREAS, Certain Magistrates have stretched their own powers by having pickets charged with disorderly conduct, finger-printed, and

WHEREAS, Many employers have instituted a drive to privately fingerprint all workers, for the purpose of setting up a vicious strike-breaking blacklist, and

WHEREAS, It is a direct violation of our civil liberties to be forcibly finger-printed, Therefore Be It

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates here assembled go on record against the finger-printing of workers arrested in labor disputes and that we go on record against any form of fingerprinting of workers for civil reasons, and that the Legislative Committee of

the American Federation of Labor hereby is instructed to introduce national legislation to this effect at once.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution Granting Organizations Suspended by Executive Council Right of Representation in Convention

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Mira Komaroff, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, Detroit, Mich.

RESOLVED, That Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by insertion of the following clause:

"Section 13. The suspension of an affiliated National or International Union, by order of the Executive Council, shall not deprive such affiliated union of the right to representation by delegates at any convention of the American Federation of Labor until the order of the suspension shall have received the approval of a two-thirds majority of the delegates assembled at a regular convention."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Consumers' Union of United States, Inc.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, The lack of legal standardized grades and labels and the prevalence of misleading and deceptive advertising have made it practically impossible for the average consumer to get the most for his wages when buying food, clothing, medicine and other goods, and

WHEREAS, Large quantities of consumers' goods that are inferior or even dangerous to health are being forced upon an uninformed public by producers more concerned with profits than with human welfare, and

WHEREAS, Consumers' Union of United States, Inc., a non-profit and pro-labor membership corporation, has been established with the help of leaders in the organized labor movement to test goods and to report to its members on the quality and safety of all kinds of merchandise, and

WHEREAS, Consumers' Union maintains that decent living standards for

all consumers can be obtained only by protecting the pay envelope as well as the market basket, therefore encourage its members to buy union-made goods, and in so doing supplements the good work of the Union Trades and Label Department, and

WHEREAS, It is to the interest of organized labor that the work of Consumers Union be broadened so that the Union member can get more for his money and the non-union member can be informed on working conditions under which goods are made, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, opening on the 16th day of November, 1936, in Tampa, Florida, give its approval to the objectives of Consumers' Union as defined in this resolution, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council appoint an advisory committee from the ranks of organized labor to confer with Consumers' Union from time to time, so that Consumers' Union may best serve the working people of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIO

Resolution No. 123 — By Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

RESOLVED, That in order to establish unity in the American Federation of Labor, 56th annual convention, at Tampa, Florida, elect a special committee to confer with the leaders of the C. I. O. to arrive at a settlement of the issues involved, which committee is to report back to the A. F. of L. Council which shall have full power to act if there is agreement. In the event of remaining disagreement a special convention to finally settle all questions to be called at the request of either side in the controversy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Reduction in Per Capita Tax for Directly Affiliated Local Unions

Resolution No. 124 — By Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, The per capita which Federal locals pay to Washington is 35c (thirty-five cents) a month; and

WHEREAS, Such a per capita neces-

sitates the local charging relatively high monthly dues in order to benefit the local treasury; and

WHEREAS, With real wages falling, such high monthly dues constitute a hardship to the membership of Federal locals; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consider the advisability of lowering the per capita tax of Federal locals to 25c (twenty-five cents).

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Industrial Union Charter for Electrical and Radio Industry

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Ralph Laundry, Independent Wholesale Grocers' Warehouse Employees Union No. 19572, Lakewood, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has in an arbitrary and unconstitutional manner decided on the suspension of the International Unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization which constitutes one-third of the membership of the A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, This action by the Executive Council is creating a split in the organized labor movement to the detriment of the organized and unorganized workers in this country, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention condemn the efforts on the part of the Executive Council to split the labor movement, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor wholeheartedly endorse the aims and objects of the Committee for Industrial Organization in its efforts to organize the great number of unorganized workers in the basic industries, and, be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention declare its full support to all those International Unions, Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor in their demand that the suspensions should be rescinded and action referred to the Convention of the A. F. of L., and, be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention declare itself for one united labor movement and reiterate its demand for an industrial charter for the electrical and radio industry to be given to the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America, and urge the convention of the American Federation of Labor to take favorable action on this petition.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Disapproving Rule Adopted by
Executive Council Providing for
Suspension of Charters**

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate
Sander Genis, Central Labor Union,
Minneapolis, Minn.

RESOLVED, That the Rules of the Executive Council, adopted at a meeting of the Executive Council, held on the 18th day of May, 1936, be, and they hereby are, disapproved and all action and proceedings taken thereunder are declared null and void and of no effect.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**International Union of Agricultural,
Packing House and Cannery
Workers**

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate W. E. Sullivan, Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Tampa, Fla.

WHEREAS, Florida's 75,000 agricultural, packing house and cannery workers, the lowest paid section of our working population, are still unorganized and are harmfully affecting wage levels in private industry and WPA and

WHEREAS, There has been a substantial increase in the numbers and strength of agricultural unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. throughout the country in the past year, especially in California, New Jersey, Arizona, Colorado, Michigan and Ohio, and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of independently organized agricultural workers are withholding the A. F. of L. affiliation for the lack of a National or International Union, and

WHEREAS, The resolution introduced in the N. J. State Federation and passed by the last national A. F. of L. Convention calling for a national organizing campaign among agricultural and cannery workers has not been carried out because the National Executive Council with its multitude of responsibilities cannot give adequate or detailed attention to organizing this field, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in order to successfully prosecute an organizing drive in Florida and nationally among these workers and to strengthen the activities of the many organized unions, the Tampa Central Trades and Labor Assembly hereby petitions the A. F. of L. convention and the Executive Council to convene a conference of agricultural, packing house and cannery unions within the near future for the purpose of establishing an International Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Examination Board Under
WPA for Skilled Workers**

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate J. W. Williams, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Under the so-called "Security Wage" many local officials under the WPA, either through a lack of understanding or favoritism have attempted to advance men into trades without the proper care so necessary to the training of apprenticeship for skilled craftsmen, and

WHEREAS, In the haste of many of these local officials in a false hope of producing mechanics for the work at hand are through their efforts destroying the orderly apprenticeship system of the skilled trades which has come up through many years of the building industry and found so necessary to good and safe construction, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., submit this resolution before the A. F. of L. in its regular session and ask that the same join in with the Building Trades in the submission of protest before the heads of the WPA Administration and insist that they remedy and desist from further loose practices which all tend to wreck the standards necessary for safe construction in the building industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in employment of all skilled workers under the WPA there be a bona fide board set up for the examination of such mechanics as employed, into the fitness of these mechanics for the prospective assignments and that such Board consist of one (1) member of the craft so examined. One (1) employer of recognized standing in the community and one (1) representative of the WPA service engineering department, and that only men passed by these be employed on skilled work to the end that the government receive the proper grade of work in its respective endeavors.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Protesting Policy of Bureau of Federal Prisons in Employing Prison Labor

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate J. W. Williams, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Federal

Prisons is constructing new buildings, with prison labor and is requesting Building Trades Mechanics to work with prison labor and asking they teach prisoners the trade, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Officials in Washington insist the Act covering prison extension work, applies to new construction, and

WHEREAS, In Chillicothe, Ohio, and other United States Industrial Reformatories, they have a large building program under way and are attempting to erect new buildings, with prison labor, seeking Building Trades Mechanics to teach prisoners the Building Tradesmen's Art, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record protesting against prison labor performing this work and protesting against Government Officials asking Building Craftsmen to work with and teach prisoners the Building Craftsmen's Art, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record asking that the present law be repealed or amended, so that all new construction work be let by contract or performed by free labor and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand on Congress a correction of these vicious practices. Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Permanent Resettlement Administration Program

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate J. W. Williams, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The program of the Resettlement Administration in the resettlement and rehabilitation of low-income farmers makes it possible for rural workers to maintain decent standards of living in rural areas and prevents them from being forced into cities and towns to accept wages which are below those established by organized labor, thus undermining established standards of wages and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, This program involves the construction of housing for low-income families of both farmers and urban workers which is of vital importance to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and to all other organized workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Resettlement Administration recognizes the fundamental community of interest which exists between urban and rural workers and which must be developed in order that both groups of workers may establish and maintain decent standards of living, and recognizes the necessity of

promoting cooperative organizations of farmers which will help the farmers in improving their conditions, as trade union organizations benefit urban labor; and

WHEREAS, The Resettlement Administration program is based upon a long-term program of construction of both rural and urban communities which will not only afford employment to large numbers of building trade mechanics, but will provide better housing for rural and urban workers; and

WHEREAS, The Resettlement Administration has recognized the right of labor to organize and select representatives of their own choice for the purpose of adjusting grievances with the Resettlement Administration and the importance of maintaining standards of wages, hours, and working conditions which have been established by organized labor, and has on its construction projects made every effort to maintain those standards, and has in every way possible cooperated with the building trades unions; and

WHEREAS, Due to the fact that the program of the Resettlement Administration is designed for the permanent relief of low-income farmers, its execution differs materially from the program of relief undertaken under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts of 1935 and 1936, and is greatly hampered by the necessity of having to meet the employment regulations of the work relief program, and should not, therefore, be required to continue under the conditions established for the work relief program. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct its members and its Legislative Committee to attempt to secure at the coming sessions of Congress legislation continuing the Resettlement Administration as a permanent agency for the relief of low-income farmers and for the permanent elimination of conditions responsible for their low-income status; and providing appropriations to a revolving fund for the conduct of such a program, based upon

1. Construction of farm communities for low-income farmers;
2. Long-term amortization of the investment at low interest rates by the farm families;
3. Continued technical assistance to such farms until, through the development of improved farm methods, they have been placed upon a sound economic basis, and be it further

RESOLVED, That upon adoption of this resolution by the American Federation of Labor they shall support legislation for the adoption and continuation of the program of the Resettlement Administration as it has

been developed during the past eighteen months; and to oppose legislation which would reduce this program into a mere lending of funds to individual farmers for the purchase of individual farms, without planned co-ordination, without technical assistance and without the establishment of community and cooperation activities. And be it further

RESOLVED, That upon the adoption of this resolution by the American Federation of Labor Convention, a copy of this resolution be referred to President Roosevelt and to members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Amend Section Eight of Article Fifteen of the Rules Governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate J. W. Williams, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Committee appointed by the American Federation of Labor to adjust the controversy which existed in the Building Trades Department was granted certain powers and authority, and

WHEREAS, In the understanding reached, it was agreed by the Committee that there would be two additional Vice-Presidents added to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, and

WHEREAS, Section Eight of Article Fifteen of the General Rules governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor provides that the Executive Council of each Department shall consist of not more than seven members including the Executive Officers or Officer thereof; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section Eight of Article Fifteen of the rules governing Departments be amended by striking out the word "seven" after the word "than" in the second line of Section Eight and inserting in lieu thereof, the word "nine" so that Section Eight of Article Fifteen will read as follows:

"Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each Department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Coopers vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate

James J. Doyle, Coopers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Cooper's International Union of North America has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for forty-five years and has always had jurisdiction over cooping and issuing of Charters to the men and women engaged in the various branches of the cooperative trade; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, have taken into their organization men and women engaged at cooping, namely in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington; Portland, Oregon; and Eureka, California, under the guise of Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Officers of the Cooper's International Union of North America have tried to adjust these encroachments on their trade with the Executive Officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at Indianapolis, Indiana, and Atlantic City, New Jersey, without success; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-six Convention of the American Federation of Labor, request the Executive Council to make investigation and adjustments of the complaints of Cooper's International of North America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Amendment to Constitution Providing That Suspension of an International Union May Be Made Effective Only Upon Convention Order

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

RESOLVED, That the present Section 12 of Article IX of the constitution be repealed and the following be substituted in lieu thereof:

"Section 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to suspend or revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the suspension or revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of the regular convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll call vote."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

School Training in Money Management

Resolution No. 134 — By Delegate John J. McCurry, Aluminum Workers Union No. 18738, New Haven, Conn.

WHEREAS, Training in scientific money management has never been af-

forded in the public schools of this country (except in one place) with the result that the great majority of the adults of today are financial drifters,

WHEREAS, For the same reason, over 2,000,000 financial illiterates are being turned out of our schools and colleges every year until such training shall have been made a requirement in school and college curricula,

WHEREAS, Such training is now possible as the result of nearly two decades of specialized study and eight years of practical experimentation throughout one public school system,

WHEREAS, The method evolved through these years of experimentation has now made it possible for all children in the schools, all mothers in the homes, and all fathers who bring home the pay checks to use the same simple terms, and to understand the same few basic principles which underlie all successful money management, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be requested at the earliest possible moment to look into the possibilities of this practical form of education for the benefit of all its members and their families.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Secretary of Labor to Be Member of Federal Commissions on International Expositions

Resolution No. 135 — By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Through acts of Congress the Federal Government participates in national and international expositions;

WHEREAS, The Federal Commissions designated in these acts to supervise Federal participation are made up by time-honored custom of the Secretaries of State, Agriculture and Commerce;

WHEREAS, An increasingly large proportion of the citizens of the country whom these expositions are to reach are wage earners in industry,

WHEREAS, These expositions offer an exceptional opportunity for disseminating information on labor problems and labor standards;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in favor of protecting labor's interests in these exhibits and to this end that Congress be urged to designate the Secretary of Labor a member of every Fed-

eral Commission appointed to participate in these expositions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Aid for Public Schools

Resolution No. 136 — By Delegate Irwin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its first convention in 1881 declared, "We are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; that if the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the right of the state to educate to the proper understanding of such demands"; and

WHEREAS, In succeeding conventions the American Federation of Labor has repeated its stand for support of free schools and at its last convention in Atlantic City declared that "public education, available to all the citizens and supported by all the citizens, is the foundation of our democratic way of life;" and

WHEREAS, Thousands of children throughout the Nation are being denied adequate schooling because of the closing of schools and serious retrenchment in school programs creating a serious problem of national concern and making necessary the permanent equalization of educational opportunity throughout the Nation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Tampa Convention in 1936 reaffirm its position of supporting adequate educational facilities for all the children of the Nation, and go on record as favoring a federal grant for the operation of public schools to be distributed to the several states, in a manner provided by law, so as to equalize educational opportunity for all children of the Nation.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Social Security of Teachers

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Irwin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The welfare of the American public school system is dependent upon the efficiency and effectiveness of the teachers in the classrooms of the nation; and

WHEREAS, The welfare of the public schools is a matter of primary concern to the organized workers of America, and

WHEREAS, Effective work in the classrooms is curtailed by worries on the part of the teachers resulting from inadequate salaries and is hampered by a feeling of insecurity caused by fear of dismissal for unjust reasons, such as political patronage and activities of anti-union interests; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its Tampa Convention, in 1936 go on record as favoring a living wage for all public school teachers, and the enactment of tenure laws in the several states which shall provide that teachers shall not be dismissed except for just cause and in a manner established by law.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Educational Freedom and Loyalty Oath Laws

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Freedom of learning and freedom of teaching are an integral part of the spirit of our Bill of Rights, and

WHEREAS, Twenty-three states in this country have loyalty oath laws requiring loyalty oaths from teachers, thus creating an atmosphere of intimidation and stifling critical thought, and

WHEREAS, The infamous Red Rider of the District of Columbia similarly prevents the presentation of facts on social questions on the basis of threats of dismissal, and

WHEREAS, William Randolph Hearst and his various publications have been carrying on incessant attacks on liberal teaching and the expression of opinion on educational, labor, and social questions contrary to his own, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled reiterate its firm belief in the principles of educational freedom, and be it further

RESOLVED, That it calls for the repeal of existing Loyalty Oath laws and of the infamous Red Rider of Washington, D. C., and be it further

RESOLVED, That it condemns the reactionary activities of Hearst in his efforts to destroy educational freedom, civil liberties, and the right of Labor to organize, and be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the Government of the District of Columbia, the governors of states where loyalty oath laws exist, to the American Federation of Teachers, and the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Dismissal of Jerome Davis by Yale Corporation

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The Yale Corporation voted to terminate the service of Professor Jerome Davis, president of the American Federation of Teachers, as of June 30, 1937, and

WHEREAS, This disciplinary action against Professor Davis has been taken against him because of his opinions, writings, affiliations, and activities—for example, his helping organized Labor in New Haven in educational work and other activities, his criticism of the Insull Utility interests of the Midwest, and

WHEREAS, Professor Davis' educational work has been outstanding as shown by (1) his own publications and his editorial work in the Social Relations Series of D. C. Heath & Co. (2) the enthusiastic endorsement of the head of his department, Dr. Douglas C. Macintosh (3) his election to the presidency of the Eastern Sociological Conference (4) his election to the Board of Editors of the American Sociological Review (5) the petitioning of the Yale Corporation by the Student Council of the Yale Divinity School to keep Professor Davis as a teacher, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth convention protests the refusal of the Yale Corporation to ratify the recommendation of the Board of Permanent Officers of the Yale Divinity School faculty and calls upon it to reconsider its action and reappoint Professor Davis as recommended by the Divinity School faculty, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to Professor Angell of Yale University, the general press and the American Federation of Teachers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Child Welfare

Resolution No. 140 — By Delegate Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The strength of a democratic country depends upon the physical health and mental stamina of its people; and

WHEREAS, The youth of such a nation must be cared for to the end that they may carry on their responsibilities as citizens; and

WHEREAS, The depression has

through retrenchment in education, loss of employment opportunities for youth, through resultant malnutrition, and neglect of medical care seriously undermined the health and well-being of American youth; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 1936 convention urge its legislative committee and its affiliated Internationals and Federal locals and Central Labor unions, etc., to support legislation to provide:

1. Medical aid for children,
2. Adequate relief to overcome malnutrition,
3. Facilities for advanced education at public expense,
4. Work opportunities, and relief at union rates for unemployed youth.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Organizing Assistance for North Dakota.

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate George Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The State of North Dakota has never been classed as a leading industrial state and as such has received very little attention from the organization staffs of the American Federation of Labor and National and International Unions and

WHEREAS, The labor movement of the state of North Dakota has been rapidly making progress as a result of concentrated effort put forth by the State Federation of Labor, City Central Bodies, and a number of conscientious trade unionists interested in the advancement of labor in that state and

WHEREAS, It is now necessary to have the assistance of trained organizers to coordinate all the efforts which have been put forth to bring the labor movement to its present state of advancement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the organization staffs of the National and International Unions in conjunction with the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be urged to coordinate their efforts and cooperate with the North Dakota State Federation of Labor and its affiliated central bodies in the effort to bring about a better and fuller standard of living for the working men and women of this state.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Workmen's Compensation Law, District of Columbia

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The Workmen's Compensation Law for the District of Columbia does not in its present form give proper protection to the workers in private industry in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, The Washington Central Labor Union has had drafted a Workmen's Compensation Bill, which if enacted into law will give to the employees in private industry in the District of Columbia adequate protection; and

WHEREAS, It is the intention of the Washington Central Labor Union to have this new Workmen's Compensation Bill, introduced in the next Congress of the United States; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its officers and Legislative Committee to give to the Washington Central Labor Union its fullest cooperation in having this new Workmen's Compensation Law enacted for the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Use of One-Man Street Cars, Washington, D. C.

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia has recently authorized the Capital Transit Company of Washington, upon the latter's application and against the opposition of the Washington Central Labor Union (expressed in oral testimony and written briefs filed by the attorney for said Central Labor Union), to extend the operation of one-man street cars by putting on twenty such cars converted to one-man operation in addition to the one-man operated cars and one-man operated buses already in use on the streets of Washington; and

WHEREAS, Said Public Utilities Commission has more recently denied a petition for a rehearing filed by the said Central Labor Union through its attorney and by the Federation of Citizens Association of the District of Columbia and by the People's Counsel of the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, The opposition to the further use of one-man street cars in

Washington, expressed in the hearings in testimony offered by the Central Labor Union and the Federation of Citizens Association and in the briefs filed by the attorney for the Central Labor Union and by the People's Counsel of the District of Columbia, showed (1) that because of the extremely difficult traffic conditions in Washington owing to the exceptionally large number of automobiles, to the street plan of the city, and to the size and crowding of the street cars, the extension of one-man operated street cars under such conditions would be very hazardous and would likely increase the number of deaths and injuries from automobile accidents in Washington, already unusually large, (2) that the slowness of traffic in Washington would be increased by the addition of one-man street cars, owing to the additional time taken for the ingress and egress of passengers when the motorman has to act also as conductor and take up fares as passengers enter and cannot start the car until all passengers boarding have been taken on and have paid their fares, (3) that the use of one man to do the work formerly required of two necessarily will add to unemployment already very great in the District of Columbia as well as in the nation and is a policy which should not be adopted at this time by our transportation and public utility systems, (4) that the finances of the company, which are in excellent condition, do not require such drastic economies as are implied in having one man do the work now required of two in the operation of street cars; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the Capital Transit Company are organized into a union, Local Division No. 689 of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and their ranks will be decimated if the use of one-man cars on this system is extended; and

WHEREAS, The principle involved in the substitution of one-man street cars for two-men cars harmfully affects all labor;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the further introduction of one-man street cars on the streets of the capital of our nation be condemned as unnecessary in the interest of economy, as dangerous to the riding public because of the exceptional traffic conditions in Washington, and as extending a policy of adding to unemployment at a time when every possible effort should be made to end unemployment; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That in view of the fact that the workers constitute the great body of street car and bus riders, not only in Washington but in every American city, the Capital Transit Company and other transportation companies be advised that the American Federation of Labor has gone on record as opposed in principle to the dangerous and unwise policy of using only one man instead of two in the operation of street cars and buses through our crowded streets; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Capital Transit Company of Washington and to the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Division of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor

Resolution No. 144 — By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor; R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor; Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor; David C. Thompson, Alabama State Federation of Labor; George Houghton, Florida State Federation of Labor; Walter Hoyt, Central Labor Union, Miami, Florida; George Townshend, Nevada State Federation of Labor; Warren S. Welsh, Missouri State Federation of Labor; Vic Wood, Arkansas State Federation of Labor; P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Labor, Puerto Rico; J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; John B. Easton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; John Reid, Michigan State Federation of Labor; Otto W. Brach, Central Labor Union, Toledo, Ohio; Arthur Taylor, Central Labor Union, Logan, West Va.; A. P. Bower, Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pa.; George G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor; E. H. Williams, Louisiana State Federation of Labor; Bernard M. Egan, Texas State Federation of Labor; Cornelius J. Mulcahy, Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Federal Government has for many years pursued the policy of actively aiding in the establishment of standards for industrial materials and products, and has assisted manufacturers in the search for foreign markets, and has aided farmers in increasing the quantity and quality of crops;

WHEREAS, The U. S. Department of Labor has only recently added to its services to labor the functions of assisting in the formulation of practical labor standards and of providing facilities for the drafting of labor legislation and safety codes and on administrative practices;

WHEREAS, These facilities are being widely used by State Federations of Labor and local labor groups;

WHEREAS, The Division of Labor Standards by holding national and regional conferences has brought about a greater understanding and support of labor's legislative program for the improvement of working conditions;

WHEREAS, The Third National Conference on Labor Legislation, made up of representatives of State Federations of Labor and State Departments of Labor, held in Washington, November 9, 10 and 11 of this year, went on record unanimously in support of the work of this Division;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That this service to labor should be continued and to that end Congress be urged to establish the Division of Labor Standards as a permanent bureau in the Department of Labor with adequate funds to carry on its activities in behalf of the workers of the country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Program in Support of International Peace

Resolution No. 145 — By Delegate George M. Harrison, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has enthusiastically united itself in supporting the membership of the United States in the International Labor Organization and

WHEREAS, The International Labor Organization has as one of its prime objectives the preservation of International Peace; and

WHEREAS, Labor knows full well that the increasing international tensions in the world today are likely to precipitate war; and

WHEREAS, The United States War

Department has prepared a plan to draft all labor in case of another war, to place workers under military law, and to appoint a government board on which employers and not workers are represented to settle wages, hours of work and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Slight war-time benefits to a few workers are more than offset by the universal suffering of the long years of depression that follow war; and

WHEREAS, Labor is aware that the chief human factors in precipitating war are the munitions-makers, the bankers and the big industrialists; now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled reaffirms its determination to support international peace and prepares to back in the next session of Congress bills to take the profit out of war, to nationalize the munitions industry, and to establish a stronger neutrality law including embargoes on the shipment of basic war materials to nations at war.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Constitutional Amendment Providing That Charters May Be Suspended Only by a Two-Thirds Vote of the Convention

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Sanders Genis, Central Labor Union, Minneapolis, Minn.

RESOLVED, That Section 8 of Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by adding thereto the following:

"Rules formulated by the Executive Council with respect to suspension of charters of the National and International unions shall not become operative unless and until such rules have been approved by a two-thirds vote at a regular convention of the Federation."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Legislative Program of International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions

Resolution No. 147—By C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the I. F. T. E. A. & D. Unions en-

dorsed the following legislative measures—to wit:

1. A minimum wage of \$1800 per annum for all time engineering employees with statutory provisions for automatic increases in salary.

2. A reduction of hours of the present work week without reduction in salaries.

3. Extension of the merit system in the classified civil service.

4. Thirty years optional retirement with widows' annuities and a reduction of the age limit requirements.

5. Creation of a Board of Appeals with provision for employees' representation for Civil Service employees.

6. Transfer of Classifying Authority to the Civil Service Commission for the allocation of all Field Service positions under the Classification Act.

7. Changes in the present system of efficiency markings to remove present opportunity of discrimination.

8. Changes in present leave law regulations so as to restore previous retroactive privileges for the field service.

9. The preparation of plans for all Government built naval vessels by the drafting personnel of the Naval Establishment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render its support in the achievement of the above mentioned program with every possible means at its disposal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Remove Discriminations Against Agricultural Workers in Federal Laws

Resolution No. 148—By Delegates Lelf Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Vineland, N. J.; Donald Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.; Vicente G. Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.; Paul J. Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Calif.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Calif.; Marcella Ryan, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20099, Oakland, Calif.; Albert Markva, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 19994, Blissfield, Mich.; Roy Hawthorne, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20224, Camden, N. J.; G. Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers' Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.;

Warren Brown, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20221, Stockton, Calif.

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers are consistently discriminated against in almost every piece of Federal and State legislation dealing with the welfare and social security of American workers, and

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Act completely excluded agricultural workers from its benefits and protective measures and the Agricultural Adjustment Act not only failed to provide benefits for the farm workers but had the effect of decreasing their wage levels, increasing their cost of living and, through its reduction program, decreasing the number of workers employed in agriculture, and

WHEREAS, The Black-Connelly 30 hour, five day week Bill specifically excludes all workers in agriculture, and

WHEREAS, The Wagner Labor Disputes Act specifically excludes agricultural workers from its benefits, and

WHEREAS, Every state in the United States which has enacted state legislation to secure the benefits of the Federal Social Security Act exempt agricultural workers from its old age and unemployment insurance benefits, and

WHEREAS, Nearly all state legislation dealing with Workmen's Compensation makes no provisions for extending such protection to workers engaged in agriculture, and

WHEREAS, The Child Labor laws of nearly every state in the Union exempt children engaged in agriculture from their provisions, and

WHEREAS, Social legislation on behalf of women regulating hours and nature of work almost invariably exempt women engaged in agriculture from its protective provisions and benefits, and

WHEREAS, Laws regulating school attendance in the various states usually exempt children engaged in agricultural pursuits, and

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers are exempt from the provisions of laws requiring regular payment of wages within certain limited periods, and

WHEREAS, This consistent neglect of and discrimination against the largest body of wage workers employed in any U. S. industry in all Federal and State legislation is partially the result of inattention on the part of labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, A continuation of these gross and unjustifiable discriminations, exclusions and exemptions endanger the entire structure of our social and labor legislation designed to protect American workers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor take immediate steps to remove all discriminations, exclusions, and exemptions from all existing Federal legislation as regards agricultural workers and their families, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all State Federations of Labor be urged to remove similar discriminations, exclusions, and exemptions from existing state social and labor legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the National Legislative Committee of our Federation to secure equal rights of agricultural workers with industrial workers in all pending social and labor legislation which it initiates or supports.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

International Charter for Agricultural, Packinghouse and Cannery Unions

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate Marcella Ryan, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20099, Oakland, Calif.

WHEREAS, The Cannery Workers Union, Local 20099 of Alameda County, California, is in complete agreement with the action taken by our State Federation in petitioning the American Federation of Labor for an International Charter covering agricultural, packinghouse and Cannery Unions, and

WHEREAS, Such a Charter would permit us to organize and conduct our business much more efficiently, as well as to more rapidly extend the benefits of organization to other Cannery Workers throughout the State, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor grant the request of our State Federation for an International Charter at the earliest possible time.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Legislative Program—American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 150—By Delegates Charles I. Stengle, C. L. Edwards, Bernice B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees, at its convention, held in the City of Detroit, Michigan, September 14-17, 1936, adopted the following legislative program:

1. A minimum wage of \$1,500 per annum for all full time employees with statutory automatic increases in salary.

2. A five day week of 35 hours with no decrease in pay to be applied throughout the Government Service.

3. Extension of the merit system to include all branches of the civil Government.

4. The extension of the Classification Act to the field services.

5. Thirty-year optional retirement with the additional provisions that employees retired on account of disability who recover, be given the same status as an employee not voluntarily separated after 15 years of service and having reached the age of 55 years, until such time as his reemployment can be effected.

6. Optional Q. S. & L.—the cost to be applied uniformly to all positions wherein the furnishing of such services is involved.

7. Application of the night differential to all positions requiring night shifts.

8. Payment of not less than the prevailing wage to craft employees in agencies not affected by wage boards or other machinery for fixing adequate wages.

9. Repeal of Section 213 which is a discriminatory measure.

10. Provision of opportunity for promotion of qualified employees prior to the development of Civil Service eligible lists so that the higher positions will be filled by promotion thereby establishing the Civil Service as a career service.

11. Creation of a Civil Service Board of Appeals so organized as to fully protect the rights of employees.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the City of Tampa, Florida, this 17th day of November, A. D., 1936, does hereby endorse the aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this forward looking program to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

National Charter for Agricultural and Cannery Workers

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate George Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.

WHEREAS, The Agricultural field

farm workers and cannery workers throughout the entire country, and particularly the 250,000 workers in the State of California are the most oppressed and exploited workers; and

WHEREAS, The yearly indefinite attempts of these workers to combat the vicious living conditions and coolie wages has resulted in much political strife with many innocent workers being jailed, injured and killed; and

WHEREAS, Certain Federal chartered agricultural workers and farm laborers unions have repeatedly been formed in an effort to use to better advantage their economic and political strength; and

WHEREAS, There are gigantic possibilities in organizing on a national scale the vast multitude of these workers into locals that coordination and cooperation may be assured; and

WHEREAS, Considering the potentialities of an organizational campaign in the State of California and the impetus which would activate other states; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation, in convention, recognized the immediate need of this great work being carried on on a state-wide basis and sponsored a one-cent tax to be allocated to this program for organizers; and

WHEREAS, Other resolutions and legislation were favorably acted upon which will, in a short time, forever remove the shame and blot on the fair name of the State of California for its disgraceful labor record; and

WHEREAS, The Alaska Cannery Workers Union, Local 20195 of San Francisco and the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers' Union, Local 18257 at Seattle, Washington, at a convention held August 9-13 went on record favoring a delegate placing this proposition on the floor of the American Federation of Labor Convention for ratification and concurrence, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention consider this issue on its merits and be it finally

RESOLVED, That a national charter be issued and other measures inaugurated which will ultimately redound to the credit of all concerned.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Reduction in Dues for Seasonal Workers

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate George Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.

WHEREAS, There are certain unions

who are engaged in seasonal work, and

WHEREAS, Certain unions only work short periods of from two to six months, and

WHEREAS, Members who are only employed for these short periods are compelled to pay monthly dues each and every month whether actually employed or not, and

WHEREAS, This taxation is a burden and amounts to exploiting ardent unionists who resent an undemocratic arbitrary assessing of their earnings, and

WHEREAS, Certain members who oppose this tax take out withdrawal cards, and become isolated from the movement, and

WHEREAS, The Alaska Cannery Workers' Union, Local 20195 of San Francisco, and the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers' Union, Local No. 18257 of Seattle, Washington, in regular meeting assembled instructed their constituted officials to take such action that this issue be made a part of the business of the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That certain amendments and revisions regarding out-of-work and unemployed members' dues be changed that will accomplish the relief desired.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Opposing Possession of Weapons of Offense by Employers

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate George Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.

WHEREAS, It is known that corporations and managers possess and maintain arms, such as machine guns, gas bombs, rifles and other war equipment, solely for the purpose of intimidating, threatening and even killing industrial and other workers when strikes, walk-outs and other labor disputes occur, and

WHEREAS, Such war equipment should only be possessed by constituted authority such as the police, State militia and the United States Army, and

WHEREAS, Possession of such arms by a private corporation and associations other than constituted authority of the United States, constitute a menace to society and peace within our nation, as well as undermining the democratic institutions of our government, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Tampa, Florida, go on record as being emphatically op-

posed to such private possessions of arms, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention shall stand pledged to advocate and promote legislation, both State and Federal, which will make it unlawful for any corporation or industrial management to possess any weapons of offense, such as rifles, machine guns, gas bombs or any other weapons designed to do bodily harm to any citizen of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Protect Labor Organizations From Application of Anti-Trust Laws

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate J. W. Williams, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There is a great deal of agitation and demand for the enforcement of the anti-trust laws; and

WHEREAS, These laws in the past have been used primarily against organized labor throughout the United States, and in fact most of the cases that affected labor organizations in the past; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Legislative Committee and its officers to endeavor to use all of the means available to protect labor organizations from the application of the anti-trust laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

International Union of Office Workers

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, There are a number of Federal local unions throughout the country of Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers, Accountants and general office workers; and

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to establish International Unions in the industries, professions or trades wherever possible and advantageous; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the formation of an International Union in our profession would strengthen our power immensely and serve as an added stimulus to the organization of thousands of office workers, which is a forward step in obtaining higher wages and decent conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual

convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the incoming Executive Council to consider the establishment of an International Union of Office Workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention authorize the several Federal locals to set up committees to work for this end.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Establishment of a Local Agency of the Federal Housing Act in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 156—Introduced by Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Delegate of the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico; Laura Iglesias, Delegate, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, Although the benefits of the Federal Housing Act were extended to Puerto Rico, up to the present time the effects of this legislation have not been felt in Puerto Rico;

WHEREAS, There is no local office in the Island which could adequately take care of the administration of the provisions of said Act;

WHEREAS, The Island of Puerto Rico is badly in need of this federal legislation,

BE IT RESOLVED, By the 56th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to ask the federal authorities in charge of the administration of this act, that a local agency be established in Puerto Rico for the administration of the provisions of the Federal Housing Act, so that Puerto Rico might enjoy in full the benefits of the aforesaid Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing the Extension of the Housing Bill to Puerto Rico

RESOLUTION No. 157 — Introduced by Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Delegate of the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico; Laura Iglesias, Delegate, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, The immense majority of the workmen's homes in Puerto Rico are inadequate and with bad structural conditions, lacking in many instances sanitary facilities;

WHEREAS, Long term public housing policy combined with local legislation of the Island which now is en-

forced is of absolute necessity in order that a suitable program of housing, duly financed, can be guaranteed to the community, as embodied in the Wagner-Allenborg Bill which passed the Senate in the 74th Congress but failed to pass in the House;

WHEREAS, There is a serious shortage of decent family dwellings in Puerto Rico which has become more acute on account of the various hurricanes which destroyed thousands of workers' homes;

WHEREAS, The crowded districts with unhealthy surroundings and without adequate recreational facilities in which many workmen live at present is detrimental to health and to moral and physical conditions;

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Wagner-Allenborg Bill failing to pass the 74th Congress, contains a good number of the measures as suggested by organized labor in Puerto Rico in that the Government should assist in the program of slum clearance and low cost of housing;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE 56TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE A. F. OF L., that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to put forth again his best efforts to secure the passing of the Wagner-Allenborg Bill at the next coming session of Congress.

And be it FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Congressional authorities be earnestly urged by the President of the American Federation of Labor to have Puerto Rico included in this measure as provided in the bill failing to pass in the 74th Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing an International Union of Office Workers

Resolution No. 158—Introduced by Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Delegate of the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico; Laura Iglesias, Delegate, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, The 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor approved by unanimous vote a report and recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions referring Resolutions Nos. 234 and 127 to the Executive Council, such resolutions dealing with the necessity of establishing an international union of stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, accountants and general office workers;

WHEREAS, The necessity of establishing this international union is being felt every day, and such an active union would strengthen the power of

the members comprised within its jurisdiction;

WHEREAS, It has been the policy of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to establish national or international unions whenever there was a sufficient number of locals to form it,

BE IT RESOLVED, BY THE 56TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

That a special conference be called by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in which there will be representatives from the different locals of stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, accountants and general office workers, such conference in conjunction with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to agree upon the basis on which this new international union should be established.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That at this conference the American Federation of Labor will submit for the approval of the conference the proposed constitution for the functioning of this new international organization.

The basis of representation at this conference will be fixed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIO

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate R. R. Mayers, United Trades Council, Brownsville, Pa.

WHEREAS, It is a proven fact that the Industrial form of organization is more adapted to the mass productions industries and

WHEREAS, More progress has been made under the Industrial plan of organization in mass production than any other plan prior to the CIO drive, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record of reinstating the CIO Unions and to pledge support to the CIO for the organizing of mass production industries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 160—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association of

Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in repealing adverse legislation, these victories including repeal of wage cuts, restoration of promotions, vacations, differentials, for night work and numerous other hard-won and deeply-cherished rights and privileges; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the postal service, have gained through legislation the five (5) day week and other benefits, thus not only benefitting themselves but more firmly establishing the principle of shorter hours in industry; and

WHEREAS, These very notable victories would have been impossible without the energetic influence and backing of organized labor and the continuous cooperation and assistance of its officers; be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing Government Workers in this Fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby express the deepest gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its allies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The United States Civil Service is a protection to Government employees against undesirable working

conditions, and safeguards their positions against unfair labor practices and lay-offs; and

WHEREAS, During the past several years temporary, non-civil service employees have been introduced into the postal service in ever increasing numbers; and

WHEREAS, This condition, because it tends to limit the number of regular civil service employees, is a menace to the entire civil service system; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Unions have gone on record as being opposed to the use of these non-civil service employees except in emergencies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to the use of non-civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Appreciation of Fair Labor Policy of U. S. Post Office Officials

Resolution No. 162—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, Engineers and Draftsmen; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, Postmaster General James A. Farley, Acting Postmaster General W. W. Howes and other policy forming officials of the Postal Service have repeatedly declared themselves as recognizing the right of organization by the employees and of spokespersonship through their duly elected representatives; and

WHEREAS, This policy is one inaugurated by the present administration of the Post Office Department and is an innovation and marked change from previous personnel relations, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor extends its appreciation to the

officials of the Post Office Department for this liberal reform, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that these officials take energetic steps to impress upon their subordinates in the field the duty and responsibility of observing and furthering recognition of the unions and the sincere practice of collective bargaining with respect to administrative matters, and be it still further

RESOLVED, That we express the sincere hope that this example will be followed by the extension of the above principles to the entire government service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Administration of Civil Service Retirement Law

Resolution No. 163—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, Engineers, and Draftsmen; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Retirement Law is one of the most efficient statutes for the protection of superannuated workers, and

WHEREAS, The administration of this law carries responsibility for more than \$300,000,000 largely contributed by the employees, and for individual accounts and records of more than 400,000 workers, thus requiring high specialized knowledge and administrative efficiency, and

WHEREAS, Duties and responsibilities of such character carry with them the necessity of executive independence and undivided responsibility, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the position of the delegates from civil service unions that the administration of Civil Service Retirement law be placed in the hands of an independent establishment responsible directly to the President.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

U. S. Employee Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 164—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, Engineers, and Draftsmen; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering government employees, and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in an humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bipartisan commission, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within Federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and the manner in which it has administered the laws under its jurisdiction; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand

for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 165—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Shwartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, Engineers and Draftsmen; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service, and provisions made for widows of deceased annuitants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law and a widows' annuity.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 166 — By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, Engineers and Draftsmen; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and the extension of the civil service system with the respect to appointment to and tenure in office; the improvement of postal substitute employees and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter work week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefitted thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model to those existing in the most advanced establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employes in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Upholsterers vs. Painters

Resolution No. 167 — By Delegates James H. Hatch and Edwin E. Graves, Upholsterers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has issued charters in the City of Chicago to two Local Unions affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, thereby causing the two Locals in question to secede from the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Article 4, Section 5 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor reads:

"No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section."

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America be ordered to withdraw the charters they have issued in the City of Chicago to the two Local Unions affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, and that no other charters shall be granted by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America to a Local Union or members thereof that have seceded from the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Proposing Amendments to Income and Other Tax Laws to Exempt Investments in Home Building and Renovation

Resolution No. 168—By Delegates

John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada; J. Gavlak, United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association; P. J. Morrin, International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; J. A. Franklin, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; Wm. J. McSorley, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; M. J. Collieran, Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada; J. Mullane, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers; M. W. Mitchell, Journeymen Stonecutters' Association of North America; Harry Bates, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America; Herbert Rivers, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; John Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.

WHEREAS, Upon thorough investigation, a large number of the unemployed are found to be in the heavy industries, which especially includes the building construction industry; and

WHEREAS, It has been generally accepted that Government building programs alone cannot solve the problem of returning our members to work; therefore a way must be found to encourage private capital to invest in home building and renovation work; and

WHEREAS, We believe that if there could be adopted a measure to exempt from the income tax of home owners, the building and renovation of homes, it would be a helpful solution in stimulating the building industry, and at the same time helping to remove the serious situation of unemployment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make a study of the problem, and sponsor necessary amendments to the income tax and other tax laws in order to relieve the millions of workers now unemployed in the heavy industries, and especially in the construction industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Patronage of Union Label Brushes

Resolution No. 169—By Delegates Herman Templeman, Brushmakers Union No. 16303, New York City and James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Brushmakers Union Local 16303 has signed Union Label agreements with New York City Manufacturers of House furnishing; industrial Paint brushes; and

WHEREAS, The Brushmakers Union Local 16303 is a member of the Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, All Unions in the American Federation of Labor are pledged to patronize Union Label products,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That all American Federation of Labor Unions urge their membership to purchase Union Label brushes.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

National Council of Doll and Toy Workers

Resolution No. 170—By Delegate James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The doll and toy industry of the United States has grown to be a great industry since the ending of the World War, and

WHEREAS, Previous to the World War the great proportion of dolls and toys were imported, and

WHEREAS, At the present time there are several federal labor unions of doll and toy workers organized by the American Federation of Labor where contracts have been set up but because of wages and working conditions established by the unions the employers move their plants to cities where there are no unions in the industry, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assign an organizer to continue the work of organization and education and that at a time suitable to all concerned, a conference be called to establish a National Council so the work of organization and education can be carried on more systematically.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Spain

Resolution No. 171—By Delegate A. Feinberg, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 19989, Los Angeles, Calif.

WHEREAS, The fascists in Spain

are attempting through force and violence to overthrow the legally constituted government, and

WHEREAS, Fascist nations in violation of non-intervention pacts have openly supported the rebels, and

WHEREAS, The Fascist Spanish rebels are attempting to destroy the trade union movement, and

WHEREAS, A victory for fascism in Spain would strengthen the fascist nations of Europe which have already crushed the trade union movement, and

WHEREAS, The victory of fascism in Spain would encourage those groups in America who have as their aim the breaking of the trade union movement, now therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth Annual Convention go on record to aid the democratically elected government of Spain, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor throw the weight of its power into exposing the role of the fascist countries whose anti-labor governments have been supporting the fascist rebels in Spain, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor agree to cooperate with those groups and organizations that are rallying public opinion and financial and material help for the Spanish loyalists.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Condemning Wars of Aggression

Resolution No. 172—By Delegate A. Feinberg, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 19989, Los Angeles, Calif.

WHEREAS, International developments indicate that a war of major proportions may soon involve the people of the world, and

WHEREAS, Experience has proved that war brings only disaster and suffering to organized labor and the majority of the population, and

WHEREAS, It is in the interest of the American people that the United States should not countenance a drive toward war in which this country is bound to become involved, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth Annual Convention officially go on record condemning all wars of aggression and pledges itself to oppose the entrance of the United States into such wars, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of an embargo on munitions and war materials to aggressor nations, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Senators and Congressmen and to the newspapers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Affiliation of A. F. of L. with
International Federation of
Trades Unions**

Resolution No. 173—By Delegate A. Feinberg, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 19989, Los Angeles, Calif.

WHEREAS, The unity of labor not only nationally but also internationally is most essential in order that labor shall defeat the forces of war and fascism, and continue to make steady progress towards its goal, and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council to the 1935 AFL convention stated that the International Federation of Trade Unions has become the "spearhead of the free trade union movement in Europe" recounting its activities especially in disarmament action and the agitation against war, in the fight against reaction and Fascism, in workers educational work and in trade union work among women, and

WHEREAS, The last Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions has decided to enter into negotiations with the trade union movement of the United States, Soviet Russia, Australia and other countries still unaffiliated, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for affiliation to the IFTU and that the Executive Council take immediate measures to carry thru affiliation in shortest possible time, so that labor can thru united international action meet the great problems confronting it at this moment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**International Charter for Cleaning and
Dyeing Industry**

Resolution No. 174—By Delegate A. Feinberg, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 19989, Los Angeles, Calif.; Harry Stern, Cleaners and Dyers Local No. 18232, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There are in the United States thousands of workers employed in the cleaning and dyeing industry, most of them unorganized, and

WHEREAS, There exists a number of Federal Labor Unions scattered throughout the country of workers employed in the above industry which by the nature of their organizational setup and lack of coordination are at the present time unable to effectively organize workers outside of their respective cities, although there is a crying need and demand for the organization of the unorganized in the cleaning and dyeing industry, and

WHEREAS, These already existing Federal Labor Unions of cleaning and dyeing workers if united into an international union, would constitute a firm base for the consolidation of all the unorganized workers in the cleaning and dyeing industry,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the 56th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to grant an international charter to the existing Federal Labor Unions in the cleaning and dyeing industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Advocating Cooperation with Unem-
ployed Groups**

Resolution No. 175—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical and Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, As the start of the eighth year of the depression, there are according to the American Federation of Labor figures, still more than 11,000,000 unemployed, and

WHEREAS, All indications show that until there are far reaching social and industrial changes, a large standing army of unemployed will continue to exist, and

WHEREAS, The welfare of organized labor is bound up with the welfare of the unemployed, and the protection and advancement of their interests, and

WHEREAS, President William Green has recommended that the "interests of labor can be furthered through close cooperation with the unemployed groups," and

WHEREAS, The neglect of labor to interest itself in the unemployed produces dangers in the words of President Green . . .

"There are evidences that the unemployed are developing some of the characteristics of group solidarity. If the unemployed are made to feel they must depend wholly upon their own group . . . the chasm between them and the employed workers will be-

come fixed. We must face this problem. . . . The labor movement must keep open its contacts with the unemployed to prevent divisions in the ranks of the workers." and

WHEREAS, The organization of the unemployed under responsible leadership can serve to strengthen the labor movement and provide a source of new recruits to organized labor should the unemployed return to private industry, Therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED By this 56th convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we approve of the efforts of the unemployed to organize to secure better standards upon relief and work relief, and for social security for themselves and their families, and we urge the closest possible cooperation between the local, state and international unions of the American Federation of Labor and the organized unemployed in order that the social and economic interests of both groups may be promoted and advanced.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

American Youth Act

Resolution No. 176—By Delegate George B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Florida.

WHEREAS, Each year two million young people are graduated from schools and are absorbed into the army of unemployed youth, now five million strong; and

WHEREAS, Efforts on the part of the Government to cope with this problem through the National Youth Administration have been entirely inadequate, since they have helped less than a half million youth, of which the majority have been students rather than actual unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration has been undemocratically administered, since it excludes youth and student organizations as well as trade unions from its administrative processes; and

WHEREAS, It establishes levels of wages—ranging from \$6 to \$25 monthly—that constitute a threat to existing wage levels in America; and

WHEREAS, A bill is now in both houses of Congress called the American Youth Act, which provides for the employment of all youth at trade union wages and for the fulfillment of educational needs; and

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act places upon youth itself the responsibility for administering, in conjunction with representatives of organized labor,

social service, educational and consumers' organizations, and through the Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Education, this program for the welfare of American Youth; and

WHEREAS, It behooves the American Federation of Labor to recognize, as have already hundreds of local unions, numerous Central Labor Bodies and State Federations of Labor, that the principles of the American Youth Act, in affording relief and protection to the youth, are in accordance with the aims of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principles embraced in the American Youth Act and strongly urge its adoption.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Gallup Miners

Resolution No. 177—By Delegate George B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Florida.

WHEREAS, Three unemployed coal miners, Juan Ochoa, Manuel Avita and Leandro Velarde, have been unjustly convicted of second degree murder and sentenced to terms of 45 to 60 years in prison for strike activity in New Mexico, as part of the vengeance of coal companies against them for their loyalty to the labor movement, and as a part of the New Mexico coal companies' efforts to destroy trade unionism; and

WHEREAS, It is to the interest of all workers and the people generally, to have the coal miners organized 100% into the United Mine Workers of America, which the three victims above mentioned were attempting to accomplish in New Mexico through their strike activity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record against this savage injustice, and for the freedom of the Gallup miners; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Governor Clyde Tingley of New Mexico, calling upon him as Chief Executive to pardon Juan Ochoa, Manuel Avita and Leandro Velarde.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

International Union of Agricultural Packing House and Cannery Workers

Resolution No. 178—By Delegate George B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Florida.

WHEREAS, There is at present more union organization in the agricultural, packing house and cannery field than in many other fields where international unions have already been established; and

WHEREAS, The workers in this field are at present seriously handicapped in the advancement of union interests by their lack of a national leadership, a national program and a national office; and

WHEREAS, They are forced to depend for assistance and advice upon the already overburdened national office of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, They are obliged, under the federal type of charters which their unions hold, to pay excessive initiation fees, dues and per capita tax, and these payments do not build up a fund directly under their control and at their command in times of stress and struggle, as would payments into a national treasury of their own; and

WHEREAS, Many unions in this field refuse to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor because of the lack of an international union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the establishment of an international union of agricultural, packing house and cannery workers, and instruct the National Executive Council to call, within six months of the passage of this resolution, a national conference of all unions in the agricultural, packing house and cannery field, for the purpose of establishing such an international union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Asking U. S. Government to Intercede in Lawrence B. Simpson Case

Resolution No. 179 — By Delegate George B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Florida.

WHEREAS, Lawrence B. Simpson, an American seaman, member of the I.S.U., employed on the SS Manhattan, was kidnapped more than a year ago by German Secret Police, while the Manhattan was in German port, and was held by the German government without trial for fifteen months; and

WHEREAS, Brother Simpson, after fifteen months' imprisonment, was tried and sentenced to three years in a Nazi jail on the sole charge that he was in possession, on board the SS Manhattan, of anti-fascist literature; and

WHEREAS, The formal charge against Brother Simpson, an American citizen, was treason against Germany for this offense, a charge which cannot be held against an American citizen; and

WHEREAS, Brother Simpson was refused permission to have counsel of his own choice to represent him at his trial or in any other matter pending his trial; and

WHEREAS, The United States government has taken certain steps to interfere on behalf of Brother Simpson; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record demanding the immediate release of Brother Simpson, and petitioning the United States Government to strengthen its representation in his behalf, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and to the Hitler government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protest Against Labor Policy of American Optical Company, South Bridge, Mass., and Bausch and Lomb Company, Rochester, N. Y.

Resolution No. 180 — By Delegate James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council, New York City.

WHEREAS, For the past three years the American Federation of Labor has attempted to carry on an organization and education campaign for the workers in the optical industry and,

WHEREAS, At the present time there are some twenty federal labor unions located in various parts of the United States and Canada, and

WHEREAS, These federal labor unions have created a National Council under the direction of the American Federation of Labor to continue their organization and education work with a view to building up an International Union, and

WHEREAS, There are two large firms known as the American Optical Company at South Bridge, Massachusetts, and the Bausch and Lomb Company at Rochester, New York, which practically control and furnish glass used by opticians throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, These two powerful industrial corporations, because of their control of the glass sold to the retailers through credits and other systems, exercise so much power that in every

case where unions are attempting to form in any community, these corporations either by intimidation of the retailers or through their spy system obstruct and prevent successful organization work, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse this appeal of the National Council of Optical Technicians and Workers of America, and place before the Federal Trade Commission such evidence as may be necessary to show that these two industrial corporations have a practical monopoly of the industry and by conspiracy not only prevent the rights of the workers in the industry to collectively bargain but also prevent retail merchants from exercising their business rights to deal collectively with the union without any interference on the part of these two large corporations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Taxation

Resolution No. 181—By Delegates George L. Berry and J. Sid Tiller, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America; Jno. J. Kane, Central Labor Union, Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHEREAS, Since the modification and repeal of the war-time excess profits tax, the tax bill of the Nation steadily has increased, constituting a serious burden upon private enterprise, employment and the consumptive capacity of the market; and

WHEREAS, The continuing search for new sources of tax revenue to pay the constantly increasing cost of government—Federal, State and local—has woven into the tax base, inequalities, duplications, conflicts and grave injustices to the taxpayers; and

WHEREAS, the need for revamping the sources of tax revenue for the support of Government is of growing concern to labor and to capital in industry, and to the consuming public,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, The Executive Council undertake a study of the base and structure of taxation—national, state and local—with a view to determining the deterrent effect of present taxes upon enterprise and employment, and recommending such changes as will produce the maximum tax revenue with the minimum burden upon labor, industry and the consuming public.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Union Wages on Government Projects

Resolution No. 182—By Delegate

Geo. B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Florida.

WHEREAS, The results of the recent national election demonstrate that the people of this country overwhelmingly endorse the efforts of the present administration to relieve unemployment and stimulate economic recovery through the setting up of federally financed public works projects; and

WHEREAS, This endorsement makes it certain that wage levels throughout the country for at least the next four years will be to a very great extent determined by the wage levels maintained on these government projects; and

WHEREAS, The greatest failure from the standpoint of organized labor in the setting up and administration of such projects in the last three and one half years has been the failure of the government to establish and guarantee union wage levels on such projects; and

WHEREAS, The establishment and guaranty of union wage levels on such projects can only be secured through (1) a definite and nation-wide campaign by the American Federation of Labor to organize workers on these projects into unions of their own, and (2) a definite legislative program aimed at the attachment to all appropriations for government public works projects of stipulations of the payment of union wages on those projects; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor approve such an organizational campaign and such a legislative program, and instruct the National Executive Council to set up the apparatus necessary to the execution of such campaign and such program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Winning Youth to Trade Unions

Resolution No. 183—By Delegate Geo. B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Florida.

Resolution passed by Federal Labor Union No. 18959 for Presentation at 56th Annual A. F. of L. Convention.

Winning Youth to Trade Unions

WHEREAS, A large number of youth have recently entered labor's ranks, finding employment in various industries; and

WHEREAS, Among these young people there is a sturdy and growing tendency to enlist in the organizations of labor; and

WHEREAS, Many efforts, such as the following, are being made to endanger Union standards: Government-sponsored NYA and CCC projects establish wage levels far below prevailing levels; special apprenticeship systems are being set up to get young people to do the work of and displace adults at apprenticeship wages; company unions are developing athletic and cultural activities with the hope of weaning young people away from the bona-fide trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Various International and Local Unions, recognizing the need of developing Union consciousness among the youth, have instituted, as a regular part of Union procedure, cultural and athletic activities, thus winning large numbers of young people to their ranks; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor now in Convention assembled, undertake a campaign to promulgate union consciousness among America's young people and raise among its members the slogan: "Win your sons and daughters for the Trade Union Movement."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIO

Resolution No. 184—by Delegate John B. Easton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is a division between two groups of organized workers both until recently affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS it is evident to all parties concerned that the breach must and will be healed in the near future in order to preserve the American Labor Movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Section 5 of Article 4 and Section 1 of Article 11, as it would apply to all Local Unions of the suspended crafts involved, be not enforced by the President or Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a period of one year or until the 1937 Convention convenes, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council continue their efforts toward a peaceful settlement of the controversy now existing between the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Charter For Welders

Resolution No. 185—M. L. McCarty, Central Labor Union, Portsmouth, Va.

WHEREAS, In 1916 the Executive

Council of the American Federation of Labor ruled that welding was not a separate craft, but a tool to be employed by various of the accepted, and

WHEREAS, Since that time welding has developed and become so specialized as to be generally recognized as a separate craft, requiring a full four year apprenticeship and a great deal of technical knowledge as well as practical experience to be practiced proficiently, and

WHEREAS, The number of persons who are devoting their full time to this trade has increased many times over since 1916, until today there are many thousands of men throughout the country who are specializing in welding alone, and

WHEREAS, Modern conditions and developments in the art of welding have made obsolete and discriminating the twenty year old ruling of the Executive Council, now

THEREFORE, Be it resolved, That this convention go on record as recognizing welding as a distinct and separate craft, that the Executive Council be directed to rescind its decision of 1916, that steps be taken through the proper channels to organize nationally, in the respective states and locally a new union to be known as the International Brotherhood of Welders, which is to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and will be authorized to work out rules and regulations regarding membership restrictions, apprenticeships, and standards.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Welders

Resolution No. 186—M. L. McCarty, Central Labor Union, Portsmouth, Va.

WHEREAS, Improvements and advancements in the art of welding in the last twenty years have caused this class of work to become a distinct and separate trade with specialized knowledge requiring a full apprenticeship of four years to gain, and

WHEREAS, The time has come, in the opinion of the many thousands of men who specialize in welding, when they are entitled to recognition by the American Federation of Labor as a separate craft, and

WHEREAS, Because of the jurisdictional claims of some of the Metal Trades the organization of a welders union has been retarded, and today there are thousands of welders who would like to ally with the American Federation of Labor but are not willing to take a back seat in some other craft union, now,

THEREFORE, Be it resolved, That

the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed by this convention to appoint a committee to investigate the situation affecting those who follow the trade of welding and work out some means of providing a distinct place in the ranks of organized labor for the welders, and report as soon as possible with their findings to the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor so that the welders before the 1937 Convention will have a definite status and place in the ranks of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. Constitutional Amendment

Resolution No. 187—By Delegates M. F. Greene, Alex Rose and S. Hershkowitz, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States, by a series of decisions, has either completely nullified or rendered ineffective legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States having for its purpose the elimination of industrial and economic abuses of which the wage earners of our nation are the principal victims, on the ground that under the Federal Constitution Congress has not the powers which it attempted to exercise in the enactment of such legislation; and

WHEREAS, As a result of such decisions, all legislation affecting the right of the workers to organize for their protection free from interference and restraint, to achieve some measure of security against the hazards of unemployment and indigency in old age, to establish in industry minimum wages and maximum hours of employment, to obtain relief from intolerable economic conditions, and to enjoy the benefits and opportunities under decent social conditions to which their industry and labor entitles them, is placed in jeopardy, and the ultimate fate of the masses of our country is made dependent upon the constitutional theories of the judges comprising the Supreme Court of the United States rather upon the will of Congress composed of representatives chosen by the people; and

WHEREAS, It is indispensable to the continued progress of our nation, and to the proper and orderly solution of our industrial, political, and social problems, that the powers of legislative branch of our Federal Government should be equal to the needs which industrial changes may impose upon it, and that all doubt concerning the scope of legislative powers may be adequately and conclusively established beyond the power of the

Supreme Court to impair or restrict; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that a Federal Amendment be submitted to the States conferring upon Congress such powers as may make it possible to deal nationally with problems that are national in scope, such as have been enumerated herein; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be, and it hereby is, authorized and directed to have a constitutional amendment of the nature herein indicated prepared and introduced in the Congress of the United States, and to set up such machinery as it may deem advisable to secure popular support for such amendment in the States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Petition for Pardon of J. B. McNamara

Resolution No. 188—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.

WHEREAS, J. B. McNamara is imprisoned by the State of California for more than twenty-five years, and

WHEREAS, His real crime is that he was a devoted leader of the organized labor movement and fought against anti-union forces in the State of California, and

WHEREAS, He served a prison sentence much longer than any labor prisoner in this country,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Sixty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Tampa, Florida, goes on record petitioning the Governor of the State of California for the immediate pardon of J. B. McNamara.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Violations of Civil Liberties in Tampa

Resolution No. 189—By Delegate Geo. B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Fla.

WHEREAS, This, the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, is meeting in a city where civil liberties have been most seriously and persistently violated; and

WHEREAS, These violations have taken the form of various crimes, ranging from aggravated assault in the recent case of the breaking up of a lawful election meeting of the Communist Party, through kidnapping and systematic torture in the case of cer-

tain members of the Socialist Party and the Modern Democrats group, to actual murder in the case of Joseph Shoemaker; and

WHEREAS, These crimes are not only abhorrent as such to the members of the American Federation of Labor, but the motives and intentions behind them are in contravention of the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor is organized and functions, and in violation of the rights which make possible the existence of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Tampa, Florida, condemns these attacks against civil rights and liberties in Tampa, and demands the severe punishment of those who are guilty of these crimes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Pay for Lost Time for WPA Workers

Resolution No. 190—By Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There exists a Works Progress Administration order described as Administrative Order No. 44 which, within its provisions, includes the docking of Works Progress Administration employees for loss of time through no fault of their own, such as for absences caused by stoppage of working during inclement weather, holidays, illness, etc., and

WHEREAS, This arbitrary and unjustified ruling works undue hardships and privation upon the already underpaid Works Progress Administration workers; and

WHEREAS, This affects both white collar and manual workers on the Works Progress Administration,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the Works Progress Administration to rescind the hereinabove mentioned clause of Administrative Order No. 44; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor petition the Works Progress Administration for payment of wages to its employees for time lost through no fault of their own including time lost upon termination of projects and delayed transfers to other projects.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Farmer-Labor Party

Resolution No. 191—By Delegate Ervin W. Zumach, Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.; Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.

WHEREAS, The unprecedented unity of labor of which the Labor Non-Partisan League was an outstanding phase in the presidential election was the decisive factor in defeating the candidates of reaction, Landon and Knox; and

WHEREAS, The clear lesson from this as well as all previous political experience demonstrates that labor whether on the economic or political field can most effectively further its interests through its own independent action and organization, and

WHEREAS, The united action of the working, farm, and middle classes is essential for the realization of the economic and political demands of all toilers,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Tampa, Florida, go on record for the establishment of common political action of the workers, farmers, the negro people and middle class groups towards the realization of their demands to be placed before the next Congress and the State legislatures, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take the initiative in summoning the organizations of these various groups of toilers in a national conference for the purpose of developing a common political program which can be presented to the coming Congress, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Council take the initiative in the organization of a Farmer-Labor bloc in Congress, that will fight for this program, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall encourage and help the crystallization of these groups into independent political parties in the cities and states and that it assist in the popularization of the principle of independent political action of labor aiming towards laying a base for an eventual national Farmer-Labor Party.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

War

Resolution No. 192—By Delegate

Cedric Parker, Federation of Labor, Madison, Wis.

WHEREAS, The trends toward another European war are becoming more alarmingly apparent, and

WHEREAS, William Green, at the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, stated in discussing possibilities of a future European war, "under no circumstances whatever must we be drawn into this European war," and

WHEREAS, It becomes increasingly necessary to combat the forces that are opposed to the interests of organized labor, and that are leading toward war, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 56th Annual Convention go on record to throw the weight of its power into the struggle against war, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor cooperate actively with those groups that are striving to bring together all the forces of peace in the United States of America today.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Provision for A. F. of L. Convention Representation of Locals Not Represented Through Central Bodies

Resolution No. 193—By Delegate George Knelp, West Palm Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Locals that are not affiliated with Central Labor Unions because there are no Central Labor Unions in their community, are not entitled to a seat in the American Federation of Labor convention; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That Local No. 1927 respectfully requests that your laws be amended so that locals where there is no Central Body shall be entitled to a seat provided said locals are affiliated with the State Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Thomas J. Mooney

Resolution No. 194—By Delegate George Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers' Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.

WHEREAS, The present Governor of California continues to be deaf to appeals for the release of Tom Mooney; and

WHEREAS, Evidence shows conclusively that Mooney was framed and imprisoned because of labor activities; and

WHEREAS, The chief executives of the State of California since the imprisonment of Tom Mooney have either been destitute of sympathy or actually hostile to appeals or suggestions that this innocent union advocate be released; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor again pledges to continue the fight for the freedom of Mooney and joins with all people and organizations working for the release of Tom Mooney.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Vigilantism

Resolution No. 195—By Delegate Warren Brown, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20221, Stockton, California.

WHEREAS, Vigilantism is becoming more prevalent each year and more vicious in its attacks on organized labor with the aim of destroying trade unions and subjugating labor to the will of the employers, and

WHEREAS, Vigilantism constitutes a serious menace to organized labor and the terroristic methods of vigilantes prevent the peaceful settling of industrial disputes, and

WHEREAS, Law enforcement bodies frequently have failed to cope with vigilantes, and in some cases have condoned and encouraged their lawless actions, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth annual convention officially go on record as condemning the activities of such terroristic organizations that take the law into their own hands, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor set up a Committee or utilize existing local committees for the purpose of defending the rights of labor against vigilante attacks.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Fascism

Resolution No. 196—By Delegate George G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under any form, Fascism is but tyranny over the free will of people; and

WHEREAS, There are forces at work in this country that would wipe out the labor movement of America, just as it was wiped out in Italy, Germany, Poland, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The danger of Fascism, growing with the American Liberty League, American Association of Vigilantes, the Hearst syndicate of newspapers and magazines would destroy our liberties, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Tampa, Florida, hereby goes on record as condemning Fascism under whatever guise it may appear, And, be it further

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Tampa, Florida, hereby calls upon all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to carry on an active campaign against Fascism, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Federation call upon all bona fide organizations and groups, whose purpose and aim it is to combat Fascism in the United States, to join with the Labor movement in a determined fight to stamp out this tyrannical and un-American activity.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers vs. CIO

Resolution No. 197—By Delegates P. J. Morrin, W. J. McCain, J. H. Lyons, John J. Dempsey, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has granted to the International Association of Bridge Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers jurisdiction over the fabricating of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental Iron and Steel where fabricated, and

WHEREAS, Our organization has carried on an active effort throughout the industry, to organize the men employed in the shops and has spent large sums of money in their effort to organize these workers, and

WHEREAS, The Committee for Industrial Organization, which is outside the American Federation of Labor, through its activities, has caused confusion through their unwarranted attempt to organize these workers into dual organizations outside the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor, thereby, seriously interfering with and encroaching upon the recognized rights and jurisdiction of the International Association of Bridge Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, do hereby condemn this unwarranted effort of the Committee for Industrial Organization for their attempt to interfere with and obstruct the work of organizing the workers employed in the Bridge, Structural, Ornamental, Iron and Steel fabricating shops and further, that the convention pledge its support to the International Association of Bridge Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers in their effort to organize these shops and to resist the encroachment upon their jurisdiction by the dual organization known as the Committee for Industrial Organization, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That this Resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the Metal Trades Department Convention, held in Tampa, Florida, November 13th, 1936, be approved by this Convention of the American Federation of Labor and copies of the same be sent to all International Unions, State Federations of Labor, all Central Bodies and all Federal Labor Organizations, for their information and guidance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing National Referendum For War Participation

Resolution No. 198—By Delegate George G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In time of war men and women are forced to leave their homes and participate in such war; and

WHEREAS, These men and women should have the right to decide whether or not they desire to participate in a war which may cost them their lives; and

WHEREAS, The right of the individual to participate by ballot in any action involving him is a recognized principle of democracy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at Tampa, Florida, hereby goes on record as declaring for and urging that in case of war, except where an invasion of our land is involved, a national referendum be taken on the question of American participation in such war.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Issuance of Bomb and Machine Gun Permits to Employers

Resolution No. 199 — By Delegate Darrell Eddie Sams, Central Labor Union, Indiana, Pa.

WHEREAS, Employers and operators are increasingly resorting to the use of force and violence against organized labor in industrial disputes by means of tear and vomit gas bombs and machine and sub-machine guns, and

WHEREAS, In many States under the present laws for transportation and possession of such bombs and machine guns permits may be granted to firms, to store, transport or sell gas bombs and guns without public hearing, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor set up a Committee, or use existing facilities to demand public hearings for the granting of permits, and demand that previous permits granted become matters of public record.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

William Randolph Hearst

Resolution No. 200 — By Delegate Darrell Eddie Sams, Central Labor Union, Indiana, Pa.

WHEREAS, William Randolph Hearst has proven through word and deed that he is the arch enemy of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, As long ago as 1913, Samuel Gompers characterized Hearst as "a notorious publisher, determined to destroy the American Federation of Labor", and

WHEREAS, Numerous state and city labor bodies and international unions have condemned the anti-labor policies of William Randolph Hearst, and

WHEREAS, The Peoples Committee Against Hearst of the American League Against War and Fascism, which was formed simultaneously in New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Washington, Chicago and other cities, has succeeded in uniting some of the largest trade union bodies with Senators, Governors, Congressmen and other outstanding liberals, and has carried on a most effective campaign to weaken the influence of William Randolph Hearst on the public mind, and has successfully counteracted Hearst's un-American efforts to brand all progressive movements as being "Red and Communist", and

WHEREAS, The campaign against Hearst must be intensified on a nation-wide scale if Hearst's reactionary influence is to be curbed, now therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the Peoples Committee Against Hearst of the American League Against War and Fascism, and urge all local bodies to cooperate in the formation of local Peoples Committees Against Hearst.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Support of Steel Organizing Campaign

Resolution No. 201 — By Delegate Darrell Eddie Sams, Central Labor Union, Indiana, Pa.

WHEREAS, The present situation offers an unexampled opportunity for organized labor to strengthen its unions in the unorganized industries, and generally to improve the conditions of the workers,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That this 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, being held at Tampa, Florida, pledges itself to support with all its available resources the present campaigns of organization in the steel and other unorganized mass production industries, on the basis of industrial unionism.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. Supreme Court

Resolution No. 202—By Delegate Darrell Eddie Sams, Central Labor Union, Indiana, Pa.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court has usurped the powers of Congress and has destroyed legislation which would give some measure of security to workers; and

WHEREAS, Unless the Supreme Court is curbed, the employers will continue to use it as an instrument to further undermine the American standard of living by wage-cuts, increased speed-up, and longer hours; and

WHEREAS, The dictatorial rule of the Supreme Court is more and more an instrument in the hands of the reactionaries in their attempt to keep the workers in economic serfdom; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its 56th Annual Convention, Tampa, Florida.

reaffirm its opposition to the usurped power of the Supreme Court to nullify legislation passed by the elected representatives of the people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention call on Congress to reassert its constitutional powers to enact labor and social legislation, and immediately curb the usurped powers of the judicial oligarchy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Minimum Wage Standards for White Collar Workers, WPA

Resolution No. 203—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Steenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There exists a difference in wage scales of white collar workers employed on the Works Progress Administration, this scale being divided into three categories known as professional, skilled and intermediate;

AND WHEREAS, Wages now paid to white collar workers on the Works Progress Administration are totally inadequate;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of establishing a minimum wage of \$93.50 per month for intermediate workers with greater pay for professional and skilled workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Negro Workers

Resolution No. 204—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, We recognize the fact that all men are born equal and enjoy an equal right to the pursuit of happiness, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor in certain parts of the country prevent members of that race from joining the ranks of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The employers utilize the division between Negro and white workers, between organized and unorganized workers, and

WHEREAS, The workers, regardless of creed, color or race, have only one common interest, namely, through united and collective effort to increase

the standard of life of the workers, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that this convention instruct all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to accept into its membership members of the Negro race on an equal basis with white workers, and that they shall have full rights within the organization to run for office and participate in all union affairs, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we go on record for equal opportunity of employment at equal wages for the Negro workers in all trades, crafts and occupations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Use of National Guard in Strikes

Resolution No. 205—By Delegates John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor; E. H. Williams, Louisiana State Federation of Labor; John Reid, Lansing, Mich., Federation of Labor; Redmond M. Burr, Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council; D. C. Thompson, Alabama State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Guard is used against organized labor in time of strike, and

WHEREAS, It has been called out 60 times in the past three years to break strikes, and

WHEREAS, money is being appropriated out of the United States war budget for the further enlarging and arming of the National Guard, which would be unnecessary if the National Guard were not called out for strike duty, now therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled record itself in opposition to the further granting of government funds to the National Guard unless it is provided by law that the National Guard may not be called out in strike situations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Eight Hour Day for Hospital Nurses and Attendants

Resolution No. 206—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Thousands of nurses, laboratory technicians and other hospital professionals unorganized throughout the country are still working 12 hours a day at very low wages, and

WHEREAS, We found that our attempt in New York to organize these nurses and hospital professionals were fruitful, and

WHEREAS, We are waging a most serious campaign to obtain the 8-hour day for nurses and hospital workers in New York City, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is going on record favoring the 6-hour day, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has recognized nurses and hospital professionals as part of the labor movement of America,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor being held at Tampa, Fla., recommend to the Executive Council and the State Federation of Labor and the Central Labor bodies that they aid in the organization of nurses throughout the country, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and this convention endorse our campaign for the 8-hour day movement in all the hospitals in this country, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That all public officials who have received the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor be urged to press for legislation limiting the hours of hospital employees to a maximum of 8 hours per day in municipal, state and federal institutions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Federal Government Establish Permanent Social Research Program

Resolution No. 207—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical and Research Employees Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, Many types of research of permanent social value including social research, such as: statistics on unemployment, relationship of income to disease, study of morbidity and mortality, child labor, women in industry, industrial hazards; and educational research, such as: literacy, study of school facilities, vocational training of the handicapped, etc.; physical research, such as: conservation of natural resources, flood control, meteorological and chemical research; and biological research such as: medical, control of insect pests, etc.; are not being forwarded because private industry does not find it immediately profitable,

AND WHEREAS, There exists a

need for this type of research in the United States of America for national progress,

AND WHEREAS, The Federal Government is the only agency that can establish and support an adequate national research program of general social value;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor favor the establishment by the federal government of a permanent national research program as outlined above.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Senate Investigation of Labor Spy Activities

Resolution No. 208 — By Delegates Yelverton Cowherd, Birmingham, Ala. Trades Council; George G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor; George Houghton, Orlando, Fla. Central Labor Union; J. D. Rapp, Virginia State Federation of Labor; John Reid, Lansing, Mich., Central Labor Union; E. H. Williams, Louisiana State Federation of Labor; Dowell E. Patterson, South Carolina State Federation of Labor; Cornelius J. Mulcahy, Rhode Island State Federation of Labor; Otto W. Brach, Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union; P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen; John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor; D. C. Thompson, Alabama State Federation of Labor; Vic Wood, Arkansas State Federation of Labor; Warren S. Welsh, Missouri State Federation of Labor; George Townshend, Nevada State Federation of Labor; Bernard M. Egan, Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, State legislation and local ordinances have been found ineffective for combatting the spy and thug agencies, operating as interstate businesses at the service of great anti-union industrial corporations, and

WHEREAS, The only promise of dealing effectively with these evils resides in the Federal Government which has set up the LaFollette investigating committee, and

WHEREAS, The failure of the Senate to provide the LaFollette Committee with an adequate appropriation threatens to choke the investigation,

particularly in face of the collusion of Labor-Detective Agencies and Industrial firms in destroying records and hiding witnesses, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, viewing the LaFollette investigation as vital to Labor's interest, calls upon the Senate for an appropriation adequate to the fullest investigation and directs its officers to urge this matter upon the Senate at the opening of the Congressional Session.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIO

Resolution No. 209—By Cedric Parker, Central Labor Union, Madison, Wis.

RESOLVED, That the suspension of the United Mine Workers of America, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the other suspended unions be hereby lifted, and these organizations invited to resume their former status with seats and full rights in this 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Tampa, Florida.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Appropriation to Press Senate Investigation Into Employment of Labor Spy and Strike-Breaking Agencies by Corporations

Resolution No. 210—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The LaFollette investigation so far has not called before it a single one of the great industrial corporations employing spy and strike-breaking agencies, and

WHEREAS, This is due to the Senate's failure to provide the LaFollette Committee with an adequate appropriation, and

WHEREAS, The spy and strike-breaking agencies and their industrial corporation employers are acting in conspiracy to resist the investigation by destroying records and threatening to challenge the investigation in the Courts, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare the LaFollette investigation to be vital to the interest of all labor and calls upon Congress, in view of the obstructive tactics used against the Senate Committee, to ap-

propriate at least \$200,000 so that the investigation may be pressed home to the anti-union industrialists employing the most vicious anti-labor tactics.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Party

Resolution No. 211—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, M. F. Greene, Alex Rose and S. Hershkowitz, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, In the presidential elections of 1936, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, candidate for reelection, on the basis of his record, his utterances, and his program, was entitled to the unqualified and the most effective support of the American labor movement which he has served by his enlightened and humanitarian administration, and as a result of which the wage earners of our nation have obtained a measure of security against the hazards of unemployment, protection in old age, increased earnings and a reduction of hours of employment, the restriction of child labor, legislative protection to organize in bona fide trade unions of their own choosing without the interference or restraint of employers, and increased confidence that through the instrumentalities of government and democracy a more abundant life may be achieved for those who in the past have been the victims of an unbalanced and inequitable economic system; and

WHEREAS, In this momentous struggle, the most momentous struggle waged since the Civil War for the advancement and liberation of the underprivileged, a struggle in which the forces of labor, progress and liberalism were arrayed on one side, and the beneficiaries of special privileges, the enemies of labor, and the reactionaries seeking to reacquire the powers of government for their own benefit and aggrandizement, were arrayed on the other, the American Federation of Labor, except for such of its affiliated organizations as realized the grave danger which would result from a defeat of President Roosevelt and mobilized their forces to insure his reelection, contented itself with a publication of the candidates' record instead of throwing its resources and the influence of its vast membership behind the one candidate who voiced the hopes and aspirations of labor everywhere; and

WHEREAS, In the struggles that the wage earners of our land shall have to wage for the betterment of

their conditions and for the achievement of a larger measure of democracy in industry they will require political, as well as economic, power to the same extent that the industrial overlords have always used both to advance their own economic interests, for which proper machinery must be created to make the will and purpose of labor effective on the political field; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this, the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council be, and it hereby is, instructed to call a conference of the representatives of all affiliated organizations, and of such other progressive, farm and cooperative organizations as may be genuinely interested in advancing the interests of labor and agriculture through independent political action, for the purpose of setting up a political party of the producers and consumers of our nation which will be available in any future struggles that may have to be waged to prevent the return to power of the forces which were defeated in the recent elections and to make the voice of labor articulate.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Conference to Plan Organization Campaign in Furniture Industry

Resolution No. 212—By Delegates James H. Hatch and Edwin E. Graves, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Furniture Manufacturing Industry is one of the largest mass production industries of the country, and

WHEREAS, This Industry would be a fertile field, for the operation of the CIO and,

WHEREAS, The manufacture of furniture requires the services of several of the craft unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. be directed to call a conference of the representatives of the craft unions engaged in this Industry, for the purpose of agreeing on a plan of organizing the Industry, and that the conference to take place before the adjournment of this Convention.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Urging Cooperation of International Unions in Securing Affiliation of Local Unions with Central Bodies

Resolution No. 213—By Delegates Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union; Otto W. Brach, Central Labor Union, Toledo, Ohio; Al Towers, Trades and Labor Assembly, Belleville, Ill.; Felix Olkives, Trades and Labor Council, Kenosha, Wis.; Gust Anderson, Central Labor Council, Portland, Ore.; James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in accord with its constitution has chartered some eight hundred city central bodies throughout the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The law authorizing the chartering of city central bodies is the result of legislation passed by delegates representing international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the American Federation of Labor and the various international unions affiliated with it frequently call upon city central bodies to cooperate with them; and

WHEREAS, Invariably these city central bodies render such service as their facilities will permit; and

WHEREAS, They would be in a position to do a much better job if a greater number of local unions, eligible for membership, were affiliated with the city central bodies; and

WHEREAS, Most of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor make it a policy to urge their local unions to support the central bodies, but there are certain of the international unions that are very poorly represented in the central bodies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention urge that each and every international union affiliated herewith to request of their local unions to affiliate with central bodies; that the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor when visiting conventions of the international unions be instructed to urge such international conventions to see that their local unions are affiliated and supporting the central bodies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall again send a letter to all international unions urging upon them

the need of the affiliation of all local unions with city central bodies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Fraudulent Advertising Publications

Resolution No. 214—By Delegates Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union; Otto W. Brach, Central Labor Union, Toledo, Ohio; Al Towers, Trades and Labor Assembly, Belleville, Ill.; Felix Olkives, Trades and Labor Council, Kenosha, Wis.; Gust Anderson, Central Labor Council, Portland, Ore.; James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity.

WHEREAS, Numerous complaints have been made that certain irresponsible and unauthorized persons have gone into the jurisdictions of central bodies and solicited advertisements and contributions for alleged labor papers, year books, souvenir books, and other periodicals, to extract money from unsuspecting business firms; and

WHEREAS, This practice is detrimental to the good name of organized labor, and it is injurious to legitimate labor papers in operation, in the jurisdiction of the central bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon all central bodies that they undertake to stamp out the activities of those responsible for the above mentioned solicitations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That local unions and central bodies be urged to support to the best of their ability the local labor press, provided the same has the approval of the central body; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor use their best efforts to protect the central bodies from the damage now being done by those responsible for the publication of such unauthorized newspapers, year books, annuals, and other publications.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIO

Resolution No. 215—By Delegates J. C. Waddell, Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio; Donald O. Davis, Match Factory Workers No. 18460, Akron, Ohio; Geo. B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Fla.; Frances Gerhart, Federal Labor Union No. 20183, Barberton, Ohio; Ben Weintraub, Photographic

and Finishing Employees' Union No. 19893, New York, N. Y.; Jos. Driscoll, Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.; A. Feinberg, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 19989, Los Angeles, Cal.; Claire Rex, Hospital and Medical Professionals No. 20094, New York, N. Y.; Leif Dahl, Farm Laborers Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.; Wm. J. Cannon, Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.; Marcella Ryan, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20099, Alameda County, Calif.; Andrew R. Cross, Federal Labor Union No. 19322, Kenosha, Wis.; Rud. Faupl, Fabricated Metal Workers No. 19340, Milwaukee, Wis.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo.; Stanley Joers, Metal Workers' Union No. 19829, Milwaukee, Wis.; Patrick Gallagher, Gas Workers Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.; W. Kelleher, Sugar Refinery Employees' Union No. 20037, Crockett, Cal.; Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.; Donald Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.; Paul Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.; Roy Hawthorne, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20224, Camden, N. J.; Vincent Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.; Albert Markva, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 19994, Blissfield, Mich.; Arthur Osman, Dry Goods Employees' Union No. 19932, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Edwin Zumach, Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.; Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.; G. Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers' Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Cal.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.; Harry Stern, Cleaners and Dyers Local No. 18232, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The present situation offers an unexampled opportunity for organized labor to strengthen its unions in the unorganized industries, and generally to improve the conditions of the workers, and

WHEREAS, The fact that one-third of the membership of the American Federation of Labor has been sus-

pended, disrupts the unity of labor that is fundamental to every step forward; THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That this 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Tampa, Florida, pledges itself to support with all its available resources the present campaigns of organization in the steel and other unorganized mass production industries, on the basis of industrial unionism, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the suspension of the United Mine Workers of America, the U. T. W., the I. L. G. W. U., the A. C. W., and the other suspended unions be hereby lifted, and these organizations invited to resume their former status with seats and full rights in this convention of the American Federation of Labor, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That in order to establish unity in the American Federation of Labor, the convention elect a special committee to confer with the leaders of the C. I. O., to arrive at a settlement of the issues involved, which committee is to report back to the American Federation of Labor Council which shall have full power to act if there is agreement. In the event of remaining disagreement a special convention to finally settle all questions to be called at the request of either side in the controversy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Reduction in Tax for Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 216—By Delegates J. C. Waddell, Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio; Donald O. Davis, Match Factory Workers No. 18460, Akron, Ohio; Geo. B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Fla.; Frances Gerhart, Federal Labor Union No. 20183, Barberton, Ohio; Ben Weintraub, Photographic and Finishing Employees' Union No. 18993, New York, N. Y.; Jos. Driscoll, Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.; A. Feinberg, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 19989, Los Angeles, Calif.; Claire Rex, Hospital and Medical Professionals No. 20094, New York, N. Y.; Lief Dahl, Farm Laborers Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.; Wm. J. Cannon, Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.; Marcella Ryan, Cannery Workers Union No. 20099, Alameda County, Calif.; Andrew B. Cross, Federal Labor Union No. 19322, Kenosha,

Wis.; Rud. Faupl, Fabricated Metal Workers No. 19340, Milwaukee, Wis.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo.; Stanley Joers, Metal Workers Union No. 19829, Milwaukee, Wis.; Patrick Gallagher, Gas Workers Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.; W. Kelleher, Sugar Refinery Employees' Union No. 20037, Crockett, Calif.; Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.; Donald Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.; Paul Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.; Roy Hawthorne, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20224, Camden, N. J.; Vincent Vigil, Beet Field Workers Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.; Albert Markva, Agricultural Workers Union No. 19994, Blissfield, Mich.; Arthur Osman, Dry Goods Employees Union No. 19932, New York, N. Y.; Erwin Zumach, Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.; Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.; G. Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.; Harry Stern, Cleaners and Dyers Local No. 18232, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Many federal locals have become organized in hitherto unorganized fields of industry, and

WHEREAS, The welfare of organized labor makes it necessary that these locals should be encouraged to push organizational activity and take advantage of organizational opportunities among the unorganized, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Locals lack the assistance and benefits received by locals of National and International unions, and

WHEREAS, The dues charged by these locals must of necessity be sufficiently low in order to be able to attract and retain membership among workers who even today fail to appreciate the value of trade-unions, and

WHEREAS, The federal locals lack the financial resources with which to meet their current expenses and the expenses of carrying on organizational campaigns, and

WHEREAS, It is almost impossible for Federal locals to obtain financial assistance to conduct organizational strikes in industries which in many in-

stances are 75% to 90% unorganized, and

WHEREAS, The present rate of per capita tax deprives the locals of much needed finances with which necessary organizational campaigns might be carried on, and

WHEREAS, Numerous locals find it absolutely impossible to regularly meet the per capita tax and thus expose themselves to possible suspensions of charter revocations, and

WHEREAS, A lower per capita tax would make it possible for local unions to honorably meet their obligation to the Federation and to fulfill their promise to recruit many thousands of workers into the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Article 10, Section 1 of the constitution be amended and the phrase "thirty-five cents per member per month" be changed to "twenty-five cents per member per month"; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this amendment become effective on and after January 1st, 1937,

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Amendment of Social Security Law

Resolution No. 217—By Delegate Donald Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Law enacted by the Administration is a step forward in social legislation, but is totally inadequate to protect Labor against unemployment; the main weakness of the law being that it provides for only a limited amount of benefit for a limited period of time for a small section of American Labor and compels employed workers to bear the burden through taxation of pay-rolls, which is passed on to the wage earner in the form of higher prices, and in many instances in the form of wage cuts, Therefore Be It

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Tampa, Florida, favors an amendment to the Social Security Act, which embodies the following essential features:

1. All unemployed workers to enjoy the benefits of the Law;
2. Payments to begin with commencement of unemployment and to be paid for the entire duration of unemployment;
3. Funds to be raised by taxation upon incomes of more than \$5,000 a year, accumulated wealth, inheritances, gifts, profits and dividends, but in no case to be raised by sales tax or tax

upon the wages of workers receiving less than \$5,000 a year, And Be It

FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the Executive Council prepares this amendment for the incoming session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Russell-Kramer Bill

Resolution No. 218—By Delegate Marcella Ryan, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20099, Oakland, Calif.

WHEREAS, The Russell-Kramer Bill has been protested by labor bodies, liberals and legal authorities on the grounds that its passage would seriously curtail the rights of free speech, free assemblage and free thought, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth annual Convention condemn the bill and make all efforts to prevent the re-introduction of the Russell-Kramer Sedition Bill either in original or amended form and to prevent the introduction of similar bills at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Organizer for Southwestern Pennsylvania

Resolution No. 219—By Delegate C. O. Williams, Central Labor Union, Fredericktown, Pa.

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union has made every effort to organize the workers in our territory at our own expense, and in our spare time, and

WHEREAS, There are thousands of workers in Southwestern Pennsylvania who can be organized, and

WHEREAS, We feel that it will be for the best interests of the A. F. of L. to appoint a full time organizer for our territory in Southwestern Pennsylvania, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fredericktown Central Labor Union of Pennsylvania requests the A. F. of L. to appoint a full time organizer for our territory with the assurance that the aforesaid Central Body will give this appointee all cooperation possible and within our power.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Protesting Use of WPA Workers by Agricultural Employers

Resolution No. 220—By Delegate Lelf Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Vineland, N. J.

WHEREAS, Local, State and Federal relief agencies and WPA administrations have in the past co-operated with large vegetable, cotton and other produce growers and agricultural interests to force unemployed and WPA workers relief lists and onto farms, canneries and packing houses at below Union rates and in some cases even below relief rates, and

WHEREAS, This practice has even gone so far as to discharge WPA workers who refused jobs at scabbing as happened during the recent Salinas lettuce strike, and

WHEREAS, Local and State relief and WPA projects have been delayed and shut down completely to carry through these forced labor and scabbing practices in the interests of agricultural employers, and

WHEREAS, Repeated studies by the Federal government have conclusively proven that no shortage of labor existed in those sections and in those instances where these practices have been instituted, and

WHEREAS, These forced labor practices if permitted in the agricultural field will soon spread to the industrial field, and

WHEREAS, Secretary Hopkins has issued regulations designed to curb or stop the above practices without noticeable effect in State and local administration of relief and WPA, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as unalterably opposed to all forms of forced labor practices, and specifically open co-operation between WPA and relief officials with employers of farm, packinghouse and cannery labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Secretary Hopkins in Washington and to all WPA directors in the various states.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

William Randolph Hearst

Resolution No. 221.—By Delegate C. O. Williams, Central Labor Union, Fredericktown, Pa.

WHEREAS, The policy of Mr. Hearst is well demonstrated by his demonstration in refusing to grant the rights of collective bargaining to his editorial employees, and

WHEREAS, His actions resemble very much the activities of the press in some Fascist nation of Europe, and

WHEREAS, He has been using his

enormous wealth and chain of newspapers, magazines and radio agencies for the purpose of carrying on a campaign which is anti-union and for the company union, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union, of Fredericktown, Pa., petitions the A. F. of L. in its Fifty-sixth Annual Convention to go on record protesting the activities of William Randolph Hearst.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Marine Transportation Department,

A. F. of L.

Resolution No. 222.—By Delegates Michael J. Dwyer, International Longshoremen's Union; F. A. Fitzgerald, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, It is apparent that there is an existing need for a closer relationship between the organizations comprising the marine trades of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, We believe that the interests of the workers in this group can best be served and protected by the establishment of a department composed of the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are engaged in marine transportation service, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in its constitution, has made provision for the establishment of such a department when necessary, and has created the laws necessary for the proper safeguarding of the affairs of such department after it has been established, and

WHEREAS, We believe that such a department can at this time be of a material assistance in developing the marine trades and the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its 56th convention, go on record as favoring the establishment of a department to be known as the Marine Transportation Department of the American Federation of Labor, as provided by article XV of the constitution, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a committee, composed of delegates of the organizations affected, together with a representative of the American Federation of Labor who is experienced with the maritime industry and who shall be designated by the President of the American Federation of Labor to serve with said committee in an advisory capacity, shall be appointed to draw up the constitution and by-laws of such a department and

present them to this convention or the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor for approval and adoption.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Fascism

Resolution No. 223—By Delegates Donald Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J., and Lelf Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Vineland, N. J.

WHEREAS, Fascism has destroyed the trade union movement in many countries of Europe and has imprisoned and in some cases murdered the leaders of labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, There is ample proof of the fact that there are some forces at work in the United States attempting to undermine our democratic institutions and bring about a dictatorship economically and politically similar to that of fascist dictatorships now existing in Europe, and

WHEREAS, These subversive forces have as their purpose the destruction of the trade union movement and the curtailment of civil liberties, Now, Therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Tampa now assembled pledges itself to vigorous opposition to fascism both at home and abroad, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this Convention recommend to its local bodies the inauguration of an educational campaign on the true nature of fascism, in the form of classes, literature and meetings, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the cooperation of local bodies and of our Executive Council with all liberal organizations that are fighting for democracy in order to create the widest possible opposition to the menace of fascism which endangers the trade union movement of the world today.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Expansion of Federal Relief For Unemployed and Elimination of Means Test

Resolution No. 224—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, The 54th Convention of the American Federation of Labor went

on record to take immediate action to secure increases in the amount of relief provided for unemployed dependent upon relief, and

WHEREAS, On November 1, 1935, the Federal government withdrew from contribution to direct relief to the unemployed, and

WHEREAS, With the throwing of relief back to states and local communities there has ensued a catastrophic drop in actual relief given, and

The condition of those on direct relief today, numbering more than 5,000,000 persons has become acutely serious, and

WHEREAS, The moral and physical suffering caused through inadequate relief is increased because of the Means Test they are forced to undergo, and

WHEREAS, The 55th convention of the American Federation of Labor went on record opposing the Means Test as a condition for relief and directed the Executive Council to use all means to eliminate the Means Test, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record as urging the Federal government to assist in relief to those unemployed by expanding the Federal works program to absorb all employables in need, and by resuming direct relief grants to the states, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the Executive Council and urges all local, state and international unions to cooperate to the end of raising relief standards to a level sufficient for the health and decency of those unemployed, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, local, state, and international unions use every effort to secure the elimination of the Means Test as a condition for relief, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, local, state, and international cooperate with the organizations of the unemployed toward the effecting of the aims of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

White Collar Workers WPA

Resolution No. 225—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical & Research Employees Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill., Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Thousands of workers who are members of the American Federation of Labor and other protec-

tive organizations are employed with the Works Progress Administration,

AND WHEREAS, it is to the interest of all workers, including white collar workers, on the Works Progress Administration that the unions in their respective categories be given official recognition as representatives of the workers in their respective fields;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall aid all white collar unions in securing official recognition by the Works Progress Administration; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the national and all states Works Progress Administrators.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Cooperation to Improve Conditions of WPA Workers

Resolution No. 226—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, There exists today, according to American Federation of Labor figures, 11,000,000 unemployed, and

WHEREAS, Many millions of these are without means of sustaining themselves and their families except through government help, and

WHEREAS, We recognize the best means of sustaining the morale and welfare of the unemployed and labor generally to be employment on socially useful public projects, and

WHEREAS, Such employment to benefit the unemployed and labor generally should provide wages sufficient for the unemployed to live in health and decency, and

WHEREAS, The wage level of the 2,300,000 WPA workers, ranging as low as \$21 a month, is insufficient for health and decency, and

WHEREAS, President Green endorses and supports the movement to increase the wages and better the conditions of WPA workers and declares,

"The wage standards for this class of workers have been altogether too low, the income they receive is insufficient to guarantee them a decent living. The long strain of unemployment, suffering and sacrifices which workers, who have reached the point of dependency, have made, calls for more generous treatment on behalf of a government such as ours. An increase in wages . . . and the minimum

rate of \$40 a month is thoroughly justified . . ."

Therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That this 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the efforts of President William Green and the organized unemployed to improve the conditions of the WPA workers, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention urges all local, state and international unions to cooperate so that our brothers on WPA may receive a wage sufficient to live on in health and decency.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Permanent Works Program for Unemployed White Collar Workers

Resolution No. 227—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical & Research Employee's Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There has existed since the beginning of the depression great unemployment among white collar workers which is causing depreciation of their skills and abilities,

AND WHEREAS, only a small portion of this class of workers has been provided for by the Works Progress Administration and such employment as exists is at an inadequate wage scale;

AND WHEREAS, These unemployed white collar workers are capable of performing useful and much needed work;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in support of a permanent works program for all unemployed white collar workers, whether on relief or not, (such as statistical, research, technical, educational, social, recreational workers, and artists, writers, actors, dancers, musicians, etc.) at trade union wages and working conditions similar to that provided for by the Public Works Administration and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall support legislative action embodying the above program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Federal Legislation Against Lynching

Resolution No. 228—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, Lynching of human beings and violent mob rule are a frequent practice in the United States, and

WHEREAS, Despite the protest voiced on all sides by leading organizations against the lynching of Negroes, and recently of labor leaders active in strike regions, this outrageous practice still continues, and

WHEREAS, Constituted authority in some parts of the country were either unwilling or unable to bring to justice the perpetrators of such hideous crimes, Be it Therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record favoring the enactment of Federal legislation against mob rule or lynching in any form whatever in any part of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Prevailing Wage for WPA Workers

Resolution No. 229—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical and Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The Works Progress Administration has recognized the principle that the workers shall receive the prevailing rate of pay; and

WHEREAS, the rates set by the State Administrators of the Works Progress Administration have in most cases been derived directly and solely from pre-existing hours and wages on the Works Progress Administration for all Works Progress Administration workers, including white collar workers, and

WHEREAS, In practice true and just prevailing rates have not been established by this procedure,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of the establishment of those pay rates for all Works Progress Administration workers determined upon in each locality by the trade union organization in the respective field.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organization of White Collar Workers

Resolution No. 230—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical and Research Employees Union No. 20049 and Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, The white collar workers in the United States of America are suffering from miserably low wages and extremely poor working conditions,

AND WHEREAS, The white collar workers are one of the most exploited sections of the working population due to a lack of trade union affiliation,

AND WHEREAS, The white collar worker is looking anxiously to the American Federation of Labor for support and assistance in bettering his condition,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor immediately embark upon a nationwide drive for organization of the white collar workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Scott Housing Bill

Resolution No. 231—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical and Research Employees Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, A resolution on a public housing program was unanimously adopted at the fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City in October, 1935, which outlined the conditions necessary to make a housing program acceptable for labor support, such as, (1) a guarantee of a union scale of wages on all public aided housing projects, and (2) that there be bona fide labor and consumer representation on all housing authorities and (3) which outlined steps to further the realization of such a program through the setting up of local labor housing committees, etc., and

WHEREAS, The Wagner-Elbogen Bill supported by the administration and the American Federation of Labor, failed to pass the House of Representatives, and

WHEREAS, The Housing Bill, (H. R. 12835) introduced in Congress by Congressman Byron M. Scott, June 19, 1936, more faithfully follows the letter and spirit of the aforementioned resolutions, providing for adequate housing at \$5 per room maximum rental, trade union wages, making mandatory the construction of 10,000,000 dwelling units during the next ten years, limiting tenancy to income groups, and

WHEREAS, Enforcement of existing Tenement House Laws will result in the expenditure of millions of dollars and create jobs for alterations and repairs, and

WHEREAS, housing and labor conditions have not improved,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the Scott Bill be adopted for endorsement, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor memorialize Congress to pass the Scott Bill, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention go on record for the strict and immediate enforcement of the existing Tenement House Laws, in all states, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That local functioning labor Housing Committees be set up to cooperate with and aid in the formation of tenant groups who have as one of their principles the strict enforcement of the existing Tenement House Laws.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Sick Leave and Vacation Provisions for WPA Workers

Resolution No. 232—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical and Research Employees Union No. 20049 and Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, There exists in the Works Progress Administration at the present time no provision for sick leave and vacations with pay for non-administrative employees of the Works Progress Administration;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor petition of the Works Progress Administration for an immediate ruling providing for sick leave and vacations with pay for all Works Progress Administration workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

C. I. O.

Resolution No. 233—By Delegate C. O. Williams, Fredericktown, Pa., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The controversy between the A. F. of L. Executive Committee and the C. I. O. Unions threatens to divide the organized labor movement, and

WHEREAS, This naturally will weaken the entire structure of labor because the innocent membership will suffer morally and physically through the inability of the leaders to show a united front, and

WHEREAS, The ten suspended C. I. O. Unions have a membership in excess of one million members, including

the U. M. W. of A., Ladies Garment Workers, Textile Workers, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, Typographical, etc. They are all successful in industrial organization and

WHEREAS, Since the A. F. of L. has never made a sincere effort to organize the heavy industry, they should not interfere with the International Union now sponsoring the program under the Industrial type of organization;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union of Fredericktown, Pa., demands that the convention of A. F. of L. assembled in Tampa, Florida, rescind the suspension of the C. I. O. and invite them to be seated in this convention, pledging full financial and physical support to the ten International Organizations who have taken the initiative in organizing the unorganized workers of heavy industries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Southern Tenant Farmers Union

Resolution No. 234—By Delegates Vic Wood, Arkansas State Federation of Labor; B. M. Egan, Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The courageous strike of agricultural workers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers conducted by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in eastern Arkansas last spring against working conditions of intolerable serfdom has aroused public opinion in this country to demand and expect an early program of drastic improvement in those conditions, and,

WHEREAS, The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, representing 25,000 field workers in Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma and other cotton states, despite a complete denial of constitutional civil liberties in most of the areas affected and despite a constant reign of terror involving floggings, shootings, evictions, clubbings and other violent acts of property owners determined to prevent unionization of the field workers, has succeeded in spreading the gospel of unionization as the sole method through which improvement of the conditions of workers under a dying plantation system can be brought about, and,

WHEREAS, The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, as a result of its heroic struggle for a membership much of which because of the depth of its poverty and dependence upon the feudalistic plantation system is unable in its present status to pay regular dues, has materially increased its membership during the past year, and,

WHEREAS, The two million agricultural workers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the cotton fields of this country, all inevitably tending to merge in the agricultural worker class as a result of increasing farm mechanization and enlarging corporate farming operations, stand as a constant threat to the standards of their fellow workers in urban industrial areas as long as they remain unorganized at their present incredibly debased level of existence, and,

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt and officials of his Administration have taken cognizance of the deplorable conditions of cotton field workers and are considering measures of improvement, as are various officials of cotton-producing states, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor unanimously endorsed the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union at its fifty-fifth annual convention, and the Arkansas State Federation of Labor did so at its thirtieth annual convention on October 28th, 1936, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor again commend and endorse the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union for its valiant efforts on behalf of the cotton field workers in the face of great obstacles; that the Federation approves the principle that unionization of these workers affords the only instrumentality through which a solution of their problems can be worked out; that the Federation insist upon the preservation of constitutional civil liberties in the cotton areas so that organization of the field workers towards effective collective bargaining can continue in accordance with the true American tradition; that the Federation will recommend and support only those programs, legislative or otherwise, which give reasonable promise of securing for the cotton field workers a standard of living in keeping with that sought generally by the Federation for its membership; that the Federation urge its Executive Council to give serious consideration to all requests of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union for aid and advice; that it request all affiliated bodies to do likewise whenever possible, and that it repeat its recommendation that its Executive Council take steps to bring about a thorough Federal investigation of the conditions of workers in these cotton areas with full publication of findings.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Flogging Cases, Tampa, Florida

Resolution No. 235—By Delegate J.

F. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, On November 30th, 1935, in Tampa, Florida, there was a kidnapping, flogging, tarring and feathering of Joseph A. Shoemaker, Eugene F. Poulnot and Dr. S. J. Rogers, which resulted in the tragic death of Joseph A. Shoemaker, and

WHEREAS, The only crime of the above victims was their consistent efforts to aid and assist their fellow workmen in improving their living conditions, and

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, other interested organizations and prominent individuals the public was thoroughly aroused which resulted in an investigation leading to the indictment of eleven men, including the Tampa Chief of Police, six other policemen, and several Klansmen from Orlando, Florida, and

WHEREAS, The first trial held, for the kidnapping of Poulnot, resulted in conviction for five of the defendants and sentences of four years each at hard labor, although these convicted men are now free on moderate bail pending decision on an appeal to the Florida Supreme Court, and

WHEREAS, Several of the indicted men have not yet had to stand trial on the charges against them and the most serious charges of murder have not been set for date although the crimes happened almost a year ago, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and all progressive and democratic elements of America consider this violation of civil rights as a serious and vital challenge against the liberties of a freedom loving people and the proper handling of this matter will tend to serve notice on the elements in the Black Legion and other fascist-minded organizations that such terrorist methods will not be tolerated by organized labor,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as urging prompt and vigorous prosecution of the balance of these cases to the end that full justice may be obtained and that such action shall serve as a warning to all terrorist groups intent on destroying our fundamental American liberties.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Liberty Magazine

Resolution No. 236—By Delegate Frank Marek, Jr., Federal Labor Union, 18415, Aurora, Ill.

WHEREAS, The elements opposed to organized labor frequently use the in-

strumentality of so-called "Better Citizenship Clubs," "Civic Betterment Campaigns," and "Americanization Drives" to enlist the support of reputable organizations and individuals in a community, and subsequently divert the public sentiment thus aroused into anti-labor channels, and

WHEREAS, Definite evidence of such veiled anti-labor activity is present in a number of communities, particularly in localities where labor organizational drives are under way or anticipated, and

WHEREAS, Such use of "patriotic" appeals for the purpose of arousing public antagonism toward labor is un-American and contrary to the true principles of democracy, and

WHEREAS, Individuals purporting to represent the Liberty Magazine have presented themselves and offered their services as promoters of such campaigns in several communities, now therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor to make a complete investigation of such anti-labor activities, and convey the findings of this investigation to all city central bodies and state federations of labor, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, The Executive Council be instructed to make a particular study of what connection, if any, the Liberty Magazine may have with such an anti-labor drive.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Charter for Agricultural, Cannery and Packing House Workers

Resolution No. 237 — By Delegates Paul J. Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.; Leif Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.; Warren Brown, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20221, Stockton, Calif.; Donald Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo.; Vincent D. Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.; Roy Hawthorne, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20224, Camden, N. J.; Marcella Ryan, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20099, Alameda County,

Calif.; Albert Markva, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 19994, Blissfield, Mich.; Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor; George B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Fla.; Walter Cowan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America; George Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers' Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.; Sue Adams, Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colo.; E. J. Preston, Mercer County, West Va., Central Labor Union; R. L. Burton, Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The largest single industry in the United States is the growing and processing of agricultural products, employing over three million men and women, and

WHEREAS, The unorganized condition of these workers has resulted in the lowest wage rate that prevails among any group of workers throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, The low wage rates prevailing among these workers adversely affect wage rates and Union organization among all other workers and especially craft workers in rural areas, and

WHEREAS, The Agricultural, cannery and packing house workers now chartered by the American Federation of Labor constitute the largest group operating without an International or National Charter, and

WHEREAS, The majority of organized agricultural workers in America are independently organized and refuse to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor until a National or International Union is established which meets their organizational and dues problems, and

WHEREAS, The existing Local and Federal Labor Unions in this field are operating under great handicaps as regards organizers, finances, publications and official cooperation with each other because of this lack of a National or International Union, and

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Unions have been Chartered in the last few years among Agricultural workers, only forty of which remain in existence due to the above mentioned handicaps, and

WHEREAS, The resolution passed by last year's Atlantic City Convention calling for a National organizing

campaign among agricultural, cannery and packing house workers has not been carried out because the Executive Council with its multitude of responsibilities cannot give adequate or detailed attention to organizing this field, and

WHEREAS, The issuance of a National or International Charter would make possible a successful organizing campaign among these workers that would place this new Union among the strongest in the American Federation of Labor within a relatively short time, and

WHEREAS, The State Conventions of the California and New Jersey Federations of Labor plus several Central bodies have gone on record for the granting of an International or National Union to these workers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to call a National Convention of these Unions within the next six months for the purpose of installing an International or National Charter covering the agricultural, cannery and packing house workers of America, and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Green appoint a Committee to meet with the delegates from these Unions attending this Convention to make plans for the carrying out of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Support of Labor Press

Resolution No. 238—By Delegates Frank Martel, International Typographical Union; P. J. Morrin, International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

WHEREAS, The union labor movement everywhere recognizes the need of the local labor press in supporting the various trades and giving proper publicity to all of their activities and

WHEREAS, There are only two sources of revenue that the legitimate labor papers can rely upon, namely, subscriptions and advertising, and

WHEREAS, The weekly labor press is not receiving twenty-five per cent of the union membership as subscribers which serves as a handicap in procuring advertising from their local concerns,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, The Labor Press Association appeal to the National and International Officers to advise their local unions to subscribe in a body for the local labor paper and where none exists, to join

with the nearest city which has a labor paper, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we petition the American Federation of Labor to write to various State and Central Bodies asking them to refrain from sponsoring Year Books and Souvenir Programs which take volumes of advertising from the local labor paper which is struggling for an existence.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIO

Resolution No. 239—By Felix Olkives, Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Assembly.

WHEREAS, It is fully recognized by all that there are millions of workers in the highly mechanized basic industries still unorganized, and

WHEREAS, The organization of these workers on a strictly Craft basis would be slow and difficult, and the anticipated results would be unsatisfactory to meet the needs of the present day in these technically developed industries, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation has firmly stated that it recognizes the need for industrial organizations as well as craft organizations, and

WHEREAS, It is recognized by all that both forms of organization are actually in existence at the present time, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor withhold its expulsion proceedings against the national and international unions that comprise the Committee for Industrial Organization, and meet them on common ground with the demand that they confine their organizational activities to the Rubber, Aluminum, Automobile, and Steel industries, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That when and if such an agreement is reached, the American Federation of Labor will sincerely cooperate to the fullest extent in the organization of workers in the Rubber, Aluminum, Automobile, and Steel industries on the industrial union basis.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Party

Resolution No. 240—By Felix Olkives, Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Assembly.

WHEREAS, It is becoming more apparent each year that the political activities in our nation are no longer based on the old party lines, but are based instead on liberal as against conservative activities, and

WHEREAS, The results are that liberal forces and organizations throughout the nation are joining hands for the purpose of establishing a new political alignment that will result, it is hoped, in the establishment of a Labor Party, or a vehicle to which and upon which the laborer, farmer, and liberal business and professional man can attach himself, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is regarded as the outstanding liberal and constructive force in our nation, and

WHEREAS, Up to the present time the American Federation of Labor has not taken the initiative in bringing about the establishment of a political vehicle to which the laboring man can attach himself, neither has the A. F. of L. participated in the various conferences held throughout the nation for the purpose of assisting in establishing a real political labor party, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in the coming year, participate with, and lend a hand to, the liberal forces of this nation in their efforts to establish a new labor party.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Cuba

Resolution No. 241—By Delegate R. E. Van Horn, Cigarmakers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Since 1898 organized labor in the United States has extended its support to the workers of Cuba in their efforts to organize and to extend their liberties, and

WHEREAS, Our movement was cheered by the downfall of the Machado tyranny in Cuba, under which workers had been imprisoned and assassinated because they dared to organize, and

WHEREAS, We have hoped for a strong Cuban labor movement to work in co-operation with us through the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The gains made by labor in the first few months after the fall of Machado were destroyed by the new dictator, Col. Fulgencio Batista, who now dominates the Cuban nation with a despotic and brutal control which is, if anything, more barbarous and ruthless than the despotism of Machado, and

WHEREAS, President Miguel Mariano Gomez, the duly elected chief executive, was elected on a platform proposing amnesty for political pris-

oners, the calling of a constituent assembly and other reforms, including the right of labor to organize and perform its normal functions, has been unable to carry out his high aims because of the military dominance of Batista, and

WHEREAS, No labor union can exist in Cuba today and perform the normal and proper functions of a union, while labor men are thrown into prison and are tortured and driven insane by the tortures they must watch, and while there are now more political prisoners than there were before the adoption of the emasculated amnesty law adopted in the first months of the Gomez administration, be it therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, speaking for the organized workers of the United States, denounces and condemns in the strongest terms the Batista dictatorship, with its fearful and indescribable tortures of labor men and others, with its assassinations and its punishment by exile, and with its hideous espionage system; and that we record this protest with President Gomez and with the State Department at Washington; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we extend our sympathy to the Cuban workers and our admiration for their heroic conduct under the dictatorship and that we pledge our support until freedom finally is achieved, and also that we extend our fraternal greetings to the Cuban workers through the President of the now disbanded Cuban Federation of Labor, Brother Cesar Vilar, who is in exile and who prior to his exile was imprisoned for eleven months because of his service as a leader of the Cuban workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Motion Picture Industry Agreement

Resolution No. 242—By Delegate Kenneth Thomson, Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, Calif.

WHEREAS, The production of motion pictures has developed into one of the greatest industries in America, and

WHEREAS, Practically all of American motion pictures production is carried on in and around the city of Los Angeles, California, a city where the struggle of organized labor has been extremely acute for many years, and

WHEREAS, The motion picture industry, like most others in that city, was for years conducted on an open shop basis, and

WHEREAS, During the past ten years there has been a constant growth

of labor organization in motion picture studios, which has eventually brought into the Los Angeles labor movement approximately twenty thousand members, and has been the means of rendering great aid to the general organization of that city; this growth of organization having been accomplished through and by the cooperation of the several International Unions, and

WHEREAS, Five International Unions have a union shop agreement with the motion picture industry, which provides for the exclusive employment of union members in their trades, and

WHEREAS, There are in addition to those five, eight distinct studio unions chartered by five International Unions, and one Federal Union chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor, all of the members of which are depending upon motion picture studios for their employment; and although most of the men of the various trades represented by these trades are enrolled in the local unions, it has thus far been impossible to bring about a recognition of these organizations by the managements of the motion picture studios, which is an extreme handicap. This same condition applies to several local unions, a portion of whose members only are employed in the motion picture business; and

WHEREAS, To the representatives of these non-recognized unions it appears that a plan could be worked out that would accomplish the complete unionization and recognition thereof in and by the motion picture industry, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the President of this Federation be authorized and instructed to invite representatives of all the International Unions involved, to a conference for the purpose of discussing and devising plans for the accomplishment of union recognition and the union shop for all trades involved in the production of motion pictures, Be it further

RESOLVED, That local representatives from Hollywood or Los Angeles be invited to attend such conference, the expenses of such attendance to be borne by the local unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Guard

Resolution No. 243—By Delegate Frank Marek Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Ill.

WHEREAS, The National Guard is used primarily against organized labor in time of strike, and

WHEREAS, It has been called out

sixty times in the past three years to break strikes, and

WHEREAS, Money is being appropriated out of the United States war budget for the further enlarging and arming of the National Guard, and

WHEREAS, These appropriations can in no sense be interpreted as being used for national defense, Now Therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its legislative lobby to oppose the further granting of government funds and, more specifically, war funds to the National Guard, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That the President of the United States of America and Congress be notified as to the adoption and contents of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Party

Resolution No. 244—By Delegate Frank Marek Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Ill.

WHEREAS, The evolution of politics in the United States has reached the point where the interests of labor, to be best served, should be represented through an independent political party, and

WHEREAS, Recent developments indicate that the old political divisions no longer exist as realities, and

WHEREAS, There already exists in the United States an actual, functioning labor party, actively carrying on its work in a considerable number of states, counties, and municipalities, now therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall take its rightful place as the organizer and as the director of policy of an American Labor Party, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to carry out all of the necessary arrangements for undertaking the formation of such Labor Party.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Social Security Law for Seamen

Resolution No. 245—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Ivan Hunter and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Recently enacted Social

Security Laws do not affect seamen, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in 56th annual convention assembled that we endorse an adequate Social Security Law for seamen and direct the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee to render every assistance in the prompt enactment of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Seamen's Atlantic Coast Agreement

Resolution No. 246—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Ivan Hunter and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Throughout its entire history of more than 40 years, the International Seamen's Union of America has insisted upon an honest observance of agreements with shipowners, and

WHEREAS, Certain self-styled radicals aided and abetted by Communists and other extremists have succeeded in misleading some of the members of the Atlantic District Unions of the International Seamen's Union of America into sporadic strikes, causing the delay of some ships, notwithstanding the fact that the existing Atlantic agreement with the principal shipowners provides for preference in employment to members of the Unions and for the adjustment of any and all grievances by a Joint Board of Conciliation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in fifty-sixth Annual Convention assembled, that we pledge our moral support to all the loyal Atlantic Coast members of the International Seamen's Union of America who refuse to be coerced or stampeded into an outlaw strike, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be supplied to the President of the United States, to the newly created Maritime Commission and to the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

American Youth Act

Resolution No. 247—By Delegates Robert B. Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America; Wm. H. Sommers, Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at all times championed social legislation for all wage earners and under-privileged groups, and

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act, S. 3653, introduced into the Congress by the well-known friends of labor, Representative Amle of Wisconsin and Senator Benson of Minnesota, provides for higher education, vocational training and employment for jobless youth at union wages under bona-fide trade union supervision, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the principles of social legislation for the youth of our nation as embodied in the American Youth Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. Affiliation With International Federation of Trade Unions

Resolution No. 248—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof and Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The International Federation of Trade Unions is a vital force against reaction and dictatorship; and

WHEREAS, The International Federation of Trade Unions has sustained a great blow through the destruction of the Trade Unions in several European Countries; and

WHEREAS, There is today a great need for solidarity and co-operation among the Trade Unions of the World for the protection of Liberty and Democracy; and

WHEREAS, The fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor by unanimous vote empowered the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to re-affiliate with the International Federation of Trade Unions if a satisfactory basis for effective cooperation could be found, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the Executive Council to continue its efforts toward re-affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Training Youth in Trade Union Philosophy

Resolution No. 249—By Delegates Morris Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.; Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.; Irwin Zumach, Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, The report of the executive Council to the fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor states "Our responsibility is to make strong and powerful unions of wage earners and under-privileged groups—" We urge, therefore that organizing campaigns and educational work go hand in hand in order that new union members understand their duties and their responsibilities. We urge that the coming year provide unprecedented organizing and educational activity for only by this way can progress for workers keep abreast of national progress, and

WHEREAS, a large number of young people have recently entered labor's ranks finding employment in various industries and are amongst the most under-privileged wage earners of our nation, and

WHEREAS, amongst these young people there is a sturdy and growing tendency to join the ranks of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Company Unions are developing athletic and anti-labor education with the hope of weaning young people away from the bona-fide organizations of labor, and

WHEREAS, various National, International and local unions recognizing the need of developing trade union consciousness among their younger members have instituted as a regular part of union procedure educational and athletic activities, increasing their membership considerably among the young wage earners

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled undertake a campaign to promulgate union consciousness, organization into their respective National, International and federal labor unions and education among America's young people.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Granting of Permits to Employers for Possession of Bombs and Machine Guns

Resolution No. 250—By Delegate Sue Adams, Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colo.

WHEREAS, Employers and operators are increasingly resorting to the use of force and violence against organized labor in industrial disputes by means of tear and vomit gas bombs and machine and sub-machine guns, and

WHEREAS, In many States under the present laws for transportation and

possession of such bombs and machine guns permits may be granted to firms to store, transport or sell gas bombs and guns without public hearing, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor set up a Committee, or use existing facilities to demand public hearings for the granting of permits, and demand that previous permits granted become matters of public record.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Wagner Housing Bill

Resolution No. 251—By Delegate Lelf Dahl, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 19996, Bridgton, N. J.

WHEREAS, More than three million dwellings occupied by American wage-earners and their families today have been found to be unfit for human habitation and in need of immediate replacement; and

WHEREAS, A large portion of the most unsanitary and dilapidated housing is found in rural areas and is inhabited by agricultural wage-workers and their dependents; and

WHEREAS, In order to meet this acute nation-wide need in the interests of health and welfare of American workers a prompt enactment of an adequate long-range program of low-rent housing is imperative, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the incoming Executive Council to make every effort within its power to secure the enactment by Congress of the low-rent housing program embodied in the Wagner Housing Bill; and

RESOLVED, That such program contemplated in this Bill be supported by adequate financing for Federal subsidies and include specific provisions for replacement of blighted rural areas by planned communities for low-income groups; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the administration of the program contemplated by said Bill full provision be made for Labor representation on local, State and Federal administrative agencies.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

U. S. Supreme Court.

Resolution No. 252—By Delegate Sue Adams, Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colo.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court has usurped the powers of Congress and has destroyed social legislation which

would give some measure of security to workers, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Tampa, Florida, go on record to support an amendment to the Constitution of the United States ending for all time the usurped powers of the Supreme Court, and reaffirming the power of Congress to enact all necessary labor and social legislation without interference by the Judiciary.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Intimidation of Colorado Beet Laborers on Relief

Resolution No. 253 — By Delegates Paul J. Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo.; Vincente D. Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.

WHEREAS, The Director of Public Welfare of Weld County, Colorado, has issued the following statement to the beet laborers of that county—

"To the Beet Laborers of Weld County:

"The problem of taking care of the great number of beet and farm labor families in Weld County is a large one. This organization wishes to acquaint you with a program which is hoped will be possible to be carried out in the future. This program has the hearty endorsement of the Great Western Sugar Co., the various churches, and other civic enterprises with which you come in contact in your daily life.

"You have been on some form of relief in the past. This was necessary because you were unable to make enough money in the short season to meet the needs of your family. Firmly believing that conditions are improved over the past years, this organization feels that there should be less beet laborers on relief than have been during the last two winters.

"You must be very careful in expending your money earned this summer. See how far you can make it go; buy well, but not recklessly when you receive a payment for your labor.

"When the time comes that you make application for more relief, you will be required to give a very strict accounting of the manner in which you have spent any money received.

"Another idea to keep well in mind is the fact that the only Federal Relief

that can be obtained this winter is known as W.P.A. The number who can be employed on this Relief Labor is very limited. The County Welfare Board has been given the responsibility of determining who shall go on W.P.A. in the future and you may rest assured no one will be considered unless their case is worthy.

"When you must have relief, bring your contract and a statement from your farmer showing how much he paid you both for beets and other labor and whether or not he thinks you should be considered a relief responsibility of Weld County. You will also be required to turn in your automobile drivers license and the license plates to your car when you are accepted as a client for general relief.

"We are sending you this letter with the hope that a clearer understanding of the problem of relief for beet laborers can be had.

(Signed) George M. Houston,
Director of Public Welfare."

and

WHEREAS, The fact is notorious that beet laborers are, after the Southern Share Cropper, the most exploited laboring group in America, and

WHEREAS, In his statement Director Houston, endorsed by the Great Western Sugar Company, which controls the very lives of the beet workers—leaves the possibility of relief for such workers to the caprice of the farmers who are their immediate employers, and

WHEREAS, This attempt viciously to intimidate workers sorely needing relief threatens not merely the members of our unions, but every agricultural worker in Colorado and throughout the country, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor vigorously protest this threatening statement by Director Houston and recommends to Harry Hopkins, Administrator of the Works Program, that the system of administering work relief be revised to provide for representation of labor unions locally organized on all boards determining eligibility for public relief.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Residence Relief Requirements for Migratory Workers

Resolution No. 254—By Delegates Paul J. Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.;

Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo.; Vincente D. Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.

WHEREAS, Among the agricultural workers many of our union members are forced to move about the country to make enough to keep body and soul together during the growing season, and

WHEREAS, At the end of the season our farm laborer very often finds himself in a locality where he has no friends and no money, and

WHEREAS, The residence requirements for relief in various states denies any means of support to thousands of workers, and

WHEREAS, A man must eat, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself in opposition to residence relief requirements for migratory workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Dismissal of WPA Women Employees in Colorado

Resolution No. 255—By Delegate Sue Adams, Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colo.

WHEREAS, The Federal Administrator of Works Progress, Harry Hopkins, within the past month has arbitrarily ordered the dismissal of nearly fifty percent of the women employees of the Works Progress Administration in the state of Colorado, solely because of the fact that Colorado has 27 per cent women employees in WPA projects as compared with an average of 16 per cent for the nation as a whole, and

WHEREAS, The percentage of women bread-winners is and should be higher in Colorado than in the nation generally because large numbers of men employees of the Works Progress Administration have been forced from the WPA into the beet fields and the Federal Forest Service, while the absence of any increased demand for women in private employment has kept the number of WPA women employees approximately unchanged, and

WHEREAS, This order of Administrator Hopkins dismissing nearly fifty per cent of the women employed in the WPA in Colorado has resulted in severe hardship and suffering to several thousand women wage earners and their dependents, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor strongly protest the order of Administrator Hopkins reducing the percentage of women workers employed in WPA in Colorado, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the WPA program be enlarged and extended to provide suitable and useful employment for all needy and employable women in Colorado and the entire nation, irrespective of arbitrary percentages which disregard human needs.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Relief for Migratory Workers

Resolution No. 256—By Delegates Paul J. Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo.; Vincente D. Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.

WHEREAS, The nature of agriculture in the Rocky Mountain and Western region of the United States involves the employment of thousands of migratory workers, and

WHEREAS, Many transient laborers are active members of the labor movement, but are denied the relief that organized labor has obtained for the more static part of the working population, and

WHEREAS, The abolition of Transient Divisions of the State Departments of Public Welfare has left underpaid migratory workers without means of support during their journeys over long distances between places of employment, and

WHEREAS, The administration of relief by county and state welfare boards, in many cases dominated by reactionary employer interests, leaves the migratory laborer a victim of hardship on the road, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the Executive Council that action be taken to obtain the re-establishment, under federal administration, of transient relief facilities, especially in those areas where migration of labor is a problem, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention direct the Legislative Committee to promote legislation for a Federal Department of Public Welfare which shall have included among its functions responsibility for the migratory laborer.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Permanent PWA Program

Resolution No. 257—By Delegate Sue Adams, Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly.

WHEREAS, The Federal Relief Administration, Labor leaders and Economists all agree that the problem of unemployment is a permanent one and that principal responsibility for relief of unemployment rests with the Federal Government, and

WHEREAS, The Works Progress Administration is the present instrumentality by which our Government is attempting to handle this problem, and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor states that WPA funds will be exhausted by January or February 1937, and

WHEREAS, The present WPA program is woefully inadequate to provide a minimum security for the 9,000,000 unemployed in the United States, and

WHEREAS, The Direction of Federal responsibility in providing work relief has decreased rather than increased during the past year as witnessed by a reduction of nearly 1,000,000 WPA workers since last March, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 56th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record approving a permanent public works program that will provide useful employment to all needy unemployed at Trade Union rates, and be it further

RESOLVED, That immediate action be taken by the incoming Congress to provide for the continuance of an enlarged Works Program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all relief and public Works Administration under this program be lifted from the plane of charity to that of administration of the inalienable rights of free individuals, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all Administrative, Professional and other White Collar positions under this Public Works Program be placed under classified Civil Service regulations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIO

Resolution No. 258—By Delegate Frank Marek Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Ill.

WHEREAS, The suspension of the unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization has greatly weakened the position of the entire organized labor movement of our country, and

WHEREAS, Unity and concerted action are particularly essential at this time if the conditions of American workers, particularly in the mass production industries, are to be improved, and

WHEREAS, Any delay in the initiation of a vigorous, united drive to organize the unorganized workers of America will constitute an irreparable injury to the American Federation of Labor, now therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every means within its power to bring about a speedy settlement of the controversy, compromising on details to effect the principle of unity in the labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Meehan, Painters, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention stand adjourned until Wednesday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the convention was adjourned at 3:25 p. m.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Tampa, Florida,
November 18, 1936.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees — Adcock, Alter, Bender, Burke (M. J.), Breidenbach, Cahill, Cahir, Carle, Christman, Coleman (A. N. Jr.), Davis (Jerome), Dobbs, Duldmer, Durkin, Evans (A. A.), Finnegan, Foley (Edward M.), Forbes, Gatelee, German, Glasgow, Graham, Hansen, Haywood, Hefferly, Hudak, Hunter, Irwin, Johnson (C. W.), Jones (John T.), Jenkins, Kane (J. C.), Keegan, Kindred, Klarish, Knopka, Kuenzli, Kirby, Lisse, Majors, Maney, Marehesi, Matlin, Merritt, Min-ton, Mundell, McDonald, Nischwitz, Owens (John), Patten (Simon Van), Powers (Geo.), Prior, Reed (Geo.), Reynolds, Reznicek, Rosqvist, Schreier, Sexton, Shave, Stoffels, Tracy (Wm.), Turnblazer, Will, Williams (Clemon), Williamson, Yablonsky.

INVOCATION

(Rev. E. C. Nance, Pastor, First Christian Church)

Oh God, our Heavenly Father, we thank Thee for this great country of ours, for the noble men and women who have made it what it is, and for the men and women who are striving to make it better.

We thank Thee for the rich traditions of America; we thank Thee for the place it holds in the world today, and for those who are working today to bring peace and justice among the sons of men. We pray that their own faculties may be supplemented by Thy wisdom and Thy strength and power. We pray Thy blessing upon this convention, on these men and women here who are from all walks of life, we pray for better thinking and for the things that make life more worth while, and we pray that they may be led by the spirit of the Master of all working men, Jesus Christ. Amen.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials

Delegate Davis, chairman of the committee, submitted the following supplemental report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

South Carolina State Federation of Labor—Dowell E. Patterson, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 19311, Cleveland, Ohio—Ralph Laundry, 2 votes, who has been previously reported as also representing Grocers Warehouse Employees' Union, Independent Wholesale, No. 19572, Cleveland, Ohio, 2 votes.

Due to an omission, the name of Ray England, representing the Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council, was not reported, and we recommend the seating of the delegate.

M. J. McDonough, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada.

Beckley, West Va., Central Labor Union—John Getchen, 1 vote.

Frank Marek, representing Federal Labor Union No. 18589, Aurora, Ill., 1 vote, in addition to Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Ill., as previously reported.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair desires to add to the committee announced yesterday to meet and escort the Secretary of Labor to the hall when she arrives in the city, James Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers, and Miss Iglesias, representing the Puerto Rico Stenographers, Bookkeepers and Accountants. The other members of the committee, Chairman Tobin and Vice-President Harrison, are here, or can be reached at the hotel.

It has always been customary for the officers and delegates in attendance to present specially made and specially constructed badges to each of the delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We have this specially-made badge here this morning, and while Brother Kean, the other delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, has not arrived, Brother Gibson is here. I will present to him his badge now and will present Brother Kean's badge when he arrives. If Brother Brunet, the delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is here, I will present his badge. It is a beautiful badge, specially made

and specially constructed. I present this to Brother Gibson this morning as your present. You will recognize it as the special badge for the British trades union delegates. I want to inquire, if Mr. Gelt, representative of the Cuban workers, is here this morning?

All the officers and delegates who have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor for, lo, these many years know our good friend, the President of the Printing Pressmen's Union, Major George L. Berry. He has been an attendant at our conventions and a member of the American Federation of Labor for as long as I can remember. In addition to that, he attends this convention as the Coordinator for Industrial Relations, appointed to that honorable and important position by the President of the United States.

In addition to his many duties, serving his own constituency and labor generally throughout the country, he has been giving his time and service in this great work, Coordinator of Industrial Relations. He has developed a fine program, a program in which labor is tremendously interested. I want him to talk to you this morning about it, not as a delegate to this convention only. He will speak to you this morning as the Coordinator for Industrial Relations. It has been my good pleasure and fortune to work and serve with him in the American Federation of Labor. Like you, I have learned to regard and respect his judgment, his ability and his capacity for work. It affords me very great pleasure to present to you the President of a great international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the Coordinator of Industrial Relations, Major George L. Berry.

MAJOR GEORGE L. BERRY
(Coordinator for Industrial Relations)

Mr. President, delegates and friends of this convention: I assure you that I feel very grateful to President Green in presenting me to say a word to you upon this occasion. Many will recall the last convention of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor at Atlantic City. I there presented to you very briefly the purposes and objectives of the office of the Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation, which had been created by the President of the United States in consequence of the annulment of the National Industrial Recovery Act by the Supreme Court.

At that time we had not, in fact, begun to function, although we had had, some two months previous, a very, very representative gathering of citizens in Washington, made up of representatives of labor and of management. At that time there were some evidences of opposition to anything that looked like the return of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and many of the leading business men of the United States who were present objected to the procedure and objected to the establishment of the office of Coordinator, which has for its exclusive purpose the attempt to compose the difference between management and labor as it relates to legislation in this country.

I am pleased to bring you this message of encouragement today, that the outgrowth of that meeting in Washington was that there was set up what is now known as the Industrial Council for Progress, over which I have the honor to preside as the Coordinator. In this Council we have a joint chairmanship, one representing labor in the person of your distinguished President, William Green, and the other representing management, in the person of Mr. John R. Palne. This Council at its second meeting—which met after several months of serious consideration of the proposition had some 125 representative men of management in America, speaking with authority for approximately two million employers of this country, with all of organized labor's representatives present, took up what I regard as being one of the most important programs that has ever been considered by labor and management in this country.

May I say here that in the consideration of these projects and these subjects, it seemed to be the unanimous conclusion of all that the frontiership of America today and the future is predicated very largely, if not entirely, upon our industrial progress. That being the basis of our thinking, we then considered the proposition of regulation by legislation. In the consideration of these matters such outstanding issues were considered as, first, the question of establishing by law a minimum wage in the United States; second, the proposition to establish a maximum work week in the United States; third, the proposition of gov-

ornmental competition with private industry; fourth, the proposition of making more elastic and responsive to our national well being the anti-trust laws; and fifth, the question of internal competition with private industry, largely, if not entirely, upon the subject of convict labor. And then, too, we considered the problem of external competition; in other words, we considered the subject of the tariff.

Now, my friends, I think you will agree with me that when such subjects as I have named are being considered by representatives of labor and management that we did indeed take on our shoulders a very great responsibility. And may I say, too, that at the conference which followed, the reports to the committees were submitted. This occurred prior to November 3, 1936, after weeks and weeks of consideration through committees, made up of equal representatives of management and of labor, as is the Council for Industrial Progress made up, equal numbers, and a conclusion in these conferences and committees can only be arrived at by unanimous approval of the committee members and the unanimous approval of the conference as a whole.

So we set up in the discussions the objective of agreement, because we realized that it would be quite impossible to do anything unless we had a solid front and a unanimous accord. I am pleased to be able to say to you that the committees considered these subjects, and not only reported unanimous conclusions to the Council, but after a day and a night of discussion, the Council unanimously approved the reports of the committees, and I regard that as an unprecedented thing in the life of this nation. Certain it is that we have made progress in bringing into accord the men and women in industry, both representing labor and the investor and management.

Now, immediately occurs to you: "Where are you going from here, since you have arrived at a unanimous agreement?" Well, of course the points of agreement involve legislation. Of course you will understand that all the industries were not represented at the meeting in March of this year, and the reasons for it were, of course, they were opposed to regulation by law, and they were opposed to associating themselves with the representatives of labor in a conference. That is a frank statement and a true statement.

But may I pause here to remark that since the 3rd day of November, there seems to be a most decided change in the sentiment of these people in re-

spect to the situation. I feel that at the meeting to be held on the 10th and 11th days of December, we will have a greater representation of management than ever before called in the history of this nation. Certainly the applications that have already been made and accepted for seats upon the Council are perfectly amazing. I shall not attempt to tell you in detail the number who have accepted seats upon the Council within the last ten days following the November election, but I assure you they are men of outstanding importance that were not anxious and that did not participate in the Council meetings prior to the 3rd day of November. So it is my judgment that at the meeting on the 10th and 11th of December, we shall reaffirm the things we have already committed ourselves to.

And we propose, management and labor, to serve upon the Congress and to serve upon the President our conclusions. May I say here that when the Council had concluded its work in March of this year, we served upon the President a copy of the printed conclusions of the Council. He at that time said: "That was a great work. I congratulate the Council and approve its findings." And of course now I am confident he will not change his mind.

Then immediately it occurs to you as to what can be done in view of the judicial attitude of the Supreme Court on legislation. For a year we have been giving attention and study to the proposition of endeavoring to find a formula that will at least meet the test as determined in the Constitution by the Supreme Court. I have confidence that we shall find that formula. I feel the mandate of the people as fashioned upon the Stone philosophy will be recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States as the overwhelming determination of the people of the nation, not only to establish but to maintain liberalism in this United States. I hope that the Supreme Court, one of the three branches of our Government, will adjust itself to the conclusion of the great, overwhelming majority of the people of the country.

If, of course, there should occur further reversals upon liberal legislation that contemplates the meeting of the problems of the country, I venture the assertion that we will find a way, and I feel that the Industrial Council, made up of employer representatives and labor representatives, will contribute generously and without reservation in finding a way for America's further progress and liberalism in this country.

Of course it would be presumptuous on my part to endeavor to engage in speculation beyond that point of view. There are two or three ways by which we shall approach this question. We shall have time to note the character of the thinking of the Supreme Court, because there are a number of issues that will be presented to the Court before the convening of the Congress of the United States. I hope, sincerely hope, that the Supreme Court will adjust itself to the mandates of the people. I feel that the Constitution is sufficiently elastic to meet the requirements of liberalism. We know this Constitution grew out of oppression and was never calculated to act as an instrumentality against human progress. I hope in the interests of the nation that the thinking of the Supreme Court for the immediate future will be along the lines of the philosophy set forth by Justice Stone in the New York Minimum Wage Law.

Obviously, my friends, as one of the chief barriers against the return of the depression in this country is the necessity for the removal of cut-throat competition in industry. Cut-throat competition always destroys additions to the consuming and purchasing power of our people, and I think the chief instrumentality for the elimination of cut-throat competition in America is the establishment by law of a minimum wage standard and a maximum work-week standard. And I pledge to you my fullest cooperation in the accomplishment of that end.

Let me say in conclusion that I want to take this means of expressing my profound appreciation for the attitude of your President and your Secretary and all of the other representatives on this Council. They really proved themselves statesmen, and management was delighted to cooperate with them in the completion of the great program adopted by our meeting in March.

I wish for you ladies and gentlemen of this convention the greatest possible success. I wish for you the greatest degree of harmony and good will. We have in the meeting, by reason of an established sentiment by the vote of the people, a program for the future of liberalism that challenges the spirit of cooperation among all of the workers of the United States, to the end that we may make for greater progress, not only in the interests of the masses of the people, but in the interests of America itself.

I thank you, and God bless you.

President Green: I express to Major Berry our deepest appreciation of his educational address this morning. We

are glad to have him here and we feel honored in that the President of the United States selected him to serve in such a high and important and responsible position. The address which Major Berry just delivered will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions for consideration and action for submission to the convention.

We have another of our old time associates with us this morning, and I am going to present him to you now for an address. When those of us who have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many years refer to Jimmie Wilson, we remember him as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and as the President of the Pattern Makers' International Union for many years. We think of him in that relationship to all of us and to the American Federation of Labor.

But it may be information to many of you when I say that while he occupies that same personal and trades union relationship to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, he is now serving in a different capacity. He is the labor representative of the Government and of the American Federation of Labor at Geneva, Switzerland. He was appointed to that very high and important and honorable position by the Secretary of Labor, with the approval of the President of the United States. For many months he was abroad, serving labor and representing labor, speaking for labor, interpreting the heart and the mind and the objective of labor at the seat of the International Labor Organization.

I know you will agree with me that because of his years of training in the labor movement, he is fairly capable and very competent to translate into words the heart and mind and purpose of labor. Now I want him to tell you something about the work of the International Labor Office from his point of view, of his experience there, and of its important

relationship, not only to labor in America, but to labor throughout the world. I present to you our colleague, our representative at Geneva, Switzerland, former Vice-President James Wilson, of the American Federation of Labor.

MR. JAMES WILSON
(International Labor Organization)

Mr. President, officers and delegates of the convention, ladies and gentlemen—I esteem it a distinguished privilege to be here this morning to discuss with you for just a few moments something about the International Labor Organization. But before I do that, may I say that I am proud of the privilege of having been thus introduced by you, the President of the American Federation of Labor, a citizen of my state who has come up from the coal mines of Ohio, occupying an important position in his state organization of miners, having been a senator in the state of Ohio, where, upon the statute books of that state, is to be found legislation in the interests of labor that is not equaled in any other state of the Union; from there to high positions in the United Mine Workers of America, and from there to the presidency of the American Federation of Labor—a coal miner from the mines, a man who has now presided over the destinies of this great movement of ours for more than twelve years. So I am happy this morning to be introduced by this great leader of labor, I am happy that he has given me this opportunity to speak to you for a few moments upon a subject that is little understood by the trade unionists of our country.

If you refer back to the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention held in 1914, and refer to Resolution No. 104, introduced by Samuel Gompers, you will find there what is really the beginning of the International Labor Organization, because at that time President Gompers had in mind that out of the war that was then in progress there would come a day when peace would be established, and he asked the American Federation of Labor convention to give to the Executive Council the power to invite the representatives of labor throughout the world to assemble where the Peace Treaty was to be written and to try and secure there a recognition of the rights of labor throughout the world.

And, Mr. President, when that war ended, you, together with First Vice-President Duffy and the President of the American Federation of Labor, went to Paris and there was established, through the efforts and under the leadership of the then President

of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, the International Labor Organization.

This organization has grown to be a great power for good in the world. I want to repeat to you what the President of the United States at that time said upon his return to the United States from the peace conference. This is a statement by Woodrow Wilson, then President of the United States, to the 1919 convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"The labor program which the conference of peace has adopted as a part of the treaty of peace constitutes one of the most important achievements of the new day, in which the interests of labor are to be systematically and intelligently safeguarded and promoted. Amidst the multitude of other interests, this great step forward is apt to be overlooked, and yet no other single thing that has been done will help more to stabilize conditions of labor throughout the world and ultimately relieve the unhappy conditions which in too many places have prevailed. Personally I regard this as one of the most gratifying achievements of the conference."

There has been some discussion in the United States with reference to our international entanglements. There has been some discussion to the effect that as a nation we should not interfere or participate in these things. It might be well to direct your attention to the fact that since 1865 this nation of ours has been in continuous affiliation in international problems with the nations of the world, and we are in affiliation as a nation or in contact as a nation with more than sixty different international organizations. In 1934 the United States sent delegates to fifty-three different meetings of international bodies.

It is impossible for nations today to live apart. They must come together and they must strive through this co-operation to bring about a condition that will lead to permanent world peace. Perhaps it might be well if I refer to the preamble of the constitution of the International Labor Office. The preamble of this organization says: World peace can only be maintained if it is established upon the basis of social justice.

In reading the report of the Executive Council to this convention, if you will take the trouble to turn to the last paragraph of that report of the Council where it reports upon the International Labor Office, you will find that the Council says, in something like this language: "The nations of the world will not readily vote to put their industries upon a shorter hour basis when the world is in such an unsettled condition."

The International Labor Organization declares for its purpose in its very preamble the bringing about of social justice throughout the world, and I say to you men and women here today that until social justice is established throughout the world, then the world always will be in danger of armed conflict between nations.

Since I have been connected with the International Labor Office I have watched not only the attitude that has been assumed in the governing body meetings of that organization, but in the general conference of that organization, the attitude of labor, the attitude of the employer, the attitude of government, and I believe that in this great organization there is greater opportunity for bringing about and maintaining the peace of the world than there is in any other single instrumentality that exists throughout the world. I am satisfied that this organization in its years of work has brought betterment into the lives of the people throughout the world.

Your Council, in reporting to you, gives the results of the deliberations of this great organization for the past two years. Those are the years in which America has been affiliated with this organization, but let me say that in the years of its existence the International Labor Conference has adopted fifty-two separate Conventions relating to conditions of employment and the health and welfare of the workers throughout the world, that these treaties have been ratified more than seven hundred times by the nations that are in affiliation with the Office. In addition, there have been more than fifty recommendations emanating from the International Labor Organization to the governments of the world, each one in its turn recommending some step to be taken by governments that will improve the standards of life of its workers.

There was great disappointment among the representatives of labor at the last conference because of the failure of the conference to adopt the forty hour week in four of the five Conventions that had been submitted to the conference for consideration. But each one of these Conventions submitted by the Governing Body to the conference were carried in the conference by large majorities. They failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote, but if you analyze the vote of the delegations that were there representing these governments, you will find it was the failure of governments who are forward looking nations to vote upon that question that resulted in their defeat.

I say to you men and women here now that the International Labor Organization will continue to adopt measures in the interests of the worker

throughout the world, that in addition it will adopt forty hour week Conventions, that it will eventually adopt Conventions providing for lesser hours of labor. In 1919, at its first convention held in Washington, D. C., it adopted a forty-eight hour Convention, and it will continue as time goes on and as men and governments become more liberal, through the influence that comes from discussion of these great problems in this great international organization, to give thought and favorable action to the question of shorter hours, better wage standards, and in general an improved standard of life for the peoples throughout the world.

There is just one other matter I would like to touch on, and that is this: That when governments are in affiliation with this organization they must submit to their legislative bodies for their approval the Conventions that are adopted by the General Conference of the organization. You will recall that our President referred to the last Congress, in its closing days, those Conventions that were adopted in the 1935 conference.

There will arise in the United States the question of whether or not the Senate can approve and adopt as a treaty between nations a Convention adopted by the International Labor Conference that provides for an improvement of the standard of life of labor. But I say to you men and women that this is a problem that the American Federation of Labor will have to give consideration to. The International Labor Office has adopted child labor regulations. They are now considering, and it has been approved by the Governing Body, an increased age limit of young workers throughout the world. There is no question but that it will be approved by the International Labor Organization, in General Conference. There is no question but that it will be submitted to the Senate for ratification. Just last month in Geneva a Maritime Conference was held and great progress was made toward improving the standard of life of the men who go down to the sea in ships. This will finally be submitted to the Congress of our country for their approval, together with many others. The American Federation of Labor can aid in presenting these matters and arguments to the Congress of the United States for the ratification of these Conventions that are adopted at Geneva, that become treaties between the nations that adopt them, not only in the interests of labor of America, but in the interests of labor throughout the world.

I realize that there is much to be said about the International Labor Organization. I ask you each one to read carefully what the Executive Council has said in its report to this

convention. I ask you to understand this organization, that you might know that it is an organization and an instrumentality that is working in the interests of labor throughout the world, and if you and each one will aid and assist, there will come that betterment to the condition of labor throughout the world.

Trade unionists of our country are anxious for the maintenance of world peace, but world peace can only be maintained as stated in the preamble of the constitution of the I. L. O., by the establishment of social justice, and the International Labor Organization is committed to that great principle.

President Green: We thank Brother Wilson for his visit here this morning and for the very instructive and illuminating address which he has just delivered. We are happy indeed to know that a man trained in the great American Federation of Labor movement is now serving as a representative of labor at the International Labor Office in Geneva, Switzerland. His address will appear in the printed proceedings of the convention.

I know I can say for you that it is our purpose to cooperate fully and definitely in all the work of the International Labor Office and to advise and work with representatives of the Government in the development of the administrative work and service of the International Labor Office.

We thank you, Brother Wilson, for your visit and for your address.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Tobin, of the Committee on Law, for an announcement just now.

Delegate Tobin: At 1:30 o'clock today the Committee on Law will meet in Room 405 in the headquarters hotel. A great many matters of importance, amendments to the constitution, are coming before the committee. All those interested will try to be there.

President Green: I speak with a deep sense of appreciation when I say to you that we are indeed grateful to the distinguished Secretary of Labor for her visit to this convention and for her presence here this morning. She has always responded to the invitations we extended her to attend and address conventions of the American

Federation of Labor, and she has always brought to the officers and delegates in attendance at our conventions addresses which have inspired us and have developed within us a determination to go forward in our work of trying to lift the standard of life and living among the working people of the nation.

She represents a Department of Labor in which labor is tremendously interested. She fills an important position as a member of the President's cabinet and there she presents in conference with her associate members of the President's cabinet the problems of labor. We have been pleased to cooperate with her and work with her in all of her work as the Secretary of Labor. She has manifested her deep interest in and understanding of the problems of labor and of the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor itself.

During all these days of unemployment and economic distress I have been pleased beyond measure over the very fine, sympathetic, and understanding way in which she has dealt with the problems of labor. I esteem it indeed a very great honor and a very great privilege to present to the officers, delegates, and visitors in attendance at the convention this morning the distinguished Secretary of Labor, Honorable Frances Perkins.

MISS FRANCES PERKINS (Secretary, Department of Labor)

Mr. Chairman and my friends—I cannot tell you with what gratification I find myself today in this company of people who understand and care about not only the present status of labor in the United States of America, but the future status of labor in the United States of America. I am delighted to be here to respond to Mr. Green by saying that the cooperation and the confidence and the good will of the working people of the United States of America has made possible many of the advances, many of the progressive programs which not only have endeared and recommended the present Administration of the United States to the laboring people of this country, but have recommended it and endorsed it to all of the plain and sim-

ple and honest Americans of these United States of America in recent years. And your cooperation, not only cooperation on the political side, but your cooperation on the side of planning, on the side of investigating what are the problems of the common people has been of inestimable value in the development by this administration of these programs which, on the whole, have made for the welfare and the prosperity and the happiness of all of the people of the United States. For we think, I know, today not only in the terms of the welfare of one group or one part, we think in the terms of the welfare of all the people of the United States, and we have demonstrated in these last months, in these last two or three years, that we have been so involved in the techniques of bringing our people out of the depression, out of a despairing situation, that it is as true today as it was a thousand years ago that the welfare of the least of these, our brethren, is the welfare of the whole country.

And what progress we have seen, what development out of the depression into a period when there are not only payment to dividends, payment to profits, and payment to labor—what progress we have seen has been based upon the fundamental conception that unless those groups who are themselves in the low income groups, unless those people who are in the groups ordinarily earning less than enough to support the major American conception of the standard of life, unless they progress, unless they have enough to bring them within the pattern of modern civilization, there will be no progress for all the other groups who are involved in our modern American way of life.

It is because the labor groups of this country have been insistent continuously upon that position and that they have had joined with them others who have been able to understand and analyze the economic programs and economic problems of American life, that we have had such recovery as we have had in this recent year.

I want to thank you not only for your help and cooperation with the Administration in its political phases, I want to thank you for the help you have given to the Administration in its specific problems of planning the labor programs and the solution of the labor problems which have been before this Administration.

Many of you here will recall that when, in the dark days of March, 1933, I asked a considerable number of your members to come into a conference to help us make a quick statement of what were the im-

mediate objectives, what were the immediate programs necessary for the development of a sound and substantial program for overcoming the present difficulties of labor, your members and your officers entered gladly into that conference, and that out of that conference held in the dark days of March, 1933, and out of a simple enunciation of the programs and the problems that they then knew, there grew the greater problems which have come about in modern terms of basic conceptions of the New Deal.

And I want to remind you of what some of the recommendations of that congress were—and I quote from the first annual report of the Secretary of Labor under my administration, a conference held in March, 1933, of the labor leaders of the United States of America, together with some of the friends of labor who had shown by their acts and by their deeds and by their words that they were friends of labor. I want to remind you of what some of those recommendations were and to remind you, too, that most of those recommendations have since been adopted and put into actual practice by the Government and by those allied with the Government since that time.

The program at that time issued a warning that relief should not be used to supplement sweat shop wages and subsidize sweat shops. It recommended Federal Government aid to the whole problem of relief of those who were unemployed, and therefore in need of relief.

It recommended large public works programs to be undertaken, and that it include projects to stimulate the building industry. That was in 1933, and it was done.

It pointed out that the abolition of child labor was an immediate necessity for the country, not only for the prevention of unemployment, but for the raising of the standards of living of the young people of this country.

It suggested that public and semi-public buildings should be used as educational and social centers for the people who are out of work, and that has been done.

It recommended drastic limitation of the hours of labor both now and in the future, that is, in 1933, for the purpose of overcoming the then tremendous depression and unemployment of labor, and in the future for stabilizing and preventing a future crisis of unemployment.

It urged better wages and some machinery for fixing minimum wages at a level which should be at least a living wage, for the purpose of preventing the fall of wages to a level

which at that time threatened to be disastrous and non-productive.

Some of you will remember that at that conference there were read into the record the records of pay envelopes received in some parts of this country which indicated that some people had received for ten hours a day, six days a week, \$1.50 for a week's wages; some had received \$2.20; and the record indicated that in one factory in one area they received as little as 87 cents for a week for a full week's work of 60 hours—a most preposterous and unthinkable wage for the people of the United States of America, a non-productive wage for the people who received a wage so low as that, even though they might produce a shirt which could sell for 50 cents, they could not themselves buy back even a shirt or a dress or a pair of shoes or groceries sufficient to carry them along in their standards of living and primarily could not make it possible for them to purchase back and to be a purchasing market for the great mass production of other industries and of our farms and agricultural institutions.

The fall of wages was, I think, the most horrifying aspect of the last depression, and many of us realized that the economic system to which we are accustomed could not carry on if wages fell below a level where their purchasing power was not at least equal to the commensurate value of the products which they assisted in producing.

Then you will remember that that conference suggested the establishment of boards, either regional or industrial, which might hear evidence and take testimony and make findings regarding these matters of wages and hours and other matters which were often in dispute between employers and workers. That has been done and is firmly established in the National Labor Relations Board and in the labor boards which are organized on the regional basis. I think perhaps no other one thing has made so possible the organization of workers for the promotion of their needs, for the promotion of their own problems as have these regional labor boards and the attendant activities of conciliation and the attendant activities of the defending of their rights.

That conference of March, 1933, urged further that the standards of purchase by the Government be such as to require fair hours and wages by firms from whom the people of the United States, through their Government, made purchases of supplies for the Government. That idea and that recommendation have been enacted into law and into practice in recent months by virtue of the Walsh-Healey Bill, which is today in operation, a bill

much modified, much amended in its passage through Congress, a bill needing much further amendment and much further development before it will perfectly achieve the end for which this legislation was passed, but a bill and a program which nevertheless is aimed and is continually developing to make it a real thing, that the United States Government is a model employer and that in giving its contracts to any employer it requires of him standards of hours and wages and industrial practices which are at least within the outside limits of modern democratic civilization—standards of forty hours a week as the basic hours per week; standards that require that no children under sixteen years of age shall be employed in any contract for the Government; standards which require that in the industries where a below-subsistence wage is maintained, a minimum wage should be fixed which is at least in conformity with the standards of living of the community, and that work should be carried on in buildings and structures which are protected against accident and disease and fire.

These are just minimum standards, but those of us who know that many contracts of the Government in the past have been given to firms and organizations which were working below a minimum standard of living are glad to know that this is at least a reality for present conditions.

As a part of our program of administering the Walsh-Healey Act, we have faced many very difficult problems, and we want to recommend to you today a continued study of the Act which was passed at the last Congress, with a view to the development and amendment of that Act to make possible a more complete, a more effective, and a more just administration of the Act.

It may interest you to know that fifty-eight separate contracts have already been let under the terms of the Walsh-Healey Act, and that those contracts cover all sorts of enterprises—interior finishing, wood parts, tweed cloth, bituminous coal, bituminous coal pitch material, asphalt, concrete, ready mixed concrete, electric ranges, gasoline stoves, bricks, sheet steel, pipes, cast iron pipe, reinforced concrete pipe, steel output of all sorts, cement, oil aggregate, cast iron pipe, clothing, summer pajamas, shirts, gloves, neckties, cotton garments, coats and pants of the work type, hard wheat flour, sugar, clinical thermometers, coffee, white ledger paper, road scrapers, canned corn beef, structural steel, electro conductors and equipment, etc.—fifty-eight separate contracts covering over \$2,000,000 worth of contracts of the United States Government have already been let since October 1, under the terms of the Walsh-Healey

Bill, which, as you may remember, went into effect on September 29, 1936.

Already we have begun to have the expected complaints, but we want and expect more complaints and more co-operation from the labor organizations of the various states in which these contracts have been let. We are prepared in our Department to cooperate with every state federation of labor with regard to these contracts. We are prepared to tell them, upon their request, or upon the request of any agent appointed by the American Federation of Labor, who is receiving a particular contract and what the terms of the contract are, what the terms of the forty hour week really are, how they can be interpreted in law, how they can be enforced, how to determine whether or not there are children under sixteen years of age at work, and how to determine whether or not the minimum wages are paid.

The first hearing on wages will be held on Friday of this week. Notice of it has already been given. We have selected as the first industry in which to make inquiry with regard to wages and in which to take the preliminary testimony looking to the fixing of a minimum wage, an industry to which perhaps \$100,000 worth of contracts have been let in the last month, an industry which is known to be one of the industries in which sub-standard wages have regularly been paid in the past—and when I say sub-standard I mean sweating wages, wages below a decent minimum living in the United States of America. The first hearing has been scheduled on wages in the men's cotton garment industry. Several contracts have already been let in that, and we are uncertain as to what the level of wages concurrently paid in different parts of the country is, and what the proper level of wages in that industry is. This hearing will be held on Friday of this week, and following that there will be testimony from workers, from employers, from public officials, and the state labor departments in various states, and on the basis of that we shall proceed to fix what is the proper minimum wage in that industry for all United States Government contracts.

I recommend to you most sincerely at this time full participation and co-operation not only in this particular hearing, but in the hearings in other industries which will be held from time to time to fix the minimum prevailing wage on Government contracts.

I recommend to you also the co-operation of your state federations of labor, not only in testifying as to the prevailing minimum rates for various industries in their states and regions, but that you advise participation and cooperation of the state federations of

labor and of the American Federation of Labor in its central organization in enforcement of these rulings and of the terms and procedures of the Walsh-Healey Bill. For without the assistance and without the recommendations and without the reporting of the organized labor groups throughout the United States, we would be tremendously handicapped in carrying out and enforcing the terms of this bill. So soon as your members know what are the terms under which contracts are let in steel, in boots and shoes, in clothing, in concrete, in oil, in machinery and tools, and all the other items which are covered by these contracts, so soon as your members know what are the labor terms involved, they should report either to your central bodies or direct to the United States Department of Labor what they find as the violations of that Act, in order that we may investigate or cause to be investigated those reports of violations and bring suitable action to secure enforcement of the Act.

We have within the last week asked the commissioners of labor of the various states where these contracts are now located to make special investigations of the firms and plants which have received these contracts, and to report direct to us whether or not they are living up to the forty hours per week, the child labor provisions, and the provisions with regard to physical conditions of work which are laid down and specified within the Act. We expect to rely heavily upon the state departments of labor for reports with regard to the carrying out of the terms and conditions of the Act, with regard to particular firms and enterprises which are within their jurisdiction.

This is a very important thing, to rely upon the state departments of labor, for the state departments of labor are close to these enterprises and close to the state federations of labor and the people who work in those enterprises. We have recently set up in Washington a method of co-operating with the state departments of labor in every state, so that we can rely upon them and trust them to carry out for us these inspection services which are of such extreme importance in utilizing this particular method of improving conditions of work, improving the conditions of labor throughout the United States of America.

I want to point out to you, too, that not only did that conference in 1933 recommend that the purchasing power of the Government of the United States should be used to level up the standards of labor throughout the United States, but it recommended also that all the units of government should use their purchasing power to level up

to the standards of labor, I want to suggest to you the desirability and the wisdom of urging upon the various state legislatures and the city and municipal legislative authorities a program of requiring as a basic minimum for the giving of a contract for the purchase of state and city supplies and equipment, the maintenance of a certain minimum level of labor standards which is not below the level provided for in the Walsh-Healey Bill.

Those of you who have followed the progress of this bill and its administration know that for its effective carrying out it will need some amendment and some strengthening, and for that I invite your continued cooperation.

Then you know that that conference in 1933 recommended also, as one of the important and basic desiderata of the whole labor program of the United States, not only the providing of a minimum wage level below which wages in this country could never fall, a wage level not representing the wages of the skilled, but representing minimum wages paid to any kind of work, they recommended also that there should be a definite recognition of the need, of the universal right of workers to organize and select representatives of their own choosing for the purposes of collective bargaining. You and I know that progress has been made in the last few years along this line such as has never been made before in the history of the United States, and perhaps not in the history of any other modern democratic country. All of these recommendations, including the recommendation for the right of labor to organize for collective bargaining have made progress and are, in one degree or another, in effect today. The extraordinary thing is that business men and bankers, investors and farmers, laboring people and agricultural workers alike, find that their terms of life have improved, that the conditions of life in the United States of America are better today and are better perhaps, not because of these minimum standards, but in connection with these minimum standards for our low income groups, and particularly for the wage earning groups of the United States of America. We can never fall back from this conception that minimum standards are to be a part of the law of the land and that better standards of living, standards which are real standards, aimed to develop what we call the American standard of living, ought to be enforced by the effective, concrete, constructive agreements between organized workers and their employers.

I cannot urge upon you too strongly at this time the conceptions that we have within our power in these few years to determine whether the American people shall go forward into their new type of civilization on the basis of all-exclusive or on the basis of all-inclusive civilization.

This is truly a turning point in the development of the American democracy, and I think the vote of the people which was registered a couple of weeks ago is perfectly clear that the people of the United States are committed to the idea that they can go forward and develop this great civilization which we have always had in our hands, develop it upon the idea that it is to be an all-inclusive civilization, that it is to include all people in its benefits, and not to make civilization for a few at the expense of the many. People of the United States, in an honest democracy and in an honest election, registered overwhelmingly that they are in favor of an inclusive civilization, and I want to ask you who are representatives of the largest organized group of wage earners in the United States, to put your attention conscientiously in the future not only to the development of higher standards of living for the organized wage earner, but to put your attention also to the development of higher standards of living for the unorganized wage earners and for the whole people of the United States.

The organized workers of this country have a tremendous contribution to make to the civilization of the future of the people of the United States of America. All of the low income groups are involved in the same problem. You know as well as I do, because it has been told to you often by your leaders, that 22,000,000 families in the United States in the year 1929, which was a high income year, had incomes of less than \$2,000 a year, and that of that number 11,000,000 had incomes of less than \$1,000 a year, and that only 33,000 families had incomes of over \$50,000 a year, and only 160,000 families had incomes over \$25,000 a year. The others lay somewhere in that middle group between the level of two or three thousand dollars a year and the \$25,000 group. The great bulk of our families lived under \$3,000, and of those in that low income group the great bulk of them lived almost on a poverty level, according to the American standards of living.

These are the groups which, if we are to maintain our system of mass production, must be developed in their purchasing power to make it possible for them to be the purchasers of the very goods which they and their

brothers in other well organized industries manufacture and sell and distribute to the people of the United States of America. The raising of the wage earner's income, the raising of the farmer's income, the raising of the agricultural laborer's income is a part of the program and a part of the responsibility of those of you who are organized into groups for the promotion of the welfare of the organized and skilled laborers of the United States of America.

For we are facing a civilization of surplus, we are facing a civilization in which, so long ago as 1928, the then Secretary of Commerce said that we could produce in eight months in this country, with our then equipment of machinery and efficiency, as much as we had ever consumed in twelve months. That is an economy of surplus, an economy of abundance. All that we need to do is to build up constantly a purchasing power of the wage earners and the farmers commensurate with the production capacities of the great mass production industries.

Of the 30,000,000 wage earners in this country, 24,000,000 of whom are clearly industrial wage earners, these are your clients and my clients. What are some of the standard recommendations that need to be made not only in this convention, but in every state labor convention in every state legislature, in every meeting of the Congress of the United States, until these facts are brought home to all the people of the United States?

What are some of the things needed to bring their purchasing power into a level of the production power of the people of the United States? Reasonably short hours, no child labor, first class working conditions, wages commensurate with the value of the services, wages commensurate with the American standards of living, for it is in the increase of the standard of living, as well as in the maintenance of a living wage that the true future development of labor's income lies.

The American standard of living is a very high standard of living and most wage earners are not able to approximate it in the course of their working life. And so we need not only to fix minimum wages for those who are in the lowest income group and most subject to exploitation, but we have to think continuously of the improvement in wages up to the American standard of living.

Then we have to think of cooperation between workers and employers in terms of equal bargaining power. There can be cooperation between employers and workers and there is a

great desire for cooperation between workers and employers, particularly by the organized workers of this country, but it will never be a real and effective cooperation except in terms of equal bargaining power, and the equal bargaining power that flows out of organization, out of recognition, and out of a real intent to cooperation between the two parties is of extreme importance.

Then we need to have organized assurance of protection against the major hazards of modern industry—lack of earning power due to accident, due to unemployment, and due to old age or untimely death. These are partially provided for in the present Social Security Act which has been passed under the recommendation of your organization, and it is being put into effect with the full cooperation of your organization.

A great new wealth has been created in this country by machinery and efficiency, and efficiency is, after all, only a new name for planning and analysis and program. These two great items, machinery and efficiency, have created a wealth which did not exist before. Most of us who think seriously know that. And what is the worker's share of this new wealth? Isn't it better wages, shorter hours, abolition of child labor, provision for the aged and the unemployed, better working conditions all around? Is this not a minimum share which the workers of the United States are entitled to expect and which the employers of the United States really expect to give as a part of the workers' share of the new wealth which has been created by the ingenuity of not only employers but workers and scientists throughout the United States of America?

All of these ends, I think, we are today by way of getting. But there are other problems which we have not touched. There are problems intricate, immediate, rather technical problems of methods by which we can effect these great desiderata—public employment services that take no toll or fees from people who want work—these are necessary in order to carry the worker constantly forward; public works planned and advanced so that they will be used in periods of temporary depression to give work to those who are suddenly thrust out of employment.

This ought to be a permanent program in the United States of America—rehabilitation of the victims of the depression. Let us not call it relief any more, let us call it rehabilitation and reconstruction. If we had had a great war or a great earthquake, we should cease to think in terms of relief and begin to think in terms of rehabilitation and reconstruction of

the victims of these particular disasters, and under those terms of rehabilitation we would think, of course, of retraining of those who might perhaps be permanently out of employment in the industries to which they were accustomed in the past.

We should begin to think in terms of training people, who, in the past, had gone into one form of occupation or another without any training and remained permanently unskilled and almost underskilled and were always marginal workers. We should think in terms of preparing young people regularly for a longer period of special training or special education. We should think regularly in terms of directing older people to means of subsistence which are not in competition with those of the wage earners who were actively engaged in producing within their own fields. We should think, too, under terms of rehabilitation of preparing all our workers to carry on their work in terms of corporate and cooperative agreement with their employers.

I cannot tell you how important I think it is today that we should begin to develop a program in the next few years which makes it possible for the organized labor groups of this country to know and understand their wage problems, their hours problems, and the problems of production within their own industry in order that they may actually enter into collective bargaining with their employes on realistic terms, terms in which they know as much about the industry as their employers know about the industry, when they sit down around the table to discuss what will be the collective agreement of the future.

I want to point out to you that we in the Department of Labor have, under your recommendation, made special studies in the past, and we expect to continue them, with your cooperation, with regard to the most immediate needs and the most immediate problems of organized labor in this country, particularly with regard to hours and wages in the major industries.

I want to recommend to you the further use of these impartially collected statistical informations which you can have from the Department of Labor upon request. I want to thank you and some of your colleagues out through the country for the increasing use which they have made in the last few years of this information—hours, wages, and working conditions, information that has been collected in the textile industry, in the petroleum industry, the automobile industry, the baking industry, in all branches of the tobacco industry, the iron and steel industry, the water transport industry, paper products, ship building, bituminous coal, the professional groups—

all of these enterprises have been conducted by the Department of Labor with a special advisory committee upon which the appropriate national unions were represented. I want to recommend to you that you continue to use these agencies and these informations in the development of your activities as organized workers throughout the country.

We are striving today, of course, to reach a proper balance of economic and social progress which can be attained by embodying in the American system the principle of a national living wage as a minimum, the continuity of a high income level, maximum utilization of natural resources, fair profits and good and steady wages for workers and fair prices for the produce of the farmers—all these are necessary to a sound prosperity.

I want to recommend to you at this time that you look into the problems of the agricultural workers and the workers in the maritime industry. We in the Department of Labor in the last few years have gone somewhat outside our original considerations in taking an interest in what happens to the agricultural wage worker and what happens in terms of wages and hours and working conditions to the maritime wage worker. It is, I think, a part of our general instruction to improve the conditions of wage earners of the United States, not to ignore or neglect these particular groups, and from time to time, although we have no authority to effect changes, we shall report to you and to the public upon the conditions which we find in these two groups.

I want to recommend to you also that you continue to study a program for the stability of employment, as well as programs for the stability and continuity of incomes, when we are now moving into the period of recovery. It is in this period that we must take the action as a nation that will prevent or at least mitigate the terms of distress of future depressions. Stabilization of employment, stability of income, have proved to be sound economic doctrines for the country and for the whole community. They are of vital importance to the organized wage workers, and just as fair and continued profits are vital to industry, so is steady work and steady wages vital to the wage earners, and I recommend to you that you make this among your major programs for study. Cooperative activity and understanding in the future by employers, wage earners, and farmers, and increased purchase power, thus raising the American standards of living, will serve to continue the upward swing of recovery and bring about economic balance and prevention of future depressions.

We have concrete evidence of the betterment of national conditions. More than 6,000,000 people who were jobless and panic stricken in March, 1933, are working again in private employment and drawing their weekly pay. Weekly pay envelopes were \$70,000,000 greater per week in the first quarter of this year than in the corresponding period of 1933, and outside of private employment some 3,000,000 men and women are now engaged in useful work provided for or assisted by the Government.

I want to point out to you that no other country in the world keeps its figures of the employed and unemployed separate, private employment from public employment. We do in this country, because we wish to measure and value the extent to which Government programs are necessary to supplement private programs of employment. But these have all been important factors in the recovery.

Men and women are at work on public and private enterprise, without having deflated the program of wages and hours. One of the things that is essential, and I think for this you and your colleagues and your well wishers throughout the country can claim great credit—is that this recovery has been made without increasing the hours of labor and without decreasing the wages, rather increasing the wages and decreasing the hours have given reemployment to 9,000,000 people in the United States of America. As a result of this, not only are the wage workers better off, but industry itself, the owners of industry, the managers of industry, and the investors in industry are again collecting dividends. It is predicted by the most conservative banking groups in America that the national income of this year will soon be double what it was at the low point of the depression in 1933. This doubling of the national income is very largely due to the fact that we kept our lip stiff and did not assent to the deflation of labor during this particular period.

You know that the homes of the wage workers are safeguarded today from foreclosure by the enterprise of the Government, which recognizes that the credit of a working man based on character is just as good as the credit of a banker based on character.

These are among the major victories in our social organization in the United States of America. Savings of working men in savings banks and banking institutions are protected today against the loss which was the horrible effect of the depression of 1932 and 1933.

Increased employment and payrolls stimulated by the spending of the Federal Government have raised the buying power of the wage-earners and farmers and have so enabled the merchants to sell more goods and the factories to get more orders.

It is estimated that the total number of persons employed in the United States, exclusive of agriculture, WPA, and the Civilian Conservation Camps, in September of this year was 31,683,000 people, representing a gain of about a million and a half in twelve months. This number is approximately the same as the number of persons who were employed in the United States of America at the end of 1930, and if you add to this the number who are employed in agriculture, the number on the Federal works program, the total will approximate the average employment of 1929, and this gain has been made without sacrificing the hard-won standards of labor throughout the United States of America. I congratulate you upon that success.

The increases in employment since last May have been greater than the normal seasonal movement, and that indicates, I think, as does the still further increase from May to September in 1936, that there will continue to be an increase in employment for the next six months, based upon the expansions of industrial production and industrial activity.

And here is the point where we must look to the future, for now we are on the upgrade, and when we are on the upgrade as an industrial society is a time when the standards of labor can most definitely and specifically be wrought into the pattern of the industrial civilization of the people of the United States of America. Labor now must expect and desire continuing and stable and reasonable increases in its income and in its wages. Labor now must demand and request and expect a definite program for stabilization of employment and for the prevention of the falling off in employment due to a variety of causes.

In the pre-depression days we were discussing methods by which there might come about stabilization of industry and stabilization of employment, and among the things which were recommended by employers' organizations, by workers' organizations, by scientific bodies, were the abolition of child labor, the taking of aged persons out of the labor market by provision for old age retirement on a living basis, the maintenance of a short-hours-of-work program in every industry, in every state, the maintenance of relatively high wages in every industry so that there might be continuous purchasing power of the great

level of 23,000,000 families who are the low income groups of the United States of America, that there might be public employment bureaus to bring together employers and workers to the end that a steady flow of engagement of those who were out of work temporarily might be brought about, that there might be continuous programs of retraining of those who were out of work for one reason or another because of changes in their industry, so that they might reenter other industries or the same industry on equal competitive terms.

All of these things were recommended in conjunction with programs for public works directed by the Federal Government to take up the slack in temporary periods of unemployment, and programs initiated by the Government for social security or unemployment insurance or old age insurance.

These recommendations, made in the heyday of our prosperity, are just as good today as they were then, and perhaps we shall be more successful in putting them into effect when industry is on the upgrade than when industry had already reached its peak and had begun to be on the downgrade in some enterprises.

And so I recommend to you that your committees and your groups study in the future not only the possibilities of maintaining your previous recommendations, but that you study also the possibility of recommending in the future an expanding program of protection of working people, and that you take into this the cooperation of the employers and the Government as looking to stabilization of industry and employment in the United States of America.

When I say that you invite the cooperation of employers I expect and understand that underlying any invitation to cooperation of employers is the recognition of the organization and important status of labor, not only for the protection of its own workers in a particular industry, but its recognized status as a part of the economic forces which must be consulted in improving the future economic and social life in the United States of America.

Now, I want to point out to you, as I think is clear to most of you, that the status of labor has been raised in recent months and recent years, not only by the action of the Government, but by the action of the organized labor groups themselves, for when organized labor groups were called upon to participate in planning for the recovery from the depression, they were asked to help, and they were not found wanting. They were found capable and with full capacity to cooperate constructively in the planning

of those measures which had to be put into effect for bringing recovery. They were found capable and competent for dealing with the problems of particular industries, and I want to recommend to you particularly the techniques which we worked out during the NRA. I think they taught all of us a great deal, they taught us that not only certain general basic formula were good, but they taught us that if we were to have labor cooperation in the actual development and practice of an industry, we must bring into conference with regard to that industry the particular groups who were familiar with that industry. We learned to realize that people who were clothing workers were not on the whole very effective when giving advice with regard to the details of hours and labor and working practices in the ship building industry, and vice versa, that what we wanted when we were discussing the ship building industry or the clothing industry was to bring into conference those who were familiar with the terms and conditions of those industries.

So I want to report to you that in building up the technique for the enforcement of the Walsh-Healey Bill, we have set up a panel of advisers and consultants to which President Green has made a list of some twelve or fifteen representatives of labor, to which the United States Chamber of Commerce has made a recommendation of a panel of the same number of employers, and we expect to consult each of these labor representatives and each of these employer representatives with regard to the terms and conditions of work within the particular industry with which they are familiar. And so you get competent and realistic cooperation, you get what John Frey once called a form of collective bargaining at the top with regard to general principles, even though you have not in the particular industry sufficient organization to effect real collective bargaining in a particular plant.

I want to recommend to you the continuance of that study by your agencies of the particular industries in which you are concerned, and in the development of those industries under the program with which you will cooperate with the Government.

Two forms of progress, it seems to me, are at the moment tremendously open for the organization and effective practice of modern labor principles—a program of legislation in which there must be cooperation with the Government and with other civic bodies interested in improving the general standards of life in the United States of America, for there are many people who believe as you do, that in the improvement of the standard of living of the low income groups, lies the

salvation of the whole country. This is one of the forms of activity in which organized labor can well cooperate with persons outside its membership and with the Government.

Then there is a still further, perhaps a still higher obligation of extending the system of organization of labor throughout the unorganized groups of this country, so that they may speak as they have never spoken before with regard to their own problems, their own desires, their own aspirations, that they may enter with you into a strong and firm and sensible and reasonable expression before the tribunals of the world and before the public opinion of this country, that they may enter not only the protests of those who have been forced to live below the American standard of living, but that they may enter their recommendations for the sensible and practical things which can be accomplished in raising the standard of living of the unorganized workers of this country into something comparable to the American standard of living. This is a tremendous obligation upon those of you who have long since known and understood the obligations and the progress of the organized workers of this country. They have made contributions to our civilization not only in increasing the wage levels and the standards of life of their members, but by setting standards to which all groups could aspire and to which some of them have aspired. I wish you great luck and great success in your further plan for organization, for real representation.

Then I want to point out to you the opportunity that lies now in your hands for cooperation, for the development and improvement of apprentice training in the United States. Most of you are aware of this problem, and certain unions are working toward the solution of it. The Government of the United States stands ready today to assist and cooperate with you in maintaining sound and practical standards of apprentice training, so that there will not be a flooding of the market with half trained workers who call themselves skilled or who are called skilled by their employers, but who have had no sound, substantial training in what are the ethical and civic duties of a mechanic and what are the fundamental and practical approaches of the mechanic to the problem of his whole training.

This is one of the important programs of the future, particularly if we are to go forward with the program of reduction of hours of labor. One of the great industries of this country represented to us a couple of years ago that it could not reduce the hours of labor in its industry because the key

to the whole program of production was a handful of skilled men, and that they could not reduce the hours of the skilled men without speeding up those men who were unskilled. The answer to that is more skilled men in the great mass production industries, and we must prevail upon those industries—and some of them are already recognizing it—but we must prevail upon them to cooperate in programs of apprentice training which the unions and the Government think essential in order to build up a sufficiency of skilled men, to make possible the reduction of hours of labor over a broad scale and at the same time the maintenance of a wage which makes it possible to develop an American standard of living for all these people.

I want to say to you while I yet have time that I think one of the immediate and important tasks that lies before your organization is the bringing into line of the twelve states which have not yet endorsed and ratified the child labor amendment. I think there can be no doubt that the great majority of the people of the United States, whether they are farmers or wage workers or professional workers, housewives, even industrialists, the great majority are willing and prefer that no child under sixteen years of age should be employed at labor, and that children between the ages of sixteen and eighteen should be protected against hazards of unhealthy and unwholesome occupations.

The only thing that remains is to break down the political resistance of the twelve states that have not yet ratified it—only twelve states, and I think that the determined activities of the state federations of labor and of the American Federation of Labor, combined with that multitude of civic and citizens' organizations which are in favor of this, can do it within the next year.

I want to point out to you that this coming year is the year in which most of these legislatures meet in their regular sessions and to urge upon you that you and all the state federations which are a part of your organization make this one of the major programs of your whole legislative activity. It can be done and it should be done at this time, so that competition should no longer rest upon merely competition in the flesh and blood of little children.

Now, it seems to me that the whole program of developing better conditions in the United States of America for wage earners and for low income groups depends systematically upon a continuation of the policy of improving the status of the great body of

wage earners, whether in industry or in agriculture, and it depends primarily upon the cooperation between the different groups of wage earners, between groups of wage earners and the Government, between the wage earners and their employers on equal bargaining terms. And so I invite you, as I think the Government in all of its other Departments invites other elements of our population, to cooperate in the public interests for the maintaining of the purchasing power, good living conditions, higher standards of living for the wage earners and of the farmers and for the low income groups of America. You have the primary responsibility for the development of a higher standard of living for the wage earners, and in their name and on behalf of them, whether they are organized or unorganized, I ask and invite your cooperation.

I thank you for what you have done in the past, for it has been a noble service, a patriotic service, in which you have cooperated with multitudes of your fellow citizens, but in which you have borne the brunt for, lo, these long years, in saying over and over again until at last it has sunk into the consciousness of 26,000,000 people—26,000,000 voters, more people probably—that it is important to maintain an American standard of living for the wage earners.

I thank you for what you have done. I ask your cooperation for the maintenance of these principles in the future, and for the working out of all the details by which these things must be achieved.

I want to say to you as I meet with you today that the whole Department of Labor has been greatly stimulated by the extent to which you have used the services which we are instructed to maintain for your help and for the benefit of all the wage earners. We have been greatly encouraged by the extent to which labor organizations all over the country have used the Bureau of Statistics and Information, have used the services of the Bureau of Labor Standards, bringing them into cooperation in consultation in the various industries in which they are organized and in the various states. We are heartened by your cooperation with the United States Employment Service and with all of the other administrative and research services of the country, and I am asked by those who could not come here to say to you that they are very grateful for that and for the intelligent stimulus which you have given to their planning programs.

I am particularly asked by my friend and colleague, who is out on the Pacific Coast engaged in a duty

which he cannot escape and in which I hope he will be successful before many days are over—I am asked by my friend, Ed McGrady, to say to you that he wishes he were here this morning, that he hopes to be here before the convention is over, and that he sends you his good wishes and greetings, and he asks you—well, to hold in your hearts the wish that he may be successful in the great work of bringing an orderly agreement between the organized workers in the maritime trades and the organized employers in the maritime trades on the Pacific Coast very shortly. All of us are committed to see him through on this, and we have today not a promise, not a real, rosy picture, but we have some hope that it may be successful.

And as I say that, I want to say there is a very solemn obligation in which I think you share, to whole groups of wage earners in these United States of America, including the agricultural workers and the share croppers and the tenant farmers who are actually wage earners though not legally, the maritime workers generally who in the past have not been too closely within the picture of the high standard of living which we think belongs to Americans. This is a part of our responsibility for the future, and while you and I congratulate this body upon what it has done in the past, never let us forget that there is a greater obligation upon us for the future.

President Green: Officers and visitors and delegates at this convention: For you and in your behalf I thank the Secretary of Labor for her visit here this morning and for the instructive and inspirational address she delivered. In making this statement I am reminded of the fact that she traveled all the way from Washington to Tampa for the special and exclusive purpose of bringing to this 56th convention of the American Federation of Labor her message and her greeting.

We are an appreciative group, and we especially appreciate her visit here this morning. The information she brought us will be of great help to us. The suggestions and recommendations she made are gratefully received. The committees in this convention welcome these suggestions. They will be considered in the submission of reports, and because they were made so sincerely this morning they will

help us in arriving at right conclusions.

I want to express to her in your presence our gratitude for the service rendered by the Secretary of Labor, and I want to assure her and the administration of the government, all those working with her in the Department of Labor, that she can always rely upon the whole hearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor. I ask her to remain with us as long as time and opportunity will permit, and to consider herself as the guest of the American Federation of Labor.

And now the Chair calls for announcements from chairmen of committees and others.

A delegate asked if there would be a session in the afternoon.

President Green: The convention will reconvene at 2:30 o'clock, but I am not sure how long it will be in session unless some of the committees are ready to report.

The Chair desires to announce that Spencer Miller, Jr., representing the Workers' Education Bureau, who always attends and addresses conventions of the American Federation of Labor, will be present this afternoon and address the delegates and visitors to the convention. Brother Miller always brings to us a most interesting and educational address. Please bear that in mind. We extend a cordial invitation to the public to attend these sessions of our convention. You are especially invited to be present when Brother Miller speaks.

Delegate Perham: I would like to make a suggestion as to postponing Mr. Miller's address until tomorrow morning. Many of us have to appear before committees this afternoon. We don't want to miss Mr. Miller's address, and I would like to suggest that it be postponed until tomorrow morning, and that when we adjourn it be under suspension of the rules until tomorrow morning.

President Green: That will be agreeable, I am sure, to myself and the

other representatives of organizations. If it is agreeable to them we will postpone the address until tomorrow morning.

There will be a Labor Institute on Saturday, November 21st, sponsored by the Workers' Education Bureau of America, in the convention hall. The subject for the morning conference will be, "Low Cost Housing and Slum Clearance;" for the afternoon conference (2:30 p. m.), the subject will be "Consumers' Cooperation."

Among the speakers will be Hon. Langdon Post, Commissioner of Housing, New York City; Mr. Pettitt, of the P. W. A.; Mr. Vinton, of the Resettlement Administration; Mr. E. R. Bowen, Director of the Cooperative League, and Mr. Katt, of the Racine Oil Station Cooperative.

Delegate Steeper, Musicians: I understand various committees are meeting this afternoon and there will be but a handful of delegates here. If it is in order, I move you that when we adjourn this morning we adjourn to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

President Green: The Chair will be very glad to put the motion as soon as we are through with announcements.

I want to present to Mr. Brunet, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, his specially constructed badge. It is similar to the badges prepared for the delegates of the British Trade Union Congress.

Secretary Morrison: Thomas Henry Stevenson, Irvington, N. J., is critically ill at St. Joseph's Hospital, Seventh and Morgan Streets.

Announcements were made by the chairman of the various committees of the time and place of meetings, and they requested delegates interested in the questions that will come before them to attend their meetings.

At 12:30 o'clock p. m., the motion to suspend the rules and adjourn to 9:30 o'clock a. m. Thursday, 19th was carried, and the convention was adjourned.

Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Tampa, Florida,
November 19, 1936.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Bender, Breidenbach, Cahill, Cahir, Dobbs, Duldner, Evans (A. A.), Finnegan, Forbes, Gatelee, German, Glasgow, Graham, Hansen, Hefterly, Hunter, Irwin, Jenkins, Keegan, Kindred, Klarish, Knopka, Kirby, Matlin, Merritt, Mundell, Nischwitz, O'Neill, Powers (Geo.), Prior, Reynolds, Reznicek, Schreier, Stoffels, Tracy (Wm.), Turnblazer, Will, Williams (Clemon), Williamson, Yabonsky.

INVOCATION

(Rabbi David L. Zielonka,
Congregation Schanaral Zedek)

Our God and Father, Thou hast put into the hearts of Thy creatures a love of our fellow men. Through the prophets of old Thou didst teach us that to preach we must first serve by doing for others, by assisting those less fortunate than ourselves and by striving after the noble principles of justice and mercy and of brotherly love. Only so can they better reach Thy throne.

We thank Thee, oh God, that we are privileged to gather this morning to undertake the solution of many problems affecting our fellow men. We thank Thee for this organization which displays better than any other that men of all colors, creeds, and religions can gather together for the solution and discussion of their different problems. Be with us, oh merciful God. Grant that Thy spirit may come upon us, that in our deliberations we may have that sense of dignity and sense of understanding through which we may serve Thee and our fellow men better. Grant us, oh Father, a double portion of wisdom, for in these days of changed order we need a greater sense of the proportion of right and wrong that we may advance steadily for the solution of the problems of our fellow men. We ask Thy blessing upon all gathered here today. Be with them and guide them through their deliberations. Amen.

INVITATIONS

Mr. Frank Morrison,
Secretary A. F. of L.,
Floridan Hotel, City.

Dear Mr. Morrison:

The Delegates of the American Federation of Labor are cordially invited to

attend the 10:15 o'clock Mass Sunday, November 22nd. at the Sacred Heart Church, opposite the Hillsboro Hotel.

All blessings and good wishes for the best and most outstanding American Federation of Labor meeting you have ever enjoyed in the history of your Organization.

Most respectfully and cordially,
FELIX J. CLARKSON, S. J.,
Pastor.

Mr. Frank Morrison,
American Federation of Labor,
Floridan Hotel,
Tampa, Florida.

Dear Mr. Morrison:

Tampa Lodge of Elks welcomes you and all Delegates to Tampa. We want you to have a successful Convention and enjoy everything we have to offer.

During the Convention our Club will be open to all Delegates, whether Elks or not, and will appreciate your conveying this information to them.

With kindest regards and best wishes,
I beg to be,

Sincerely yours,
TOM O. WATKINS,
Exalted Ruler.

New York, N. Y.
November 16, 1936.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Tampa, Florida.

In the name of the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers and in Mine we extend fraternal greetings and our prayerful wishes for the success of the Convention.

LUIS N. MORONES.

Washington, D. C.,
November 16, 1936.

Honorable William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Floridan Hotel,
Tampa, Florida.

Regret very much that previous engagements on the west coast make it impossible for me to accept your kind invitation to address the Federation. May I, however, use this means of sending my best wishes for a very successful annual convention and may I also assure you and the members of the American Federation of Labor that as in the past it will be the policy of this office to cooperate with labor in every possible way in the further development of a system of education which intel-

ligerly and adequately takes into account labors needs and aspirations.

JOHN W. STUDEBAKER,
U. S. Commissioner of
Education.

Balboa, Canal Zone,
November 16, 1936.

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Convention
Tampa, Florida.

The most southern outpost of loyal organized workers extend best wishes for a successful convention.

CHARLES WAHL,
President Canal Zone
Central Labor Union.

Wallace, Idaho,
November 16, 1936.

William Green,
President A. F. of L. Convention.

Greetings. This council wishes convention much harmony. We desire to express hope that breach that threatens entire labor movement will be healed that your judgment be tempered with best interests of the entire labor movement at all times uppermost in your hearts. Fraternally,

Wallace and Vicinity
Trades and Labor Council,
A. S. ERWIN,
Secretary.

New York, N. Y.,
November 17, 1936.

William Green,
Fifty Sixth Annual Convention
American Federation of Labor,
Municipal Auditorium,
Tampa, Florida.

The United Hebrew Trades of New York sends its greetings to the Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Many historic tasks are now before the American Labor movement. A united labor movement will help American Labor to utilize the present great opportunities. Let your deliberations bring about a stronger Federation of Labor.

M. TIGEL,
Acting Secretary of the
United Hebrew Trades.

President Green: These messages will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Davis, chairman of the committee, submitted the following report:

We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Frank Burke, representing the Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—James G. Kennedy, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18232, New York, N. Y.—Harry Stern, 1 vote.

Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Dave Hanly, 1 vote.

San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council—Benny A. H. Legler, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18344, Syracuse, N. Y.—Clair Bellows, 10 votes.

Erwin Zumach, representing Federal Labor Union No. 20136, Milwaukee, Wis., 1 vote, who also represents Federal Labor Union No. 18546, and Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis., as previously reported.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice President Woll, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee desires to present a resolution for action of the convention this morning, because of urgency in the affairs of the Seamen's Union.

Seamen's Atlantic Coast Agreement

Resolution No. 246—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Ivan Hunter and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Throughout its entire history of more than 40 years, the International Seamen's Union of America has insisted upon an honest observance of agreements with shipowners, and

WHEREAS, Certain self-styled radicals aided and abetted by Communists and other extremists have succeeded in misleading some of the members of the Atlantic District Unions of the International Seamen's Union of America into sporadic strikes, causing the delay of some ships, notwithstanding the fact that the existing Atlantic agreement with the principal shipowners provides for preference in employment to members of the Unions and for the adjustment of any and all grievances by a Joint Board of Conciliation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in fifty-sixth Annual Convention assembled, that we pledge our moral support to all the loyal Atlantic Coast members of the International Seamen's Union of America who refuse to be coerced or stampeded into an outlaw strike, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be supplied to the President of the United States, to the newly created Maritime Commission and to the press.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

President Green: The Chair now desires to present to you for a brief address a distinguished Congressman from the state of Florida. I know that he possesses a very deep understanding of our problems and our economic philosophy. The fact that he is here this morning to say a few words to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention must be interpreted as an evidence of his deep interest and sympathy with our movement.

I present Congressman Peterson from Florida.

Congressman J. Hardin Peterson

Mr. President, guests and visitors: I am indeed very glad to have the opportunity of being with you this morning. I realize that you have much business to do in working out the details of this great convention, so I will not take up much of your time. But I did want to come here and express my appreciation and the appreciation of the people of this district and this state for your presence here. I did not want you to come into the First Congressional District without coming here to greet you and to express my admiration of your great organization and your officers. Admiration for your organization is part of my training. My father held a union card and both of my brothers carry union cards. I worked in the phosphate mines and I worked on the railroad. My younger brother is a worker on the railroad. I am proud of that fact, because it better enables me to understand your problems today. I am not going to make a lengthy speech, but as changed conditions come along, we must recognize the problems of the worker, we must recognize the changing of the American standard of living, and that conditions that existed many years ago are intolerable now in a time like this. We must recognize that those who are more fortunate must assist those who are less fortunate.

You know better than I do the service this great organization is doing. I believe in cooperation of great groups. I am going to repeat a story

I told last night to show the power of organization.

A man who was a driver was an expert with his whip. He could take a whip and cut off a flower here and a flower there, and he could kill a bee or a butterfly with it. He was bragging about his expertness. He was riding with a friend when they came to a hornet's nest. The friend said, "Let me see you cut that off." "Oh, no, they are organized."

I will give you another illustration to show that what you put into your organization you get back. The story was told me as a true story by a man who was doing religious work during the World War. He was stationed in a camp in Texas. He went to speak in a little country church. There was a box on the wall for collections, and he put a quarter in. After he had spoken, the committee said they wanted him to take the collection from the box. He said, "No, I am glad to be of service to you." They insisted that whoever put in two bits could have the entire collection. He reached into the box and took out a quarter.

A little barefoot boy was assigned to escort him to his home. The little fellow said, "Mister, you put a quarter in that box?" "Yes." "Mister, you tuk a quarter out of the box." Still absorbed in thought he said again, "Mister, if you'd put more in, you'd tuk more out, wouldn't you?"

Thus it is with your organization. The more you put into it, the more benefit you reap. I realize that great movements sometimes take a long period to perfect. I saw the fight of the railroad union to get things, and today we cannot ride on a train unless we get those things, but they didn't come without a fight.

Whereas, we used to debate in high school on the question of, "Resolved That labor unions are to the best interest of the employees," that is no longer a debatable question, because we realize it is to the best interests of the employees and also to the best interests of the employers when they sit around a table with representatives of the various labor groups and settle their problems. I am interested in labor legislation. It will be my pleasure to cooperate with you when such questions come up.

It is a real pleasure to be with you today and I hope that when your convention closes it will benefit not only the delegates but the working men throughout the nation. When it is concluded, I hope you will have an opportunity to loiter with us and do some fishing and see the scenic beauty of this coast.

I am glad to see you in this First Congressional District of Florida. I hope that I may have the opportunity of

serving you. I would be remiss if I did not express my appreciation of the loyal friends in the labor groups that have been so kind to me. It is indeed an honor to express to you my admiration for your organization, my admiration for your officers, many of whom I have known for years. There are many things to be done by an organization such as this, but only by whole hearted cooperation will the things you wish be accomplished for the benefit of the great masses of the people. I thank you.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that Mr. Sol Rosenblat, the representative who served during the administration of the National Recovery Act with distinction and credit, has been invited to address the convention. He is here in the city and we would be glad to have him appear this afternoon, immediately after convening at the afternoon session. I will appoint as a committee to escort him to the hall, Vice President George Brown, of the Theatrical Stage and Motion Picture organization; Vice President Bugniet, of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and Delegate Hesketh, Secretary of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Union. I will request this committee to meet Mr. Rosenblat and escort him to the hall this afternoon.

Addition to Committee

Delegate Walters, of the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders' organization, is added to the Committee on Building Trades Organization.

I desire also to announce the appointment of Brother Paul Ornburn as assistant to the messengers.

I now consider it a very great pleasure and privilege to present to you the Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau. Those of us who have been attending conventions for, lo, these many years, always remember with feeling of pleasure and satisfaction the attendance of Secretary Miller in the convention and the illuminating and educational addresses which he always delivered. His heart and soul are in the work in which he is engaged. I have never seen a greater exhibition of devotion and loyalty to a great work than is manifested daily by Secretary Miller. In season and

out of season, during days of discouragement and during days of achievement and satisfaction, he goes along serving, working in the interests of labor and for the great cause with which he is associated. He comes to us this morning with a message. I am glad to present him to you for its delivery. I know you will be inspired by it and you will learn much from the thoughts and information which he will give you. I present to you Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau.

AN ADDRESS

WORKERS' EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

**By Spencer Miller, Jr., Director
Workers' Education Bureau of America**

In the nearly threescore years since the American Federation of Labor was founded at the now celebrated Pittsburgh Convention, there have been but fourteen national elections. In that period of time twelve different persons have been honored by the American people by election to the high office of President of the United States. Each election has brought with it a certain advance in public thought and governmental policy. As we meet here in Tampa, against the more immediate background of another pageant of American democracy, no person who has eyes to see can be oblivious to the significance of the vast vote of confidence that was extended to President Roosevelt. Probably at no other time in the living memory of any member of this convention have the working people of America expressed so uniformly and so widely their endorsement both of a person and the results of a social program.

Last year at the Atlantic City convention I stated it as my conviction that a new frame of reference had been fashioned by the Congress of the United States in the recent enactment of a broad program of social and labor legislation and that all those who were called upon to teach or lead in our day must begin by recognizing that fact. The national election which has just passed has confirmed even more definitely than before the specifications of that frame of reference. It has done more; it has placed a benchmark on the social philosophy which is implicit in this new concept of the relation of government to the citizen. Such an endorsement of a philosophy of government may be lost sight of in the general enthusiasm with which the results have been received. And yet, in the perspective of history the de-

velopment of the social point of view in the administration of government may constitute the one really important achievement of the recent election aside from the personal tribute to a great leader. It has been said that the cost of this election will exceed \$13,000,000. Such an estimate, of course, would represent the more obvious expenditures and does not include many other items which go into a conduct of a national campaign. The public relations functions of modern government are continuous and costly but in many respects necessary. But whatever the cost, a national campaign and a national election, assuming there is no corruption, is a form of political education, however limited and biased it may be at times, which is worthwhile in preserving some of the basic principles of our democracy. When men are no longer interested in the processes of public debate and the discussion of public issues it is a serious outlook for democratic government. The alternative to discussion by the many, and for the many, is obviously discussion by the few and frequently decision by the one. That is autocracy and dictatorship. With such the American people are in complete disagreement.

But there is another factor about the present campaign that has a larger significance to all of us in our capacity as citizens. That is the virtual elimination of any effective opposition either from the right or the so-called left-wing groups. The combined votes for Lenke, Thomas and Browder are so small relatively as not to effect three per cent of the total vote according to the latest figures. Furthermore, the 17,000,000 votes cast for Governor Landon by a grotesque division in the Electoral College produced but eight electoral votes in two states. And yet the American people split on governmental policies 27,000,000 to 17,000,000! As Arthur Krock of the New York Times says, "An amendment which would divide electors according to the ratio of the popular vote in each state would end this absurdity and give to observers at home and abroad a clearer idea of the reality of the really close division of the American people." Ours is frequently described as a two-party system composed of the government and the opposition. Opposition is of the very nature of the effective operation of a two party system—it is the safety valve of democracy. If it does not exist it ought to be created as an important check and balance upon the whole operation of governmental affairs. In the words of the editorial columns of the Richmond Times Dispatch, "The New Deal, for its own sake, and perhaps for that of the people will need the honest criticism of the minority group." The in-

telligent criticism of a minority from both the right and left wing is most necessary. Furthermore, if labor is to preserve its own independence as a free trade union movement it must be prepared at all times to criticize as well as to cooperate with government.

But there is another interesting phenomenon of our political campaign which discloses the character of the American mind; it is the rapidity with which we adjourn our partisan discussions as soon as the results are received and resolve our selves into our several capacities as workers for the common weal whether by hand or brain. There are no political scars; no recriminations. In part it is an indication of our common sense; we know elections do not accomplish reforms; they merely point the way. Indeed it may be said that the register of the public will in an election neither set in motion the processes of orderly government nor does it affect the administrative handling of specific problems; these wait on the day-to-day activities of those charged with the administrative responsibilities of government. For these responsibilities enlightenment is imperative; it is quite as necessary for the effective carrying on of governmental functions as it is necessary for the information of the voters in making their decisions on governmental policy.

During the past year, however, and particularly during the more recent months of the political campaign, the Workers Education Bureau has maintained with scrupulous care its non-partisan educational function. It has refused to be drawn into any type of political discussion; it has taken no sides on any political issues before the country; it has refused to engage in any form of political debate. The Bureau could hardly hope to do otherwise and preserve its reputation for maintaining an objective approach to all social and economic questions which are of profound interest to labor. But that does not mean that the Bureau has not been active beyond its activity of a year ago in providing the kind of basic information which labor needs in meeting many of the civic as well as industrial problems of the day. But this knowledge comes out of industrial and not political experience. Labor which is better informed on many economic questions than other sections of the community is bound to be in a favored position when it comes to the discussion of these questions before political forums. Indeed, the educated man, whether in labor or not, can never injure the community of which he is a part; he is forever adding to it.

The Bureau's work over the past year may be divided into three broad areas of activity. There has been, in the first place, the highly important service of

setting up labor institutes and industrial conferences to provide a basis of informed opinion on the part of the leadership of labor on the history and nature of the Labor Relations Act. This service is deserving of a brief reference here. When a year ago at the Atlantic City Convention, Chairman J. Warren Madden of the National Relations Board delivered his address before the delegates to that convention, it became abundantly clear to the officers of the Bureau that if the true character of that Act was to be interpreted to the leadership of labor about the country it would be necessary to implement the formal official announcements made by the Administration concerning the Act and the Board. Accordingly, the Bureau undertook to set up a series of educational conferences which would seek to make explicit many of the legal and labor problems which were implicit in this new basic law. With the generous cooperation of the chairman and members of the National Relations Board and with the positive endorsement of President Green and the Executive Council, the Bureau set up a series of institutes in ten representative industrial centers throughout this country. The initial institute was held in the City of Boston the 14th and 15th of December of 1935; the last of those institutes were held in the City of Pittsburgh on the 22nd and 23rd of May. In each an effort was made to secure the cooperation of the local educational institution as well as the regional directors of the Labor Relations Board. And similarly in every case it was possible to secure the presence and participation of a member of the Labor Relations Board and in most cases the participation of the Counsel of the American Federation of Labor. In the cities of Boston, Detroit, Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, San Francisco, St. Louis, New Brunswick and Pittsburgh, where these conferences were held the Bureau has received the unanimous assurance from the labor groups in each center that these labor institutes have been a very real value to labor for the use of the local leadership and also for the values received by publicity in the local papers. At the conclusion of this special series of ten institutes on the Labor Relations Act we had the commendation of Chairman Madden of the Labor Relations Board, Charlton Ogburn, the counsel for the Federation and also that of Senator Robert Wagner of New York, who has given so much of his time and energy to the formulation of this specific piece of legislation which bears his name and that of Congressman Connery. After consultation with President Green it was decided to defer any further institutes on the Act until such time as the Supreme Court of the United States should pass on its constitutionality.

But some of you at this convention may not understand what we mean by a labor institute. Each year as I address the convention of the Federation of Labor I realize that there is a certain percentage of new delegates to whom I have not had the privilege of speaking before. Some of them know about the institutes which we have set up in their own locality; others, perhaps, have not had the benefit of knowing in detail the type of work which we have done. For the benefit of the new members and delegates as well as for the others who are in attendance at this convention, we have set up with the cooperation of the officers of the Building Trades Department of the Federation and Cooperative League of America a one-day institute on Saturday, November 21, to be devoted to a consideration of the important subjects of Slum Clearance and Consumers Cooperation. It will be an educational and not a legislative conference. A distinguished group of speakers have been selected for both these meetings, including Commissioner Langdon Post of the Housing Department in New York City, Mr. Pettit and Mr. Vinton of the Housing Divisions of the PWA and Resettlement Administrations, respectively. In the afternoon, Mr. Bowen of the Cooperative League of America and Mr. Harry Culbreth of the Credit Union Division of the Farm Credit Administration, will speak. The delegates of this convention are cordially invited to be present at both the morning and afternoon sessions. The purpose of this institute is to disclose to labor the manner in which the educational device of the labor institute or conference can help to bring before the attention first of labor and second of the general public, some of the issues which are involved in these great questions and afford an opportunity for labor to engage in systematic discussion with competent leaders on these issues.

The second area of the Bureau's activity has been in the development of a program of research. Under the direction of Dr. Carroll an important study has been begun into the Social Security Act. It is unnecessary to say to the representatives at this convention much about the confusion which exists in the public minds concerning the principles and practices of the Security Act; certainly the recent political campaign has added little to public enlightenment about the true nature of that Act. Indeed, the unexpected turn in the campaign during the last weeks in October might have become serious if not for the leadership taken by labor in correcting this confusion. There have been so many misrepresentations however, that it would be surprising if the average person were not bewildered. Only

yesterday the United States Post Office Department began the colossal task of distributing of 26,000,000 blanks for those covered under the Act. These must be filled in and returned by January 1, 1937. In the very short time which has been left for some of the basic questions involved between now and the first of January there is every reason why labor should give its best thought to ways in which the Act could be interpreted to its members. It was precisely this need which the Bureau foresaw and faced more than six months ago. Our Research Division has devoted itself to making clear to labor what were the basic principles of the Act and their rights and responsibilities under it. To do that most effectively it seemed apparent that some new method would have to be employed in presenting the complicated features of an Act that was 66 pages long. We finally decided to attempt by the use of the dialogue method a dramatic presentation of this new legislation. Accordingly a series of seven skits or dialogues were prepared with the close cooperation of the Social Security Board and other experts in the field.

But that itself was not enough. It was necessary next to test this material with the workers themselves. Accordingly a plan was worked out in cooperation with the Baltimore Federation of Labor for such testing. Week after week this material was worked over in collaboration with the officers and members of that City Federation and then tried out at the regular weekly meetings. The results were surprising. Important refinements were made, both in presentation as well as in method and content. Today these skits, as we refer to them, have been published and have been very widely commended. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the most useful material that has been prepared thus far for the guidance of labor in connection with the Social Security Act is that prepared by the Research Division of the Bureau and published this Fall.

The tentative plans for the coming year have been based upon requests that have thus far been received and on the interest which has been shown in topics under consideration. For purposes of convenience we have decided to make this activity center in four general fields: (1) Legislation, (2) Organization, (3) Labor Facts, (4) Service to the union member. Our program of education in connection with the field of legislation will continue the work so effectively begun with our social security dialogues. There are in addition such

basic pieces of state legislation as workmen's compensation, wage collection, yellowdog contracts, labor spies, and such pieces of Federal legislation as the thirty-hour-week and the Walsh-Healy Act, all of which can be reduced to the kind of form which will be more easily understandable by the rank and file of the membership.

Under the heading of organization, in the second place, we hope to prepare a series of dialogues or skits which will serve the primary function of helping to show local unions how they can be most effective. These would include such items as organization of the union, conducting the union meeting, handling grievances, keeping records, etc. Already we have experimented somewhat in putting on model union meetings to illustrate some of the techniques of parliamentary procedure, and there is every reason to believe that the other topics suggested will lend themselves equally to the same sort of presentation.

Two skits showing the need for facts in wage negotiations are now being prepared with the help of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union. They will seek to show the advantage to labor of preparing itself adequately with facts in wage negotiations with the employer.

In the last group of materials—the service to the union member—we plan to include such topics as the union label, cooperatives, credit unions, and other matters which directly affect the union member as a consumer and as a citizen of his state and nation.

During the coming year we hope to make available not less than twenty-five pamphlets or skits, including the set on Social Security already published. Consequently, it will be possible for those local unions and city centrals affiliated with us to have a new presentation for their membership every two weeks, if they so desire. With the new service which we are now equipped to render, we already have seen some increased interest in affiliation with the Bureau. It is expected that this interest will be increased as this new material becomes better known. Furthermore, we hope to be able to supply facts and information to those unions or central bodies whose interest is stimulated through the presentation of this material.

The expansion of our research program and its development as a service directed specifically to the problems of organization has persuaded the Executive Committee of our Bureau that the time has arrived when we should offer this service to Internationals, central bodies and state fed-

erations of labor on a nominal cost basis. For those national and international unions who are now affiliated we can provide the type of research service which we are undertaking at the very nominal fee of \$2.50 per local union. For the central bodies and state federations, however, which are not thus served by these national and international unions, we are prepared to render a special and detailed research service for the sum of \$25 per year.

A year ago I referred to our plan for preparing a Case Book on collective bargaining with the help of some of the older leaders of the movement. We have made excellent progress with that book. It becomes an even more important compilation as we have prepared the cases. Its uses should be many. The very essence of any kind of effective program of training organizers and preparing them for their responsibilities is to understand more thoroughly the basic character of this important trade union function. Our investigations disclose that the basic information on collective bargaining is frequently in the mind of the leader and has not been reduced to any type of formal or written statement that could be utilized in the training of the younger worker. Recently this fact has been brought home to us in a very vivid way. In one of the important industries of the country where there have been union agreements for a generation or more, our Research staff had the privilege of working closely with one of the officials of the international union who has been a regular delegate to this convention for upwards of thirty years. He gave of his time and enthusiasm in helping us with the preparation of an important case covering his industry. He had been the principal representative of his union in one of the most important collective negotiations of his union. After we had completed this case and had it ready for his final approval, he was taken suddenly ill and before he could go over the material finally he passed on. Fortunately, we had his records so the case could be checked. Had it not been for our research, this leader of labor would have gone to his grave, as have countless other leaders, taking with him a vast store of wisdom which is important to the whole welfare of the organized labor movement. This incident merely reinforces what I have insisted on so frequently—the necessity of a permanent record of the practice and procedures of the trade unions. Labor must make its own record and place in permanent form the historic steps of its own achievements.

The third field of important activity with which the Bureau has been associated has been the Emergency Educational Program of the Federal Gov-

ernment. During the past year the whole Emergency Program about which the Atlantic City Convention was properly critical last year, has taken on a more definite direction and has eliminated some of the defects in its administration. It still works, however, under the serious handicap of being operated as a relief project. However, as a result of the constructive criticism and collaboration of the Federation, the Bureau, and other such agencies, it has been possible to improve in both method and objective the work which has been done until today it is a fair thing to say that the Emergency Workers' Education Program has the possibility of making an important contribution to any plans which are formulated for providing grants-in-aid of this type of adult education. And yet, our experience also makes it very clear that no program of workers' education can be conducted from a Washington office; it must be built both around the local needs of the labor group and conducted under the general control of labor. The most that can be expected of the Federal Government is to be an agency through which funds are apportioned and secondly to serve as an agency for the setting of standards. Toward the formulation of such a plan for grants-in-aid of a program of workers' education the Bureau recently called a working conference in Washington. A plan is now being prepared which it is hoped to submit to the Federal Government early in the new year.

Thirteen months ago at the Atlantic City convention we inaugurated the fourth series of radio broadcasts on a nation wide network on "Labor Speaks For Itself." This series, which was carried on in close collaboration with the Federation of Labor and officials of the national and international unions, proved to be such a marked success that copies of the addresses were put into book form and have been widely distributed to labor and educational institutions. Out of this activity by the Bureau there is growing a closer basis of collaboration with other agencies engaged in education by radio. The Bureau has in consequence joined with a dozen or more other national agencies in the convening of the First National Conference on Educational Broadcasting in Washington next month under the general sponsorship of the American Council on Education. Furthermore, it is confidently hoped that a program of workers' education by radio will be continued during the next year. In this connection it will be of interest to the delegates to know that there is a possibility of our utilizing some of the skits which we have prepared, for radio broadcasts. Already the Chicago Labor Station WCFL has tendered their cooperation and we have

assurances on the part of some of the national chains of their complete willingness to cooperate in this matter.

Within the past year there has been another project carried on by the Bureau in cooperation with a State Federation of Labor, which is worthy of your consideration. Some months ago the officers of the Ohio State Federation of Labor came to the conclusion that if they were to carry on an effective program of labor legislation for the state, it would be necessary to inaugurate and carry forward a comprehensive program of workers' education to keep the membership informed of new developments in social legislation. They turned logically to the Workers Education Bureau for assistance. We sent our regional director into the state and in cooperation with the officers of the State Federation and with their financial support in part, he set up a series of institutes and conferences, and inaugurated a radio program which reached practically every important industrial center in the state. The response of the membership was so heartening that the delegates to a recent convention of the State Federation decided to extend this program and provide an even more ample basis of trade union support. To-day there is an educational director for the State Federation who is directing this activity. Here, then, is but another example of the manner in which a State Federation has found workers' education of distinct value to its membership, and the Bureau has been able to give the necessary guidance to the Federation in inaugurating such a program. It provides a plan of procedure which other State Federations could emulate with profit.

There is one other subject which is by both tradition and experience closely related to the labor problem, upon which I think it important to dwell for a moment. I refer to the growing concern on the part of labor with the youth problem in this country. Recently the American Youth Commission revealed the fact that there are in the United States approximately 20,100,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 24, inclusive. Of these, four million are estimated to be in schools and colleges, 800,000 are in school part-time, and 7,600,000 are employed on non-work-relief jobs. Approximately 2,800,000 of these youths are married women who are not otherwise employed and are not in school. This leaves nearly 5,200,000 youths who are out of school and unemployed. According to a careful study made in forty different centers, approximately 40% of the youth between 16 and 24 are neither gainfully employed nor in school. The result of this in terms of the social and economic life of young people has long since been recognized

by students of our social and economic problems. A recent study of some 43,000 unemployed youth in the state of Connecticut revealed that over 73 per cent of the young people seeking jobs through the state employment service were untrained for any skilled occupation, and that over 40 per cent of these were untrained to do any kind of work. In another study conducted in 1934 by the University of Minnesota it was found that approximately 70 per cent of the young people interviewed who did not have jobs were unemployed either because of inadequate training or some personal deficiency.

There are, then, these two major aspects of this problem, one the lack of suitable jobs available and the other the lack of appropriate and adequate training of youth to qualify for work. In recent months we have heard a great deal about the question of the shortage of skilled laborers. In part this turns back upon our lack of adequate vocational training for our young people. It is pertinent to recall the fact that the Executive Council of the Federation of Labor at Atlantic City last year reported on the question of the shortage of skilled workers as follows:

"To sum up: Our investigation indicates (1) that there is no shortage of skilled workers if employers are willing to employ union mechanics; (2) that the claimed shortage of skilled workers is due to discrimination against union members and is used as an excuse for lengthening hours or undercutting union rates of pay; (3) that instability of employment often forces skilled mechanics to seek work in other occupations; (4) that an adequate employment service would help to make contact between the employer seeking skilled men and the employee equipped to do the job."

This whole question of the shortage of skilled workers throws into bold relief the problem of the provision in our school system for the sound and adequate vocational adjustment of youth. We are now coming to realize that our schools may legitimately provide certain young persons with direct training in those skills or operations which are common to a large number of occupations and vocations. Training of this type cannot be extensively and effectively given, however, until careful research has revealed which jobs are alike in the skills involved and which are alike in the combinations of characteristics that contribute most to successful occupational adjustment. Extensive cooperative research is also required in the development of more valid instruments for the measurement of many of the charac-

teristics that have to do with an individual's effectiveness in various types of occupations. More could be done than is now being done with the information and measuring devices already available, we are persuaded, but the greatest need in the whole field of vocational adjustment is for more and better cooperative research. This whole question will come before labor with increasing emphasis in the days to come and it will be well for labor to be guarding, and guarding well the portals of our educational system, not only against the misuse to which vocational education is sometimes put, but to help in guiding youth in their satisfactory occupational adjustments.

The Workers Education Bureau celebrates this year the fifteenth anniversary of its establishment. A decade and a half is not a long time in the history of movements or of organizations. But the Bureau has been privileged to serve the educational needs of workers during 15 exciting years of our contemporary history—8½ years of widespread prosperity; 6½ years of the most devastating depression in our entire history. The days of adversity as well as the days of prosperity have been a testing time for our bureau; we have met that test, thanks to the loyal support of our friends, the workingmen and women of America and the American Federation of Labor. As we start upon the threshold of the next fifteen years with a closer link forged with the Federation and with a deepened conviction of the indispensable value of adult workers' education, both for the future of American labor and American democracy, we ask only for the privilege to serve—to serve in that cause which unites all men in a great brotherhood—the deathless quest for freedom of the human spirit.

But there is one reflection on which I should like to conclude my report this morning. It is the deep concern of my spirit; for it affects the future of the trade union movement. This morning your metropolitan paper carried an Associated Press despatch from Rome, that Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy recognized yesterday officially and simultaneously the Burgos Government under the rebel General Franco as the Government of Spain. I have been doing some meditating about the significance of that action and I would like to share my meditation with you. Official recognition would seem to foreshadow the passing of the Republic and this would in turn mark a turning point both in the history of contemporary Europe and in the future of the trade union movement on the continent.

But more, there is a historical link

which connects the early history of America with Spain. We meet today upon soil that was once New Spain. The influences of Spanish culture still remain. It was a Spanish queen who subsidized Christopher Columbus on his first voyage of discovery to the New World. It was Ponce de Leon who came with Christopher Columbus upon his second voyage to America, and first discovered this peninsula on Easter Sunday in 1513 from whence comes the name of this state. It is also interesting to recall that the last colonial possession of Spain in the New World became the first colonial possession of the United States.

Spain has during these past months been engaged in a bloody and devastating civil war; over a hundred thousand men have already paid the price with their lives in this war. We in America ought to be sympathetic with a people that are passing through such a harrowing experience. We and every other right thinking person deprecate the mad passions of men which have visited such violence on the religious communities in that land. But we know what civil war is; what a legacy of demoralization and destruction it leaves. We shall not fully recover from the legacies of our own Civil War for another fifty years.

It is difficult for any of us at long range to pass finally on the merits of the conflict which have divided brother against brother in the Republic of Spain, yet I believe that every one of us must have a deepening concern about the trend in the world toward military dictatorship and the overthrow of democratic government. If that Republic falls, it is the opinion of competent observers that we shall see a Fascist corridor along the Mediterranean. And the war which was to make the world safe for democracy will seem to be a hollow mockery, for one by one we have witnessed the democracies driven back before the onrush of dictatorship in the past eighteen years since that first Armistice.

And what of France and the popular front in that country? The former Prime Minister of that country who was in this country last summer was concerned about the effect upon his country if Fascism succeeds in Spain. Can France stand alone among the dictatorships of Europe? And if republican France should fall, what of the status of democratic government in Europe, or in the rest of the civilized world? Think for a moment on that prospect!

But my chief concern in all this for the moment is the future of the labor movement. Fascist dictatorships are the nemesis of democratic government, and all the institutions of democracy such as the trade union movement.

Need I remind you that one of the first things that Fascism has done in every country has been to liquidate the labor movement because that movement represents the most cohesive and powerful bulwark of democracy. It is precisely because Fascism is growing in the world that the trade union movement faces a grave crisis which threatens its very existence. That fact I believe cannot be denied. It is in the face of that kind of a world-wide crisis that we must be taking thought about our movement at home. Is it not a time when we should be closing our ranks? Is it not a time when we should be thinking about those deeper bases of unity upon which we can go forward as a united movement against the forces of reaction?

When in recent months men who are concerned about our present difficulties have said to me, "The Federation of Labor is finished" I have invariably replied that: This is not the first time that men have been ready to pronounce the obsequies of the American Federation of Labor. The labor movement is not dead because there are differences of opinion within its ranks or vigorous discussion of important issues. The movement may, in fact, be dead when there are no differences of opinion and no discussion of vital questions. These people forget that public discussion is the essence of a government on a movement that rests upon the consent of its people or its members.

In this great struggle then which is going on in the world between the forces of dictatorship and the forces of democracy, with all that is at stake for the labor movement, I believe with all my heart that there is within the household of labor itself the requisite courage, imagination and determination to find a formula which will bring together again all the divided elements within the American labor movement.

"Whence then cometh wisdom and where is the place of understanding," said the writer of the Book of Job. Surely it is to be found in the imperishable ideals of this movement of labor. During these later days I have been giving a good deal of consideration to your ideals and to your symbols. I have been thinking, for example, about the symbolism of the seal of the American Federation of Labor. You know it well but I ask you to think about it for a moment. It is the seal of two hands clasped and around the border of the globe are three Latin words "Labor Omnia Vincit." The hands are the hands of brothers clasped in a great fellowship around the world. It is my prayer for you as it is the prayer of millions of your well wishers all over America that in the thought of the Great Brotherhood, hand may clasp hand again in a new and more sacred

union. And I say God speed the day of that kind of a reunion. God speed the day while there is yet time.

My prayer for the Federation at this hour is that once again the symbol of this seal may be the living witness of your fellowship; that Labor with hands clasped again may in the spirit of its motto say, "Labor Omnia Vincit." Labor conquers all. Labor united will conquer the world for freedom, for justice and for human brotherhood.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: I would like to know if any representative of the Spanish government has made overtures to present their case to this organization, and if so, what answer has been given to them, particularly in view of the speech to which we have just listened.

President Green: I will be pleased to answer that question under the regular order of business.

I am now introducing another speaker. You know I stated just a minute ago that our friend Sol Rosenblatt would address the convention this afternoon. I must change that announcement, and I know you will be pleased to be informed of the change. Brother Rosenblatt—and I call him Brother in the full sense of that term—is here now prepared to speak to the delegates in attendance at this convention.

He was Compliance Director of the NRA, served with distinction as the Administrator of the Amusement Section of the NRA. While serving in that important position he endeared himself to the representatives of the amusement industry, the officers and members of the Theatrical and Motion Picture Operators, and to the Musicians and all those associated with him. He displayed rare ability, and in a spirit of sympathy for labor administered the affairs of the position in which he served in a way which challenged our admiration. He is now serving as the impartial chairman in the suit manufacturing industry in New York City, daily coming in contact with labor.

It affords me a great deal of pleasure to present to you this morning our dear

friend, Mr. Sol Rosenblatt, who will address you.

MR. SOL ROSENBLATT

Impartial Chairman, Sulf Manufacturing Industry, New York City

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the Federation—before I left New York, accepting President Green's kind invitation to address you once again this year, I had prepared a long and rather involved and elaborate speech. After reading it and re-reading it a number of times, I finally came to the conclusion that almost everything that was in that speech was not merely a statement of expediency for the future, but a fact as to the present, and I felt that with the distinguished list of speakers who have had the privilege of addressing this great convention, it should not be necessary to tell the American Federation of Labor what the aims and purposes of the labor movement of this country are. I doubt whether there is a man, woman, or child in the United States who won't take it at the outset that the purpose of the labor movement is to improve working conditions for one thing, and, secondly, to enlarge the scope of activities of the labor organizations into perhaps related fields, but at all times maintaining their principal interest in labor.

And so in listening to the words of Major Berry and Secretary Perkins, in a statement of the aims and aspirations of the administration so far as labor is concerned, it occurred to me that you might be interested to know what the every-day reaction of a so-called impartial chairman in a great industry in New York City is, insofar as his dealings with the employer and employed are concerned. And I would like to use a few moments of this valuable time in telling you some of the reactions which one gains in serving in such a capacity.

In the first place, as we found in the early days of the NRA, labor as such was hardly ready to accept the great responsibilities of leadership which developed upon it. It was at all times essential for representatives of organized labor to see to it that in industries where labor was unorganized, the working conditions, hours, wages, etc., were amply taken care of. So the representatives of organized labor were required to accept that responsibility.

Here you have a situation where those aims and aspirations have been achieved, where complete industries have been organized. And what do you find? In the NRA our experience was that when we had an industry which was completely and thoroughly

organized, when we had the representatives of all of the crafts and the different types of classification of workers, each represented, and represented in toto at the same time, looking out for the interests of those employees, and on the other side a strong employers' organization, we didn't need the Army, the Navy, or the Marine Corps to enforce anything.

Those agreements, and I call those codes agreements in such industries, were carried out to the last iota, because of the combined strength of labor and industry. And in a situation where you have an industry operating under collective agreements you will find that labor, insofar as it is humanly possible, assumes and carries out its responsibilities. I would like to make this brief comment at this time: In all my dealings with almost every representative of every craft in the United States, I was impressed with one outstanding thing, and I am still today impressed with that one outstanding thing, in the operation of a collective agreement in a great industry in New York, and that is that no leader of labor at any time, making a statement, a promise or a commitment, violated that agreement.

And if you only recognized and knew how important the sanctity of those agreements are, that once when an agreement has been made, whether it is oral or in writing, it is the duty of every man in the organization affected to carry out the agreement as it has been made. It is only in that way, my friends, that respect for dealings in a collective crisis can be maintained.

I should like to say in closing these remarks, President Green, that it has been a great pleasure and a great privilege to attend this convention and renew my friendships and acquaintanceships. And as I watched through the past four years, particularly in the labor movement, there has been borne upon me increasingly the realization that if we are to avoid the criticism which may properly be leveled against other forms of industrial and labor endeavor, if we are to proceed forcefully and effectively in cooperating with the aims and aspirations of the government, to the end that your aims and purposes may be achieved at all times, the most important of all things in achieving that end is to know that, when you deal with persons on your own side or on the other side, any agreement will be and must be, carried out, and that when you are successful in organizing and enjoying, by virtue of that organization, agreements with employers or with other unions or with whomsoever it may be, that the answer to the carrying out of those agreements is not only the re-

sponsibility of the labor leaders, but the answer is also the performance and the complete compliance with those agreements.

President Green, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you.

President Green: I thank our good friend, Mr. Rosenblatt, for his visit and for his address. Now the Chair will call upon Judge Padway, the attorney for the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, a very great friend of labor, to come forward and talk to us about the problem of injunctions and the significance of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. It has been my privilege and pleasure to know Judge Padway for quite a long time. During the period of my acquaintance with him I have watched with very great interest the fine service he has rendered organized labor in the state of Wisconsin and elsewhere.

I recall with pleasure his convincing presentation of the case of the street car workers of Milwaukee, before the old National Labor Board. Because of that the street railway employes established one of the finest units in the city of Milwaukee. Judge Padway is a student, an eminent philosopher, a friend of labor. He is here this morning, and I present him to you for an address, Judge Padway.

HON. JOSEPH PADWAY

Attorney, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor

The Constitution of the United States Must Be Amended

Mr. President, delegates to the American Federation Labor Convention, ladies and gentlemen.

Permit me to express to you, Mr. President, my grateful appreciation for the invitation extended to me to address this great convention.

Since the inauguration of President Roosevelt a number of laws were enacted by Congress which fall into the category of social legislation. Most of these laws have already been submitted to the United States Supreme Court for the test of constitutionality. A number of the vital ones having been declared unconstitutional, the question again arises, as it has arisen before, what is the most feasible method of securing validity of these laws?

Many proposals have been made. It has been proposed that—

"A"—That when a law is declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, Congress repass the law and it shall thereby become valid. This was a proposal offered at one time by Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Sr.

"B"—Another proposal is that before the act can be declared invalid it shall require a two-thirds vote of the Justices. This is a proposal of Senator Norris.

"C"—Another suggestion is that the Justices be increased from nine to eleven.

"D"—A further suggestion is that a constitutional convention be called and an entirely new constitution be adopted.

"E"—And a further suggestion is made—the constitution be amended so as to empower Congress and the States to pass social legislation dealing with wages, hours, working conditions and other social enactments.

After a careful study of all of these proposals and others which I have not mentioned, it seems to me that for the present the only sound and practical solution to the problem is to amend the Constitution to permit Congress and the States to enact legislation of the type declared invalid in the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

Rich Men, Men Fearful of Government Framed the Constitution

Before we proceed to consider what form the amendment should take, it would be well to review briefly the history and nature of the instrument we seek to amend. Professor Beard points out that the Constitution was framed by men of wealth; by men who had property interests at stake. That at the time of the Revolution the country was chiefly agricultural and there were no cities of any size; the largest city in America was Philadelphia with a population of about twenty-five thousand. Boston and New York were slightly smaller but whether the men who framed the Consti-

tution were men of means, the fact is true that the dominant philosophy which went into the Constitution was to protect the individual against the Government. There was a distrust of Government; there was a distrust of the masses, and despite the much vaunted claim that democracy was sought—that the people shall rule, the fact is that the framers of the Constitution did not subscribe to the idea “that the will of the people shall be the law of the land.” The framers of the Constitution sought to protect the individual against the Government. Even today those conservatives who believe the Constitution to be inspired, point with great pride to the fact that a single citizen may challenge the law of the State and the law of the Nation if he believes it encroaches upon his individual rights. And, in the protection of the individual's rights, the rights of the many were to a large extent denied. We find, therefore, that all the power of State Government and all the power of the Federal Government and the overwhelming desire of the people cannot bring about certain social laws under the Constitution because it transgresses upon the claimed rights of a lone individual.

That this constitutional philosophy is entirely outmoded; that it does not fit in with the demands of a nation of one hundred and thirty millions of people with rapid transportation, large industries, millions of workers must be conceded by any fair minded person who has given the subject any thought at all. Those who framed the Constitution felt that a Federal Government must not be given too much power and, therefore, we find that the Federal Government is permitted to exercise only such powers as are affirmatively expressed in the Constitution; this is accentuated by the grant of power to the States to the effect that the States to exercise all power not expressly denied to them by the Constitution.

This Framework of the Constitution Has Resulted in Judicial Usurpation of Legislative Powers

But how has this framework of our Constitution worked out in practice? It has brought about an usurpation of judicial power; it has permitted judicialies to encroach upon the legislative department of Government; it has turned the Court into a debating society on economics and made of it a perpetual constitutional convention in many respects. Its power seems unrestrained; and it has been demonstrated time and again that the social views of the Justices determine what the law shall be. Justice Marshall in the famous case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, set the stage by declaring the Court had the tremendous power to

declare enactments unconstitutional and since that declaration the Court has said what shall or shall not be law, but not always on the basis of what the Constitution provides, but rather on the economic views of the Judges.

It is interesting to note, however, that although Chief Justice Marshall declared that the Court had the power to veto legislation enacted by Congress, it was little used for many years.

The Dred Scott Decision of 1857 Directed the People's Attention to the Tremendous Power of the Supreme Court

The attention of the nation was directed to this great power of the Court through the tragic decision of the *Dred Scott* case. In that case, *Dred Scott*, a negro was taken from Missouri to the free State of Illinois and then back to Missouri. The negro claimed his freedom under the then existing law; Chief Justice Taney declared a negro was not a citizen, that he was property and since he was property his master could take him wherever he pleased without losing the right to own, possess and dispose of him as the master pleased. It took a Civil War to reverse that decision and for ten years Congress refused to permit the Statue of Chief Justice Taney to occupy a niche in the Supreme Court chamber.

Several enactments were declared unconstitutional in the years following the *Dred Scott* decision, an important case demonstrating that the Court's decisions are based on the economic and social views of the Justices is the decision on the law passed by Congress to provide for taxes on incomes. This income tax law which was declared unconstitutional in 1906 was by a divided Court; the Chief Justice at first was in favor of holding the law constitutional; however, changed his views over-night; voted the other way and thus the income tax law went down to judicial defeat. Because of this change of mind on the part of one Justice, the nation lost millions of dollars. It was necessary to pass a constitutional amendment to permit the taxing of incomes. It would be interesting for you to read the arguments which were made on the income tax law. It was argued that it was communistic; that it took property away from individuals to whom it rightfully belonged. The cry was as bitter then as the cry now against President Roosevelt's enactments dealing with similar subjects. But despite previous holdings of the Court declaring acts unconstitutional, never was there as great a Judicial onslaught on social legislation as in the past few years during which the

Court was called upon to pass on the validity of social enactments.

The Reactionary Concepts of the Majority Has Struck Down Social Legislation

The Court being dominated by a majority who may be truly termed reactionary, who lack social vision, has struck down with ruthless force social changes enacted by Congress and State legislatures because the economic and social changes contemplated by these laws were contrary to the social and economic concepts of the majority.

Child Labor Law Declared Invalid

In 1918, the Court struck down the first child labor law enacted by Congress. This was a five to four decision. It declared that Congress could not interfere with the rights of States to employ child labor. Thus shipments of goods, manufactured by children, from one State to another was permitted to go on. Now, what licks me, is that the reason assigned is "States rights." The truth is it is not a question of the State having the right to control its own internal affairs, but it is a question of whether one State shall have the right to dump its cheaply made goods onto another State, thus destroying the business of the latter State. What I mean is this: The Court in permitting a State to continue to manufacture goods with cheap child labor, on the pretense that it is the State's right to regulate its own internal affairs, in truth permits that State to ship its cheap child manufactured articles to another State where child labor is prohibited and where the manufacture of goods is more costly, and thereby the child labor State is permitted to destroy the trade and commerce of the non-child labor State. Had the Court taken a true view of economics, it would have readily come to the conclusion that this was not an intra-state problem, but an inter-state problem. Congress then tried to enact another child labor law. This time on the theory of the Oleomargarine cases. It levied a tax of ten percent on the profits of firms employing children under fourteen years of age. This too was declared unconstitutional.

Then Came the First Minimum Wage Law of the District of Columbia, the Infamous Decision in the Adkins Case

In this case a young girl attacked the law because it deprived her of the right to work for cheap wages; she claimed she would lose her job if her wages were raised to the minimum of the law; so this young woman found, somehow, the estimated sum of fifty-seven thousand dollars to fight

the constitutionality of the law. By a five to four decision the Court accepted the eloquence of her counsel not to take from her the right to keep her job at low wages.

The Lull During the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover Administration

Then came the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover administrations. The Court declared very little social legislation invalid in this time, for very little was passed during these administrations. That which was passed was so framed as to get the approval of big business and so there were few attacks made on laws.

Then Came the Depression

Then came the great depression with its industrial collapse; fourteen million unemployed; financial institutions tottering; misery and starvation rampant. The people were losing their morale; they were bitter. The election came on in 1932 and the people gave vent to their pent-up misery by driving out of office those who then held the power of Government. A new President was elected. A new administration came into office and with it came the mandate of the people that the President take drastic steps to alleviate misery and prevent further demoralization and ruin. He obeyed the mandate and Congress obeyed him.

The Tragical Consequences of the Acts of the Reactionary Majority of the Court

The people were exultant; they were happy that something was being done on their behalf, but their exultation and happiness did not last long. They believed that a Court which had theretofore shown itself to be reactionary, might have changed through the years from its narrow social vision; but they soon found that this was not the case. The people had turned out of office a President and an administration whom they held responsible, in a great measure, for their misery and woe. But they were unable to turn out of office those stalwart and conservative judges appointed for life but whose philosophy was as cold, and as visionless as the administration just driven out of power. The reactionaries of the nation found their bulwark in the court, and so measure after measure enacted by the new administration was for one assigned reason or another, stricken down and rendered void.

Measures Declared Unconstitutional

I have not the time to mention them all—two or three in which you, as workers, are particularly interested in will suffice.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT LAW—Congress passed a law setting up a pension system and the law was declared invalid because "the sole purpose of the statute was to promote the social welfare of the worker." It was a five to four decision.

THE SCHECHTER CASE—This decision held the N. I. R. A. unconstitutional. It held that codes providing for fair prices and minimum wages and working conditions were invalid. One would not dissent from the reason assigned that it was an unlawful delegation of power by Congress to the President, but we do object strenuously to the holding that wages, hours, and working conditions are intra-state matters. This was a unanimous decision of the court.

A. A. A.—The administration tried to promote economic recovery by compensating farmers who curtailed their crops with the proceeds of certain processing taxes. By a divided Court the act was declared unconstitutional. While many may disagree with the economic theory of the Government in this respect, the true question is as pointed out by Justice Stone in his dissenting opinion, if the Government is powerless to help the farmers by levying these taxes then it ought to be equally powerless to levy taxes for unemployment relief, vocational rehabilitation, rural schools and particularly for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation which came to the aid of industry? Why, if the Government can help a banker, cannot it help a farmer?

T. V. A.—This law, you have heard discussed the other day. The Court by eight to one held the law free from the attack then made. The decision does not cover every problem connected with the T. V. A., but it does hold that the Government has the right to sell its power in the same manner as it sells its other property. It was a defeat for the utilities, of course, a decision in the interest of the great mass of the people.

GUFFEY COAL ACT—Congress tried by law to bring some order into the coal industry. Prices were low; cut-throat competition prevailed; working conditions were bad. But the Court said that the matter of wages, hours, and working conditions for coal miners were matters for the states to handle. Thus cut-throat competition, low wages, bad working conditions may continue on in the industry. This decision again was by a divided Court; Justices Stone, Brandels and Cardozo dissenting.

The New York Minimum Wage Law

But now we come to test the legal and economic concepts as expressed by

the majority in the Guffey Coal Act decision. In the coal act decision the court said:

"When an eighteenth century constitution forms the charter of liberty of a twentieth century government must its general provisions be construed and interpreted by an eighteenth century mind in the light of eighteenth century conditions and ideals? Clearly not. This were to command the race to halt in its progress, to stretch the state upon a veritable bed of Procrustes."

Wisconsin Code Law

But mark you this, there was submitted to our Supreme Court a law dealing with codes similar to that of the N. I. R. A.; this law was passed in 1933 and was declared invalid. It was re-framed and passed by the 1935 legislature. This second code law was attacked by employers as being unconstitutional, particularly because it provided for the regulation of wages, hours, and working conditions. The Wisconsin Supreme Court declared the law constitutional. It was again attacked; this time because it provided for the payment of fees by employers and industrialists who were assessed for the operation of the code. The employers tried to kill the code by taking away its life blood—they refused to pay the fees assessed. Our Supreme Court said they must pay the fees, and thus this attempt to kill the code law failed. But still another attempt was made to kill the law. This time an employer barber violated the code as to hours and prices. He was brought before the Court and punished for contempt. Now, the employers thought that the Supreme Court won't dare to send this man to jail for violating the code. Particularly in view of the United States Supreme Court decision holding that no state can regulate minimum wages. What did the Wisconsin Supreme Court do? Last week Tuesday it affirmed the decision of the lower Court and ordered the employer to jail for sixty days for contempt of court for violating the code. Our Supreme Court handed down this decision, in face of a decision handed down by three Federal Judges only a few days before holding the Wisconsin Code Law to be unconstitutional. And so in Wisconsin we have a constitutional enactment dealing with codes of industry providing for minimum wages, regulation of hours, and conditions of labor in industry.

Norris-LaGuardia Act—Wisconsin Labor Code

In 1932 Congress passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act to curtail the power of courts on issuing injunctions in labor disputes; to grant labor the right to picket and exert pressure in labor controversies; and to grant to labor other rights previously denied to it in labor disputes. The Wisconsin legislature at the instance of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor passed a similar law in 1931. These "labor codes" are more powerful than many realize. They have some of the elements contained in the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill, particularly as to the rights of labor to collective bargaining. The Federal Act came before the Federal courts of Illinois and while not declared unconstitutional it was virtually nullified by construing the life out of it. It held injunctions could be granted as in days of old on the theory that there was no labor dispute in progress. The Court held that employers could defeat self organization by herding employees into company unions. It denied picketing, claiming there was no labor dispute between the employer and his own employees. That is the Federal decision. Now, let me show you what the Wisconsin court did with the same law and with similar facts in a case recently decided—

The American Furniture Case

The court decided that it was not necessary in order to have a labor dispute with an employer that his employees or some of them belong to the union. Our Court held this to be a labor dispute and gave to the union workers the benefit of the act. The decision was by a divided court.

The History of the Senn Case

The same act came before the court again in what is known as the Senn case. Both of these decisions were handed down just a few months ago. The employers raised the issue of one's constitutional right to work with his hands, and while our Supreme Court held all persons had that right, it also held that labor had rights, and that labor could announce to the world its controversy with an employer who insisted on working himself, or working under non-union conditions. I think the foregoing cases illustrate what it means to have liberal-minded judges on the bench.

There should be taken away from the inferior Federal Courts the right to declare any enactment unconstitutional. A district judge is sometimes appointed, not because of ability or knowledge of law, but through friend-

ship. Shall that man exercise power stronger than was the power of a Czar of Russia? The power to restrain minimum wage laws or other laws prior to their being taken to the Supreme Court should be taken away from the inferior judges. We let those judges take the laws in their hands, throw them down, destroy them, and restrain 130,000,000 people from carrying out the will of the people and the law of the land.

And there is another thing that should be done with respect to the district judges. They should be restrained from passing upon labor injunction cases. That should belong to the states.

And there is another thing that should be done with respect to district judges. They should be restrained from passing upon labor injunction cases. That should belong to the United States. When Judge Parker went bad in his decision on the Red Jacket case, you had an opportunity to show your resentment and did so, but should a state court do such a thing you have the ballots and you can recall that judge. In addition to that, there is no reason why they should not stand for election as do the state judges.

I appreciate that judges appointed for life do not frequently resign and may live to a ripe old age. We must, therefore, find another remedy to meet the present demands for maintaining the validity of these present social enactments. It can only be done practically by constitutional amendment. There are those who believe that a constitutional amendment is not necessary; that minimum wage laws and social laws can be valid and sustained under the present constitution; similar to those passed by Congress were passed by the State Legislature of Wisconsin. These laws were submitted to the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin. Let me point out the difference in the approach and the decisions of the Wisconsin Court to that of the majority of the United States Supreme Court.

Justice Winslow on "Compensation"—Wisconsin was the first state to pass on the Workmen's Compensation Law. The employers attacked it as being unconstitutional. Not only was the law declared constitutional but the Court declared the principles which shall govern a Court in interpreting the Constitution. I believe it to be of such importance that I hope you will indulge me as I read a paragraph or two from this great decision of Justice Winslow.

"A constitution is a very human document, and must embody with greater or less fidelity the spirit of the time of its adoption. It will be framed to meet the problems and difficulties which face the men who make it, and it will generally crystallize with more or less fidelity the political, social, and economic propositions which are considered irrefutable, if not actually inspired, by the philosophers and legislators of the time. But the difficulty is that, while the constitution is fixed or very hard to change, the conditions and problems surrounding the people, as well as their ideals, are constantly changing. The political or philosophical aphorism of one generation is doubted by the next, and entirely discarded."

What is the remedy? Judges with liberal, social vision must be secured.

(1) We need men with a different outlook, a different economic philosophy than the majority. We need more Brandeises, more Stones, more Cardozos on the bench. Labor has demonstrated that it can do much in this direction. We remember the fight made by labor on the appointment of Judge John J. Parker. He had upheld the validity of the Yellowdog Contract. The American Federation of Labor fought the appointment and succeeded in defeating him; however, time has indicated that the gentleman appointed to the position to which Judge Parker was defeated, is no more liberal than Judge Parker. Labor, therefore, must not only seek to defeat the appointment of those it knows to be reactionary, but it must seek the appointment of those who are known to be liberal. Justice Roberts by definitely aligning himself with the conservative majority has helped kill much of the legislation referred to.

The importance of having liberal-minded judges as demonstrated by the Wisconsin Court.

The law is not the same law in the hands of one judge as it is in the hands of another. The mind of one judge reacts entirely different than the minds of others. Absolute honesty and a sound knowledge of law is not a guarantee that the law will be interpreted in one direction by the judges. I believe that is illustrated by the state from which I come. The majority of judges in Wisconsin are liberal mind-

ed and their views on social and economic problems are in harmony with the social requirements of a modern complex society. Laws, wages, hours and working conditions were matters for the States to handle. So here was the New York minimum wage law dealing with wages, and, therefore, with working conditions of women in industry. Would the majority now hold to its decision on the Guffey Act that wages were matters for the states to handle, and so hold this law constitutional? It did not. It struck it down and gave as its reason that the Adkins case decided in 1923, controlled the New York law. But the Adkins case was a Federal law applicable to the District of Columbia. Yet by a five to four decision it is held that the State of New York is denied the right to enact a minimum wage law.

Again, as in the coal industry, the laundry industry in New York was subjected to price cutting, cut throat competition and low wages. A laundry, over which a man by the name of Tipaldo was manager had violated the minimum wage law of \$11.00 per week. Some girls were actually receiving \$2.75 for a fifty-five hour week. The industrial commission asked Tipaldo to make up the difference between what he had paid and the minimum wage. First he refused and then did so. He did so with the commissioner present in the plant. Next day Tipaldo picked up the checks; he had the employees give them back to him. But little Angela had taken hers home, gave it to her mother who spent it. She was discharged. She reported it to the industrial commission. Tipaldo was arrested and convicted. He went to the Supreme Court, and five justices of the Supreme Court, by the same reasoning and philosophy of the Adkins case, held that little Angela had her sacred right to contract. There must not be any interference with that right and so little Angela and thousands of others like her are now granted the constitutional right to starve. These decisions make us quite apprehensive of our Social Security Act and the Wagner Labor Dispute Bill. Unfortunately, those who claim it are either ignorant of the Tipaldo decision or they are not telling the truth. It is definitely stated in the Tipaldo case as follows:

"It seems plain that these decisions afford no real support for any form of law establishing minimum wages. The decision and the reasoning upon which it rest clearly show that the state is without power, by any form of legislation to prohibit, change or nul-

lily contracts between employers and adult women workers as to the amount of wages to be paid."

Here is the dictum of the court that no law will be permitted to pass the test of constitutionality if it provides for minimum wages. In your executive report you refer to the case of the State of Washington, dealing with minimum wages which will be heard by the court. Even if the court reverses the Tipaldo case by changing its mind; nevertheless, there is still the A. A. A. decision, the Guffy Coal decision, the railroad retirement act decision, facing us; then there is the Wagner Bill to be passed upon. We must have an amendment to the constitution to validate these laws. In the last Congress various proposals were introduced; I have studied most of them and it seems to me that the resolution introduced by Senator Costigan is the most complete and the best proposal of its kind.

My friends this is a great land and we are a great people—but a people can only be great if it makes progress; whatever hinders the progress of the people contributes to its stagnation. Sometimes we make progress in spite of the attempts of reactionary forces to prevent it, but that is not a healthy situation. The majority of the Supreme Court of the United States, through conservative and reactionary decisions have not only prevented progress but they have prevented, in many respects, the alleviation of suffering and the advancement of social welfare. Almost from the cradle the American child is told of the genius of our government, of our constitution, of the fact that it is based on a recognition of fundamental rights of the people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

But does the constitution guarantee to us life, when it is interpreted to prohibit laws seeking to prevent little children of ten, twelve, and fourteen years of age from working in mines and factories? Does it guarantee life, when it causes little children to be stunted in growth, undermined in health, and sent to untimely graves?

Does the constitution guarantee "liberty" in its true sense, when we are told that laws designed to equalize the bargaining power between workers and employers, are null and void; does the constitution guarantee liberty when courts hold as they have that Anti-Yellow Dog Contract laws are unconstitutional, and employers may go on prohibiting workers the liberty and freedom to join their own organiza-

tions or to select their own representatives? Does the constitution guarantee "liberty" when it permits employers to set up company unions and herd their employees into them, as the judges have held it does?

Does the Constitution Guarantee the Pursuit of Happiness?

When women are told that under their sacred right to contract, no law, Federal or State, can protect them against an over-reaching employer who works them a fifty-five hour week at a wage of \$2.75 per week.

No, the constitution as so construed does not guarantee life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness. A constitution so construed must be amended—its present form must go, and it would be well if some of the reactionary members of the court were to resign and thereby go with it.

Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness will be guaranteed when the constitution is amended in such manner that conservative and reactionary judges will not be able under their oaths to deny to the people of the country those laws expressly designed to protect their lives, to grant them true liberty, to promote their happiness.

Delegate Perham: Would it be proper at this time to submit a question to the Judge?

President Green: Not at this time. I have another speaker here I wish to present to you now, the President of the National Cuban Federation of Labor. He comes from the Republic of Cuba, and through the Pan-American Federation of Labor we have been very closely related and very closely associated with them. During the past year I have endeavored, as the President of the American Federation of Labor, to assist the Cuban workers through my intervention as President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to appeal to the public opinion and public sentiment to accord to the workers of Cuba democratic rights.

We have protested against the development of a military dictatorship in the Republic of Cuba. The President of the Cuban Federation of Labor, just after being liberated from prison, is

here today. It is difficult for us to understand that in Cuba, a convention of workers cannot meet as we meet here. They must first secure a permit from the police authorities, and unless the permit is granted, no meetings can be held. It shocked me when I learned of the establishment of this complete dictatorship and autocracy in the Republic that lies just across the Bay.

Brother Cesar Vilar will tell you something about it in Spanish, then Mr. Gabriel C. Gelt, of the Oil Workers of Cuba, will interpret it. I present to you Mr. Cesar Vilar, President of the Cuban Federation of Labor.

MR. CESAR VILAR

(President, Cuban Federation of Labor)

(The following is the translation of the address, translated by Gabriel C. Gelt.)

Mr. Chairman, Brothers and Sisters Delegates to the 56th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.

I bring to you warm and fraternal greetings from the Executive Council of the National Cuban Federation of Labor and all its membership and specially of those members who still are in jail and knowing how much the A. F. of L. and its affiliated bodies have helped Cuban Labor, pin their hopes in your support as the most efficient means to obtain their freedom.

Cuban Labor realizes fully the importance of the support extended by the A. F. of L. and sends special greetings to the President, Mr. William Green and all the members of the Executive Council and all other officials and members of this powerful organization who have given their valuable support.

I also take advantage of the presence of the British and Canadian delegates to extend greetings to them and to the organizations they represent who have helped us.

Due to the many important problems facing this Convention, we don't want to take too much time, making it impossible to give to you a detailed account of the conditions facing Cuban Labor. I beg you to excuse my lack of knowledge of the English language forcing me to use up twice as much time.

Cuban Labor at the present moment is suffering under the whip of a military dictatorship which has an absolute control of our country. This dictatorship is worse than the dictatorship of General Machado and has relegated Civil Authorities to a secondary position.

Democratic rights are non-existent. Workers in Cuba are persecuted and jailed on their slightest organizational activities. The Departments of the Interior and of Labor authorize meetings of the workers and in most cases the Army arrest them together with the inspectors of the Department of Labor. Workers cannot meet even to deal with their internal problems and much less to deal with the defense of their wages and working conditions.

Many employers do not pay wages in legal tender but in vouchers and scrip money, forcing the employees to purchase at the employer's store where staples have a higher price.

The eight-hour work-day law is evaded in the industries; agricultural workers are excluded from this benefit although they constitute the majority of the workers in the country; they work in the sugar cane fields and tobacco plantations from sunrise till sunset at wages of 25 and 30 cents per day.

The minimum wage law is evaded in several forms by various industries. In the sugar industry the wage is fixed in accordance with the price of sugar which reaches its lowest level during the harvest when 80% of the total workers employed return to work in this industry, and work $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 months per year.

In the tobacco industry, the Minimum Wage Law (80 cents per day) is suspended during the ninety days that the harvest lasts, and soldiers are sent to crush the protest of the workers that demand the fulfillment of this law.

These two are the principal industries of Cuba. Just as in these industries, in all the other industries the laws benefitting the workers are evaded.

Low wages, payment in vouchers and scrip money and the temporary character of most of the industries make the situation of the workers desperate. But this picture becomes frightful if we take into account the number of unemployed existing in the country. According to the Cuban Labor Department, out of a population of 4,000,000 the number of unemployed reached its lowest during the harvest of the sugar crop and it is 400,000. Since they lack government help or from other institutions, their lot is hunger, need, and to become easy prey of malaria, ty-

phoid and other epidemics which contaminate the rest of the population.

Jointly with this wretchedness, the workers are suffering the most ruthless military dictatorship. The National Cuban Federation of Labor, the local Federations, most trade unions, and the Federation of Physicians, have been declared illegal, their halls ransacked and set on fire. The National University, High Schools, Technical Schools and other centers of learning have been closed. Trade Union leaders and members are persecuted and jailed. Arturo Iser, Secretary of the Labor Federation of the City of Cienfuegos, has been sentenced to 33 years on moral conviction, that is without any evidence whatsoever.

The National Cuban Federation of Labor issued and distributed widely a special bulletin containing all resolutions sent by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., many of its International and National Unions, the British Trade Unions and others in favor of Cuban Labor, to the President, Dr. Gomez, to the Cuban Congress and to Colonel Fulgencio Batista. Many brothers were jailed for distributing this bulletin.

In the very few Labor Halls which are open, the police are always present. These halls are frequently searched and all documents destroyed. The members of the Federation of Electric and Gas Plants and Water Works employees were forced to join the Military Reserve. Members of other trade unions also have been forced to join it under threats of being discharged otherwise. Colonel Batista is arming the strike-breakers in the Harbor of Havana, the Trinidad Bros. cigarette factories, and others.

In order to displace the Labor Department, the Army Staff has organized a labor section forcing labor organizations to bring their problems to this Section, threatening with discharge from the factories and jail the workers who refuse to accept their decisions. Their decisions are always against Labor. This Labor Section of the Army has sent a circular to all employers demanding the finger prints, pictures, personal information of every worker. In the labor problems arising in Havana Harbor, Cuban Telephone and Sarra Wholesale Drug Store, both the Labor Department and the Cuban Supreme Court have made decisions in favor of the workers, but Colonel Batista has prevented the fulfillment of these decisions of our highest Court.

The Urgency Courts are imposed by Batista. These Courts try in a very summary fashion. They may try and

have already tried without any lawyer defending the person accused. They can even sentence to life without appeal to the Supreme Court. These Courts try the workers under framed-up charges of seditious propaganda, inciting to strike, meeting to conspire against and oust the government of Cuba, sentencing them to long terms.

The Amnesty promulgated on August 6 of this year released 137 prisoners. Some of the prisoners released have been jailed again and many new prisoners sent to jail increasing the number of prisoners, at the present moment, above the number existing before the enactment of the Amnesty Law, which was passed due to the earnest request of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

The way in which some of these prisoners have been tortured is blood chilling. They are kept 10 and 12 days at the Police Headquarters of Havana and at the Military Headquarters of the Interior of Cuba, they are beaten during night time, their nails are pulled off, emasculated, drugged, they are framed up and forced under torture to sign these false accusations and convict themselves. Felix Carbonell, employee of an Express was tortured and thrown from the third floor of the Police Headquarters. To a young man named Miranda they engraved on his body the name of Pedraza, Chief of Police of Havana and General Inspector of the Army Staff, with a piece of glass.

The tortured prisoners are kept incommunicado to prevent the other prisoners from witnessing their physical condition and the vestige of the tortures they have been subjected to. Some of them have become insane by merely watching the tortures applied to the other prisoners. The murders continue and instead of tossing the corpses in the suburbs around Havana or burning them, now they throw the corpses into the sea to do away with the possibility of leaving traces.

In Cuba at the present moment nobody is safe.

President, Dr. Gomez, in his inaugural address to Congress and later advocated a broad amnesty, the solution of the Educational Problem, holding of a Constituent Assembly with full powers, with the exercise of democratic rights by the whole Cuban people. This program the National Cuban Federation of Labor backed because it was progressive and favorable to labor, it also backed various initiatives and measures of Congress and the Government of Dr. Gomez beneficial to labor. Batista has been the main obstacle to the fulfillment of this program.

The Army Staff has started a series of measures which seriously curtail the power of the civil authorities and decrease its prestige. Chiefly, demonstrations of soldiers and reservists in civilian clothes lead by Army officers demanding the abolition of Congress. Also publishing a newspaper "Front" with intention of discrediting the government of Dr. Gomez.

The last statements of Colonel Batista asserting that "should it become necessary to establish a dictatorship we shall establish it without considering the opinion of the Cuban people or of public opinion abroad." This plainly shows the immediate danger of a coup against the Government of Dr. Gomez.

We are facing the same big financial interests you are facing at present, with the only difference that our organizations are relatively weak as compared with the magnitude of the A. F. of L. But we solemnly pledge you that the resistance of Cuban Labor against the Military Dictatorship shall be kept with greater energy until the establishment of a regime of democracy and liberty in which the rights of the workers be fully guaranteed, although in the undertaking we have to increase the number of labor martyrs. Today, stimulated with the valuable support of the A. F. of L. we shall increase our resistance and tenacity in spite of greater sacrifices.

Just as in 1898 thousands of American brothers generously offered their lives to give Cuba a regime of democracy and liberty; today, when a situation exists in our country similar to the situation it faced in those frightful days and which so aroused American Labor and the American people, we request this powerful organization, the A. F. of L., faithful to its tradition of support to Cuban Labor, to maintain its valuable cooperation to obtain the rights and better living conditions for Cuban Labor.

To verify everything we have told you we suggest the appointment of a delegation of the A. F. of L., to go to Cuba to investigate the living and working conditions of your brothers and sisters. This delegation could report fully to our American brothers and sisters.

Again I thank you in the name of the National Cuban Federation of Labor and all the Cuban workers for the great support you have given us and that you are giving us at the present moment; and, also for the very high honor you have granted me when you allowed me to make this report before this respectable Convention.

Also, I must again thank you because it was chiefly through the support of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated bodies that I am free, although expelled from my country by the military dictatorship prevailing there.

To finish I convey to Senor Green, to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and all of its membership the earnest wish of the Cuban Delegation present here, of the Executive Council of the National Cuban Federation of Labor and all Cuban Labor the greatest success in the solution of the very important problems facing this Convention for the greater welfare and happiness of American Labor.

Also as a proof of my exile by the military dictatorship I would like to read the following letter:

Havana,
Oct. 11, 1936.

Sr. Jose T. Medina,
Miami, Fla.

Dear Medina: The bearer of this letter Cesar Villar y Agnilar, boards a ship tonight for that city to go, via New City, to London, carrying a through ticket to the last place.

Cesar Vilar has served all sentences he had pending with Justice here, and he makes the trip in accord with the Cuban authorities, there is interest in your facilitating to him the means to reach London.

Without other matter, receive an embrace from your steadfast friend,

I thank you!

PEDRO ANYANMAT.

President Green: I desire to submit for today's proceedings a supplementary report of the Executive Council, which is referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

**Protest Against the Arbitrary Change
of Title By International Union of
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers,
Bridge and Stone Curb Setters
and Sheet Asphalt Pavers**

The Executive Council gave consideration to a complaint submitted by the representatives of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, against

the change of title made by the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, without authority of the Executive Council. After giving consideration to said protest and to all facts and information submitted by the representatives of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, the Executive Council rendered the following decision:

"That the International Union of Pavers and Rammermen be directed to conform to the original title granted so far as the name of their organization is concerned and so far as their jurisdiction is concerned; refusal on their part to comply with the decision of the Council is justification for the suspension of their charter."

The records of the American Federation of Labor show that the title of the Pavers and Rammermen's organization as it was originally granted and later amended in 1931 is as follows:

International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers

Notwithstanding this grant of title definitely set forth by the American Federation of Labor, the officers of the International Union of Pavers' Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers changed its title to include wood block, brick and concrete pavers, road builders and helpers. When this arbitrary action on the part of the officers of the Pavers and Rammermen's organization was brought to the attention of the Executive Council, the Council pointed out that no application for a change of title had been made and that no grant of jurisdiction by the American Federation of Labor had ever been given to include in the jurisdiction of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and

Sheet Asphalt Pavers, those employed as wood block, brick and concrete pavers, road builders and helpers.

The Executive Council therefore called upon the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers to change the title of that organization to read as it was originally granted,

International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers

and to cease and desist from transgressing upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborer's Union of America.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: I want to request unanimous consent for presentation of a resolution at this time. It is not a controversial resolution, it has to do with a legislative matter.

No objections being offered, the resolution was received and referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Classification Act of 1923

Resolution No. 259—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Classification Act of 1923, as amended, embraces certain trades and other workmen particularly in the Custodial Service, whose wages have not kept pace with those employees coming under the "Wage Board System," and

WHEREAS, These employees were excepted from the general provisions of the Classification Act of 1923 which excluded the skilled trades from the operation of that Act, and

WHEREAS, It is now proposed to extend the Classification Act to the field service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assem-

bled, that an effort be made to remove these employes from the purview of the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and to have them placed under a Schedule of Wages not less than that prevailing in the navy yards service; and to confer upon them the benefits of the 40-hour week, without reduction in weekly earnings; and, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assem-

bled, endorse the principles of the Ramspeck Bill, H. R. 7878, introduced May 3, 1935, and instruct the incoming officers to endeavor to secure its enactment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

At 1:00 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

Fourth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3:00 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Bender, Breidenbach, Cahill, Cahir, Dobbs, Duldner, Evans (A. A.), Finnigan, Forbes, Gatelee, German, Glasgow, Graham, Hansen, Hefterly, Hunter, Irwin, Jenkins, Keegan, Kindred, Klarish, Knopka, Kirby, Martinez, Matlin, Merritt, Mundell, Nischwitz, O'Neill, Powers (Geo.), Prior, Reynolds, Reznicek, Schreier, Stoffels, Tracy (Wm.), Turnblazer, Will, Williams (Clemon), Williamson, Yabonsky, sky.

Re-reference of Resolution No. 147

President Green: The Chair desires to make a correction by referring Resolution No. 147, appearing on page 286 of the second day's proceedings, to the Committee on Legislation. It is a resolution that deals with legislation rather than a miscellaneous subject. It was referred to the Committee on Resolutions. It is now referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Secretary Morrison will read the following messages:

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Nov. 18, 1936,
Washington, D. C.

William Green, President American Federation of Labor Convention

Please express to all at the convention my deep regret at my inability to be with them personally this year. Labor can look back upon the last three years as a period of unequalled progress toward the goals that Labor has set for itself. Above all the right to collective bargaining has been given the protection of Federal law and by the exercise of that right Labor will win for itself even greater success in the future. Labor may now look forward confidently to an era of higher wages, shorter hours and even larger economic security. I want to thank the convention particularly for the support given to the low rent housing measure which I introduced and which with the help of Labor will be enacted at the next session of Congress to the mutual benefit of all branches of labor, industry and the public at large. Best wishes to you all for a very bright and happy New Year.

ROBERT F. WAGNER

Washington, D. C.,
Nov. 17, 1936

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor,
Hotel Floridan

Very much regret that circumstances did not permit me to accept your invitation to officially address the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor on Social Security. Mr. Altmeyer will represent the Board. I would, however, greatly appreciate the opportunity of meeting with you and the members of the Executive Council on your return to Washington to discuss the Act and its administrative problems.

JOHN G. WYNANT

Announcement

Secretary Morrison read the following announcement, on behalf of the local Entertainment Committee:

We have arranged for a motorcade to start from the Convention Hall (Auditorium) at 12:30 p. m. Saturday, November 21, to take the delegation to the Carpenters' Home at Lakeland. All delegates wishing to make the trip, please register with the sergeant-at-arms this afternoon. Those wishing to drive their own cars and can take others with them, please register how many they can take.

ESCORT COMMITTEE

President Green: Chairman Altmeyer, of the Social Security Board, will address the convention tomorrow at 11:00 o'clock. He will arrive in the city tomorrow morning. I appoint as a committee to meet and greet Chairman Altmeyer and escort him to the convention Brother E. J. Manion, of the Railroad Telegraphers, Brother M. J. McDonough, Secretary of the Building Trades Department, and Brother T. J. Hanley, Secretary of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

The Chair now recognizes the Committee on Education—Chairman Harrison, of the Committee on Education.

Vice President Harrison: Mr. President and delegates, the Committee on Education met, organized, and elected Brother Leo George Secretary. After several meetings of the committee, we considered quite a bit of business that

was before the committee, and we are now prepared to submit a partial report.

Secretary George will submit the report for the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Leo George, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Education had referred to it the following sections of the Report of the Executive Council: Under the title, "Legislation," the following sub-titles:

"Teachers' Salary Act," on page 132;

"Vocational Education," on page 133;

"Education," on pages 133 and 134; also

"Educational Qualifications in Civil Service," pages 141-142;

"Our Public Schools," on page 180;

"Vocational Education," on pages 180 to 184; and

"Workers Education Bureau," on pages 184 to 186.

There were also referred to this committee the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 51, "Federal Aid to Public Schools;"

Resolution No. 64, "Workers Education, Puerto Rico;"

Resolution No. 134, "School Training in Money Management;"

Resolution No. 136, "Federal Aid for Public Schools," and

Resolution No. 137, "Social Security of Teachers."

Our Public Schools

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 180, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption, "Our Public Schools," the Executive Council says:

Every central labor union should maintain a standing committee on education which shall be responsible for advancing educational opportunities for all children. Included in this general responsibility is making sure that Labor is represented on the Board

of Education and the Board of Directors of the Public Library.

It is particularly important that this committee watch that adequate appropriations are made for buildings and institutions and that the widest use be made of public school buildings. Where curtailments were made during the depression, special effort may be necessary to restore revenues and educational opportunities.

Adequate and effective educational institutions are essential in a democratic country, and the larger the investments we make in education the more likely we are to cope with our economic and political problems constructively.

Not only should public educational facilities be planned for the youth of the country, but for our adult population also. Educators no longer believe that all of education must be crowded into the period of youth, but that the human mind may continuously develop and avail itself of new disciplines. Already are university extension courses, correspondence courses, and many adult education facilities available. But few of these are planned especially for the needs of the working population. The average adult facing some problem in work or in living, feels the need of information and counsel that he may know what to do with his problems. He learns by the project method, and his projects are the problems in living. The working population should be able to look to our university extension for educational help and to our government for informational service and counsel. Business men, farmers, bankers, railway executives, professional persons already have such provisions, which constitute precedents for Labor's demands.

The nation and the government are anxious to promote the well-being of all citizens. Labor asks only necessary cooperation in promoting its own well-being. We ask cooperation from every state university and information and counsel from federal and state governments upon the business of promoting the well-being of seventy-eight per cent of our population.

Your committee commends to the attention of every delegate here and to every member of organized labor this statement of the Executive Council. The history of the American Labor Movement and the history and development of educational opportunities in this country are intertwined. Organized labor has just cause to be proud of its part in the establishment

of our free school system, in the provision in many communities of free text books, and in many other advantages secured to the children of the great majority of our people of little or no personal means.

Continued and unceasing interest in and application to the task must be maintained, not only to further extend educational opportunities to every child, but to develop and improve educational facilities to keep pace with an ever-changing and advancing civilization.

Your committee concurs in the recommendations and instructions of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Education—(Legislation)

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 133-134, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption, "Education," in the section headed "Legislation," the Executive Council calls attention to a bill (S. 4793) introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Harrison of Mississippi and a companion bill (H. R. 13021) introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Fletcher of Ohio to provide for an appropriation of \$100,000,000 to assist states and territories in providing more effective programs of public education.

The report refers to the large number of illiterates in the United States, as disclosed by recent investigations, and to the deplorable condition existing in many communities throughout the country, where, even before the depression, adequate educational facilities were lacking because of insufficient funds to operate them. These conditions, aggravated and added to by the recent economic stress make urgent the provision of federal aid in the manner provided by the Harrison-Fletcher proposal.

The Harrison-Fletcher bill provides that the appropriation of \$100,000,000

shall be apportioned to the states and territories annually on the basis of the number of persons between the ages of five and twenty years. It also provides that the appropriation be increased by \$50,000,000 each year until it shall amount to \$300,000,000 annually. The manner of use of funds apportioned to the states and territories shall be determined by the legislatures of the respective states.

The report states that this bill will be re-introduced in the 75th Congress and every possible effort made to secure its enactment into law.

Your committee commends the Executive Council upon its efforts in behalf of this legislation and urges the cooperation of all members.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Lundeen Bill (H. R. 6360)—Federal Aid to Public Schools

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Thomas J. Lyons, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The following resolutions were adopted by the New York State Federation of Labor at its Seventy-third Annual Convention held in Syracuse, N. Y., August 25, 26 and 27, 1936, and ordered presented to the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Equality of educational opportunities for all children, throughout the nation is a great American ideal and is absolutely necessary to the preservation of our democratic institutions, and

WHEREAS, There can be no equality of opportunity to earn a living or to maintain decent standards of living unless all children can have equal opportunities for education, and

WHEREAS, Drastic cuts in educational budgets throughout the country, especially in vast poverty-stricken areas, have deprived millions of children of educational facilities which they have a right to expect in this, the richest nation of all history, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government has made vast appropriations for State highways and many other public improvements without the imposition of centralized control of these enterprises, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the New York State Federation of La-

bor endorse the principle of Federal Aid to public schools throughout the nation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That it endorse the Lundeen Bill (H. R. 6360), which provides for the maintenance of adequate school facilities throughout the nation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand that all Federal educational funds be equitably distributed to insure equal educational opportunity, regardless of race or color or economic status.

RESOLVED, That the foregoing resolutions be concurred in and adopted by this Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 51, introduced by the delegate from the New York State Federation of Labor, and calling for endorsement of H. R. 6360, the objective of which is identical with that of the Harrison-Fletcher Bill, was considered by your committee. It is recommended that, as the Harrison-Fletcher Bill embodies the objective sought, Resolution No. 51 be laid on the table.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Aid for Public Schools

Resolution No. 136 — By Delegate Irwin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its first convention in 1881 declared, "We are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; that if the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the right of the state to educate to the proper understanding of such demands;" and

WHEREAS, In succeeding conventions the American Federation of Labor has repeated its stand for support of free schools and at its last convention in Atlantic City declared that "public education, available to all the citizens and supported by all the citizens, is the foundation of our democratic way of life;" and

WHEREAS, Thousands of children throughout the Nation are being denied adequate schooling because of the closing of schools and serious retrenchment in school programs creating a serious problem of national concern and making necessary the permanent equalization of educational opportunity throughout the Nation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Fed-

eration of Labor at its Tampa Convention in 1936 reaffirm its position of supporting adequate educational facilities for all the children of the Nation, and go on record as favoring a federal grant for the operation of public schools to be distributed to the several states, in a manner provided by law, so as to equalize educational opportunity for all children of the Nation.

Resolution No. 136, introduced by the delegate from the American Federation of Teachers, requests the support of the American Federation of Labor to the effort to secure Federal Aid for Public Schools. Inasmuch as this subject was covered by the action on the Harrison-Fletcher bill, no action is necessary and your committee so recommends.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Educational Qualifications in Civil Service

Under this caption, pages 141-142, the Executive Council reports upon its action pursuant to Resolution No. 240, adopted by the Atlantic City convention, and the results thereof. That resolution was a protest against the requirement that applicants for positions in the United States Employment Service be graduated from a high school or college. It was held that such requirement was an unfair discrimination against the worker who had not been able to secure classroom training but whose educational qualifications were nevertheless adequate for the position for which he was an applicant.

The protest, having been lodged with the Civil Service Commission, the Executive Council reports that the objectionable requirement has been eliminated.

Replying to the letter of President Green in which the objections of the American Federation of Labor were set forth, Harry B. Mitchell, President of the Civil Service Commission, said in part:

"Although fully appreciating the value of institutional training, the Commission endeavors not to discrimi-

nate against the individual who for reasons beyond his control has been denied the educational opportunities enjoyed by others."

Your committee commends the Executive Council upon its action and also commends the Civil Service Commission upon the view expressed in the letter of Mr. Mitchell.

Although this action was aimed at a specific condition, it involved a principle of vital concern to all workers and the foregoing declaration of the Civil Service Commission is sufficiently broad to give encouragement to the hope for complete elimination of the discrimination about which complaint was made.

However, as the report of the Executive Council points out, the Act under which the Civil Service was created, invests that Commission and the President with wide powers under which similar requirements may be set up at any time. It is essential therefore that this body make its position definite in respect to it, and that it be prepared to protest such discrimination at any time.

We recommend, therefore, that the American Federation of Labor record itself as opposed to any requirement for entrance into the public service that would discriminate against any citizen with the necessary capabilities for the position sought, by the requirement of institutional training.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workers' Education, Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 64—Introduced by Delegate Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico; Delegate Laura Iglesias, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants' Union 18198.

WHEREAS, The Puerto Rican labor movement and the Insular Department of Labor feel that there is an increasing need for workers' education in Puerto Rico which is designed to help workers understand the problems of their work, share in solving them and help them live more intelligently and effectively,

WHEREAS, A training center for workers education teachers was established in Puerto Rico through the activities of the American Federation of Labor and the Workers Education Division of the FEIA, which trained teachers for this activity, and the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration which supplanted the FERA refused to provide funds to carry on the purposes of this program,

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor of Puerto Rico continued this work of workers education to a very limited extent, through voluntary service of the teachers trained for this activity, but such work cannot be continued on account of lack of funds, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, By this 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the President of the American Federation of Labor urge the proper Federal authorities, that workers' education be carried on in Puerto Rico as it is done among the different states; that funds from the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration or from any other available source be allotted for this activity; that the program of workers education be carried on under an adequate insular agency where organized labor would have due representation.

Your committee gave consideration to this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workers' Education Bureau

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 184-186, the committee reported as follows:

The Workers Education Bureau of America celebrates this year fifteen years of continuous educational service to the organized workers of America. Beginning in 1921 as a voluntary agency to provide information and guidance to the developing movement of workers' education in the United States, the Bureau soon worked out a cooperative agreement with the Federation to serve the membership of the Federation of Labor.

In 1923 a plan of organic relationship was worked out by the Portland Convention of the Federation, and the following year at El Paso a basis of financial support was adopted. Through

all these years the Bureau has continued to serve with increasing effectiveness the educational aspirations of labor until it has become in fact the "Educational aim of the Federation." While maintaining its own integrity through the years it has nevertheless worked out an organic unity with the movement which has been of the greatest assistance to the Federation and at the same time has enhanced the sphere of work of the Bureau.

Upon the occasion of the 15th anniversary your Committee recommends that the Convention tender its fraternal greetings and good wishes to the officers and members of the Bureau.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Emergency Educational Program

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 184, the committee reported as follows:

Three years ago the General Education Board responsive to the requests of the Emergency Education Program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration made a number of subventions to nationally known agencies in the general field of adult education to assist the Federal Government in the developments of its emergency program. The Workers Education Bureau of America was one of these. Through the establishment of regional directors in the east, middle west and on the Pacific Coast in addition to a research assistant in Washington, the Bureau was able to provide a generous measure of cooperation and guidance to the development of local programs both in the way of methods and materials and in particular it was possible to interpret this emergency program to labor groups throughout the country.

During the past nine months the Bureau has continued its cooperation with the Emergency Workers' Education Program through its field representatives. On the Pacific Coast, through the activities of Mr. John L. Kerchen, effective assistance has not

only been given to the Emergency Program but also the basis of a long time program has been worked out with the State Universities and the State Federations of Labor. Here then is to be found one of the model plans for the effective transfer of adult workers' education activities from an emergency to a normal basis of operation.

In the middle west, similarly Dr. Paul L. Vogt has cooperated with the State Supervisors in setting up teacher training centers, in the utilizing of teachers and in the preparation of materials for class and radio use. In particular his work with the United Automobile Workers of America in initiating their educational program and in laying the foundation of an Educational Department was a service of genuine importance.

In the New England states Harry Russell's labors in behalf of an effective Emergency Workers' Education program have been referred to in previous conventions. His educational service to the organized labor movement of the state has been as constructive as it has been distinctive.

Of the work of these three Regional Directors your Committee joins the Executive Committee in citing these educational representatives for distinguished cooperative service.

On July 1st of this year the subvention was terminated to all these agencies by the General Education Board on the assumption that the emergency service had been rendered and the need no longer existed. In view of the decision on the part of the Federal government to continue this program until July 1 of next year and, in view of the growing disposition on the part of educational authorities in many countries to make adult education a regular part of the public education system, it is the judgment of your committee that it would be altogether appropriate for the General Education Board to continue this subvention until this transfer has been made from the emergency to the regular school budget in a number of notable in-

stances. We are of the opinion that the end which is sought is so desirable that any service that can be rendered by the General Education Board to facilitate this transfer would be in the public interest.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Research

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 186, the committee reported as follows:

The growing demand for new materials for Workers Education and the increasing number of requests for specialized services from unions, made the inauguration of a Division of Research necessary and important.

The recognized need for informative material on the Social Security Act made that at once a subject for exploration. With the effective cooperation of the Social Security Board and the invaluable help of the Baltimore Federation of Labor a notable series of seven dramatic dialogues or skits were developed and published. They were at once recognized as of unique value in the popular presentation of an otherwise complicated subject.

Your Committee warmly congratulates the Research Division for this undertaking and wholeheartedly commends these to the membership.

The continued work on the Case Book on Collective Bargaining is not only justified by the unique material already gathered but also by the other cases that it is hoped to secure. No such volume has ever been prepared and published in America before and we commend the Bureau on its vision in planning for its compilation and publication. It should be an invaluable addition to labor literature.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Ohio Development

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 185, the committee reported as follows:

The recognition of the Executive Board of the Ohio State Federation of Labor of the indispensable value of workers' education in carrying forward its educational and legislative work is notable. The determination of the Board to carry forward such a program and provide trade union funds to inaugurate such a plan is unique in the annals of State Federations. It was as logical for the State Federation to turn to the Workers Education Bureau for such assistance as it was for the Bureau to detail a regional director to the Ohio State Federation of Labor. The results for the first six months have amply justified the hopes of the officers of the State Federation of Labor Institutes, forums, radio programs and educational exhibits have been held widely through the state with uniform success.

Responsive to the leadership of the officers the delegates to the recent convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor gave the program its wholehearted endorsement.

Your Committee in heartily commending the leadership of the Ohio State Federation of Labor would remind the delegates that as long ago as 1923 the Portland Convention urged the setting up of Department of Education in each of the State Federations and the appointment of State Directors. The effect has now been done in Ohio and the results speak for themselves.

Your Committee urges the officers of each of the State Federations of Labor to study the setup of the Ohio Plan and wherever possible work out a similar educational program with the cooperation of the Workers Education Bureau.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Institutes

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 185, the committee reported as follows:

More than ten years ago the Workers' Education Bureau inaugurated a plan of labor institutes to further the study by labor of current labor problems. Hundreds of those institutes have been set up by the Bureau over the country with generous approval by Labor.

The Initiative of the Bureau in setting up with dispatch ten institutes on the Labor Relations Act in strategic centers of the country with the cooperation of the National Labor Relations Board and the Regional Labor Board was an act of genuine educational leadership. Not only have these institutes provided a medium through which it has been possible to give to labor an understanding of the principles and practices of this basic law, but they have helped in educating of public opinion in the local communities.

Your Committee in commending the Bureau for its leadership in this field would urge all organizations, large and small, which are eager to set up educational conferences or institutes to refer to the Bureau to secure their wise counsel in planning such programs.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate George: That completes the preliminary report of the Committee on Education.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Organization, Vice President Frank Duffy.

Vice President Duffy: The Committee on Organization held several meetings during the last few days, heard those delegates who appeared before that committee, completed its work, and is now ready to submit it to you.

Secretary Manion will submit the report to you.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Secretary Manion submitted the following report:

General Organizing Campaign

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above

caption, pages 48 to 58, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee studied with a great deal of interest that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption General Organizing Campaign, covering eleven pages.

The report shows the following unions organized and their last paid membership:

	Unions	Members
Agriculture	40	3842
Aluminum	18	4512
Canning	22	3757
Cement	28	3750
Chemical	20	1707
Dairy	10	364
Match Industry	7	2857
Petroleum Marketing..	25	3460
Wheat, Flour, Cereal, etc.	36	3400

The Report also shows that during the fiscal year the Federation paid out to directly affiliated Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions the sum of \$146,656.02 in strike benefits.

The Council further reports agreements entered into with firms and companies in the following miscellaneous industries covering hours, wages and working conditions:

Chemical	5
Aluminum	11
Gasoline Stations	25
Cement	9
Match Companies	5
Agricultural	3
Flour, Cereal and Corn Products, etc.	12

This is a good showing and the Executive Council is to be commended on the work done in organizing these miscellaneous industries.

Your Committee therefore recommends concurrence in that part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Negro Workers

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, We recognize the fact that all men are born equal and enjoy an equal right to the pursuit of happiness, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor in certain parts of the country through its discrimination against negroes prevents members of that race from joining the ranks of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The Employers utilize the unorganized negroes as "scabs" in strike situations and to drive the standard of wages of the organized workers down and

WHEREAS, The workers regardless of creed, color or race have only one common interest, namely, through united and collective effort increase the standard of life of the worker, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor accept into membership members of the negro race.

The subject matter of this Resolution has been before the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor for a number of years. These conventions made it clear, plain and distinct that all workers, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, irrespective of race, creed, color, nationality or sex are eligible to membership in the American Federation of Labor.

That is the policy of the American Federation of Labor now. At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Atlantic City, N. J., in October, 1935, the Executive Council submitted a Supplemental Report on

"Colored Workers"

It reads in part as follows:

"The report of the Committee indicates that there are a few National and International Unions that deny membership to negroes. In most of these instances special provisions are made to organize the negroes into Federal Labor Unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. In some National and International Unions admitting negroes they are placed in separate local unions with varying rights of membership.

"We are of the opinion that since each affiliated National and International Union has complete autonomy that the welfare of the negro worker will be best served by a campaign of education of white workers to bring to them the necessity of solidarity in the ranks of the workers and the volun-

tary elimination of all restrictions against full rights of membership to the negro.

"The American Federation of Labor has consistently advocated the organization of all workers and we reaffirm that policy. The economic welfare of the workers can best be served by complete unity of purpose and action. We therefore recommend.

"That all National and International Unions and the American Federation of Labor conduct a continuous campaign of education to bring to the white worker the necessity for greater unity of the workers in the labor movement to the end that all discrimination against negroes will be removed."

After a lengthy discussion this report was adopted.

Your Committee recommends the reaffirmation and re-endorsement of the Supplemental Report of the Executive Council on this matter to the 1935 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Organize Kraft-Phenix Cheese Corporation Employees

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Aug. Rosqvist, Idaho State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Two years ago the American Federation of Labor issued a charter to the Cheese Factory Employees Local Union No. 19826, Pocatello, Idaho, composed of employees of the Kraft-Phenix Cheese Corporation, of their Pocatello Factory; and

WHEREAS, These employees have considerably improved their conditions through their organization, but at this time are unable to progress any further due to the fact that the employees in the approximately fifty other plants owned or operated by this Corporation have no union organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention at this time direct the Executive Council to use its best efforts to organize these employees of the Kraft-Phenix Cheese Corporation Plants or Factories which are located in United States and Canada.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your Committee amended Resolution

No. 56 by striking out the following words in the sixth Whereas; "if these cans and their contents are declared unfair," and in the last Resolve by striking out the word "canned" in third line and all of the last six lines, inserting instead the following: "beer in cans which are manufactured under non-union conditions."

The Resolve would then read:

"That the American Federation of Labor advise trade unionists to refuse to purchase beer in cans which are manufactured under non-union conditions."

The resolution as amended would read as follows:

Organizing of Beer Can Industry

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The 19th Convention of the International Association of Machinists concurred in a Resolution regarding the organizing of the American Can Company, and

WHEREAS, It is a known fact that millions of dollars worth of new buildings and machinery have and are still being purchased by both the American and the Continental Can Companies for the express purpose of making beer cans, and

WHEREAS, All cans for the purpose of canning beer are at the present time made under unfair labor conditions, and

WHEREAS, through the connection the organized labor movement has with breweries and other labor organizations employed in said breweries, it should be a rather easy task to curtail the use of these cans, and

WHEREAS, In the last year, the Crown Cork & Seal Co., Illinois Owen Glass Co., and other can companies, have seen the lucrative business the large can companies were doing, so they likewise have ventured into this field, and

WHEREAS, The labor movement should now realize the power of the beer consuming public and the possibility of its sincere desire to abstain from purchasing beer, canned in non-union made cans, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to assist in an organizing campaign to organize the employes of these can

manufacturing companies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor advise Trade Unionists to refuse to purchase beer in cans which are manufactured under non-union conditions.

With these changes your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization of Mass Production Industries

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Ralph Laundry, Independent Wholesale Grocers Warehouse Employees, Union No. 19572, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, In the great mass production industries, and in various other industries such as our own industry, food, millions of working people are still without benefit of organization, and

WHEREAS, A considerable number of these workers are desirous of joining labor organizations but are shunted off into company unions which are used against bona fide labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, The time is now ripe for a powerful drive to bring these workers into the trade unions,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Independent Wholesale Grocers' Warehouse Employees Union Local No. 19572 urges the 56th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. to support the organization drives in the mass production industries and to initiate one in the food industry.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Assignment of Organizers to West Virginia

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate. E. J. Preston, Central Labor Union, Mercer County, West Virginia.

WHEREAS, Our Central Labor Union has made an effort to organize the workers in this vicinity at our own expense and on our own time, which is spare time; and,

WHEREAS, It is the lack of finance and time, we find, as a hindrance to this kind of organizing and delaying the unionizing of the great numbers of workers in this vicinity; and,

WHEREAS, If there were more full time organizers provided, there would be more new members taken into the American Federation of Labor, who would be paying dues and per capita, which would more than offset the extra cost of the organizers;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assign at least three (3) more full time organizers and representatives in the state of West Virginia immediately.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to put into effect if the funds of the Federation permit.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Council of Workers in Enamelware and Kitchen Utensils Industry

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Rudolph Faupl, Fabricated Metal Workers' Union No. 19340, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, There is a need for better coordination between the various American Federation of Labor Local unions of employees, engaged in the enamelware and kitchen utensils industry, for the interchange of ideas, for the discussion and solution of the problems peculiar to the industry, and generally for the unification of their aims and method, and

WHEREAS, The attainment of the individual locals, the continuance of such attainments, and the securing of further benefits to the employees in the industry depends upon continued and greater organizational efforts among the unorganized workers in the industry,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That a permanent conference committee be established, consisting of two delegates from each American Federation of Labor local union in the enamelware and kitchen utensils industry, to interchange ideas, for the discussion and solution of problems peculiar to the industry, and generally for the unification of their aims and methods.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That such conference committee convene at least once in each year, and that the first annual conference be held at Terre Haute, Indiana, within sixty days hereafter.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a full time organizer and such other organizers as may be necessary, be assigned by the American Federation of Labor for general organizational work among the employees in the enamelware and kitchen utensils industry.

Your Committee finds in the Report of the Executive Council to this Convention under the caption "General Organizing Campaign" that:

"Federal labor unions established in cement, aluminum, gasoline station attendants and other industries have been consolidated into general councils. These councils have served as a clearing house of information regarding wages, hours and conditions of employment prevailing in different localities where federal labor unions in these industries have been established. Responsible representatives of the American Federation of Labor have been selected to serve as the executive officers of these councils. Wage scales have been negotiated between employers and employees in a number of instances."

These councils have worked out satisfactorily and to the best interests of all concerned. Your Committee is therefore of the opinion and so recommend that this part of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council to work out a plan for the formation of a Council of Workers in the Enamelware and Kitchen Utensils Industry, and to decide where and when this Council shall meet.

That part of the resolution asking that a full time organizer be assigned to work among the workers of this industry, your Committee recommends be referred to the Executive Council to comply with if the funds permit.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization of Fur Workers

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Pietro Lucchi, Samuel Mindel and Harry Begoon, International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada is now engaged in a campaign to organize the Canadian territory, as well as the remaining unorganized fur workers in the United States of America, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record pledging to give the utmost support of the American Federation of Labor to the effort of the International Fur Workers Union, to organize the entire fur industry in Canada, as well as in the United States of America.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization of Laundry Workers

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate W. C. Brooks, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of the United States and Canada are at this time only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Laundry Workers' International Union at this time will not warrant or permit in placing any additional organizer in the large number of cities and the various states to organize the unorganized laundry workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all the State Federations of Labor and City Labor Councils and to all of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize the laundry workers in their districts and localities.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Organizing Assistance for North Dakota

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate George Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The State of North Dakota has never been classed as a leading industrial state and as such has received very little attention from the organization staffs of the American Federation of Labor and National and International Unions; and

WHEREAS, The labor movement of the state of North Dakota has been rapidly making progress as a result of concentrated effort put forth by the State Federation of Labor, City Central Bodies, and a number of conscientious trade unionists interested in the advancement of labor in that state; and

WHEREAS, It is now necessary to have the assistance of trained organizers to coordinate all the efforts which have been put forth to bring the labor movement to its present state of advancement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the organization staffs of the National and International Unions in conjunction with the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be urged to coordinate their

efforts and cooperate with the North Dakota State Federation of Labor and its affiliated central bodies in the effort to bring about a better and fuller standard of living for the working men and women of this state.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Council of Doll and Toy Workers

Resolution No. 170—By Delegate James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The doll and toy industry of the United States has grown to be a great industry since the ending of the World War; and

WHEREAS, Previous to the World War the great proportion of dolls and toys were imported; and

WHEREAS, At the present time there are several federal labor unions of doll and toy workers organized by the American Federation of Labor where contracts have been set up but because of wages and working conditions established by the unions the employers move their plants to cities where there are no unions in the industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assign an organizer to continue the work of organization and education and that at a time suitable to all concerned, a conference be called to establish a National Council so the work of organization and education can be carried on more systematically.

On the first request in this resolution for the services of an organizer in this industry your Committee recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council to put into effect if the funds permit.

On the second request to call a conference for the formation of a National Council, your Committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council to arrange time and place to hold the conference and to draft a plan for the formation and continuation of such a Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee amended Resolution No. 212 by striking from the Resolve the following language: "to take place

before the adjournment of this convention," and inserting in lieu thereof the words, "be held at the earliest possible date," the Resolve then to read as follows:

"That the officers of the A. F. of L. be directed to call a conference of the representatives of the craft unions engaged in this industry and that the conference be held at the earliest possible date."

The amended resolution would read:

Proposing Conference to Plan Organization Campaign in Furniture Industry

Resolution No. 212—By Delegates James H. Hatch and Edwin E. Graves, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Furniture Manufacturing Industry is one of the largest mass production industries of the country, and

WHEREAS, This Industry would be a fertile field, for the operation of the CIO and,

WHEREAS, The manufacture of furniture requires the services of several of the craft unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. be directed to call a conference of the representatives of the craft unions engaged in this Industry, for the purpose of agreeing on a plan of organizing the Industry, and that the conference be held at the earliest possible date.

With this change your committee concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organizer for Southwestern Pennsylvania

Resolution No. 219—By Delegate C. O. Williams, Central Labor Union, Fredericktown, Pa.

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union has made every effort to organize the workers in our territory at our own expense, and in our spare time; and

WHEREAS, There are thousands of workers in Southwestern Pennsylvania who can be organized; and

WHEREAS, We feel that it will be for the best interests of the A. F. of L. to appoint a full time organizer for our territory in Southwestern Pennsylvania; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fredericktown Central Labor Union of Pennsylvania

requests the A. F. of L. to appoint a full time organizer for our territory with the assurance that the aforesaid Central Body will give this appointee all cooperation possible and within our power.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to put into effect if the funds of the Federation warrant.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization of White Collar Workers

Resolution No. 230—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical and Research employees Union No. 20049 and Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12648, New York City.

WHEREAS, The white collar workers in the United States of America are suffering from miserably low wages and extremely poor working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The white collar workers are one of the most exploited sections of the working population due to a lack of trade union affiliation; and

WHEREAS, The white collar worker is looking anxiously to the American Federation of Labor for support and assistance in bettering his condition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor immediately embark upon a nationwide drive for organization of the white collar workers.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to put into effect if the funds permit.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Manion: This concludes the report of the Committee on Organization, and it is signed by:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman
E. J. MANION, Secretary
JOHN P. BURKE
FRANK GILLMORE
PATRICK H. REGAN
P. C. SARRETT
EDWARD CANAVAN
PAUL SCHARRENBURG
ANDREW J. KENNEDY
JAMES BOVE
CHRIS LANE
JOHN J. SCULLY
JOHN B. PREWITT
K. E. VAN HORN
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
JOSEPH SCHMIDT
Committee on Organization.

Secretary Manion moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Organization as a whole.

The motion was seconded by Vice President Duffy and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: I thank the committee for the fine service rendered.

Fraternal Delegates

I am pleased to announce to the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention that Delegate Kean, J. P., the other fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, just arrived this afternoon. You will recall that I presented his colleague, Brother Gibson, to you a few days ago. You have become acquainted with him and you have known him and Mrs. Gibson ever since.

I now take advantage of this opportunity to introduce to you Brother William Kean, J. P., General Secretary of the National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades, but he comes to us as one of the fraternal delegates to this convention from the British Trades Union Congress.

At this moment I wish to announce that these fraternal delegates, Brothers Gibson, Kean and Brunet, will submit their addresses to the convention tomorrow forenoon. I ask that all who are delegates and officers in this convention be present tomorrow morning. Visitors are also invited to attend. I repeat what I said the other day, that the sessions of our convention are open to the public.

President Green: We are all proud when a son of labor and a member of organized labor is appointed to honorable position in the state and Federal Government. Brother James Moriarty, who is here with me just now, is a member of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, an organization chartered by the American Federation of Labor during its early years. Brother Moriarty attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor as one of the delegates representing this honored union for

many years. Then he was elected to serve as president of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor. He filled that position with credit and honor to himself. Last December, he was appointed the first Commissioner of Labor and Industry in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He still serves in that honorable position. I am pleased to present him to this convention, Commissioner James Moriarty.

MR. JAMES MORIARTY (Commissioner of Labor and Industry, Massachusetts)

Mr. President and fellow delegates: It is with a deep sense of gratitude that I have the honor to come here as a delegate representing my organization, the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance. I had the honor last December to take office as Commissioner of Labor and Industry in Massachusetts, the first time in that old state that a trade unionist was appointed to that position. I do not owe that appointment to either party, but to the State Federation of Labor of Massachusetts the honor belongs. I did not seek the job; the State Federation of Labor sought the job for a trade unionist. The Secretary, the President and the entire Executive Board sought the office for me.

The opportunity is open for every state to follow in the footsteps of Massachusetts. If the international officers of all the respective organizations would see that their local unions are connected with the state federations of labor and the central bodies in their states, it could be possible to have union labor commissioners in the forty-eight states of this Union. I hope that while I hold this office I will be regarded as as good a trade unionist as I was prior to holding it.

We had a law passed that went into effect providing for the predetermination of wages and classification of all public work. During the time I have been Commissioner, we sent out 1,400 jobs with classifications amounting to \$125,000,000. We have had three protests insofar as the wage scale and classification on those jobs are concerned. Within a year we have had no strikes in Massachusetts insofar as wages are concerned. We are doing that on all public work.

I have the support of all the trade unions. I offer the services of my department in the State of Massachusetts to every international organization, to every federal local, to every building trade within my state, to every central labor union within my state, and to the State Federation of Labor.

There are many things that may be done if we would have the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in out state as well as other states, the cooperation of international and national organizations, if we would have the support of the Government organizations to help us locally as we help them nationally. Our movement and the men and women we represent will appreciate that help. I invite their support to make my department the outstanding labor department in the United States.

I ask your support as international officers. I need the support of every international president, I need the support of every person within the movement, so that the people that I have the honor to represent as Labor Commissioner will be properly represented.

And I owe a tribute, and our movement owes a tribute, to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts who had the courage, for the first time in our history, to appoint a trade unionist. I think I ought, in behalf of the labor movement, to thank Honorable James M. Curley, Governor of Massachusetts, for this appointment. He has been a friend of labor, not only in our state, but in the United States, and we lost a great spoke in the wheel when he was not elected to represent our state in the Senate of the United States.

It is an honor to be a Commissioner, but it is a greater honor to be a delegate representing an international organization in the American Federation of Labor. I hope that no deed of mine while Commissioner of Labor of Massachusetts will bring any shame on my local movement or the national movement of the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you.

President Green: We deeply appreciate the remarks of Commissioner Moriarty. I think I made a mistake when I said he was the first Commissioner of Labor and Industry in Massachusetts. I meant to say that he was the first trade unionist appointed to that position, and we are pleased over that, and happy over it.

I desire to present to you the Legislative Representative of the Seamen's International Union, Brother Paul Scharrenberg. I present him to you for the purpose of making a verbal report of his attendance at the meeting of the Seamen's Conference that was held in Geneva, Switzerland, under the auspices of the International Labor Office. Brother Scharrenberg was appointed by the

Government as a representative of labor to attend this great sea-going conference. He has just returned in time to attend this convention as a delegate from the Seamen's International Union. I am sure that you will be interested in receiving from him first hand information regarding that important conference—Brother Paul Scharrenberg.

MR. PAUL SCHARRENBURG
(Delegate, International Seamen's Union)

Mr. President and delegates—at the first meeting of the International Labor Office held in Washington, in 1920, the conclusion was arrived at promptly that any general conference of labor could not deal with the problems of seamen. So the following year, in 1921, there was a special conference called at Genoa, Italy. That conference sixteen years ago began debating the possibility of limiting the hours of seamen and giving serious consideration to the question of establishing international standards on manning. Sixteen long years have passed and there have been four special maritime meetings. All of them resulted in postponement. Finally, at this meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, during the month of October, we managed to grind out an international treaty covering the subject to which I have referred.

There were present at the Geneva conference delegates from twenty-eight maritime countries. Every important maritime country was represented by ship owners and seamen, except Italy and Germany.

The conference was in session three weeks, and I assure you it was a tug of war, because Great Britain was opposed to most of the treaties proposed. Finally the conference, by more than two thirds majority, submitted to the respective nations six draft conventions or treaties. I will later submit a more detailed report upon these treaties.

The most important was the treaty concerning hours aboard ship and manning. The next was paid vacations of seamen. It provides that after one year's continuous service officers and wireless operators shall be entitled to paid vacations of at least twelve working days per year and other ratings to be paid vacations of at least nine working days per year. It isn't necessary to work on the same ship, but as long as they remain in the same undertaking, vacations will be coming along.

Next is a treaty fixing the ship owners' responsibility for injury or death of a seaman.

Then comes sickness insurance, which provides for the establishment in each

country of a system of sickness insurance for seamen similar to systems already existing in most countries for workmen ashore.

Then comes minimum requirements of professional capacity for all navigating and engineer officers on ships over 200 tons.

Finally there is a treaty raising the minimum age for employment at sea from 14 to 15 years.

The conference gave us an opportunity to become acquainted with the different seamen's unions of the world, including those of Japan and China, not to mention Russia.

The most bitter controversy, naturally, was between the British government and the British seamen's leaders. Mr. Bevin, of the Transport Workers, was present, and although not himself a seaman, he officially represented the British Trade Union Congress, and in a masterful fashion he repeatedly challenged the British government. He said that it may be true the present government of Great Britain can not promise to ratify these treaties, but, he said, "Governments, after all, are like the tides, they come and go," and he expressed the hope in most beautiful and eloquent language that the British people will not permit the British seamen to work for lower standards than the seamen of other countries would work when these treaties have been ratified.

You know, of course, that American seamen, notwithstanding all that has been said and is being said today, enjoy better conditions and higher wages than any other seamen on earth. The intention of the conferences is to raise the conditions and wages of the seamen in the more backward countries.

Following is the detailed report referred to by Delegate Scharrenberg:

THE GENEVA MARITIME CONFERENCE

Following is a synopsis of the special maritime session of the International Labor Office, generally referred to as the "I. L. O.", held in Geneva from October 6 to 24 inclusive.

Twenty-eight countries, possessing 82 per cent of the world's seagoing tonnage, were represented at the Conference. These included every important maritime power except Germany and Italy.

The Geneva Conference, by a two-third majority vote in each instance adopted six so-called "draft conventions", or international treaties, designed to improve working conditions and safety standards in the world's merchant marine.

The six treaties adopted dealt, respectively, with:

(1) Hours of Work aboard ship, and manning;

- (2) Paid Vacations for seamen;
- (3) Responsibility of shipowners for injury or death of a seaman;
- (4) Sickness insurance for seamen;
- (5) Minimum Standards for navigating and engineer officers, and
- (6) Raising the minimum age for employment at sea from 14 to 15 years.

The "Hours of Work and Manning" Treaty, which becomes effective when it has been ratified by five countries, each possessing more than 1,000,000 tons of shipping, provides an 8-hour day and 48-hour week in port for watch-keeping officers and men on all foreign-going merchant ships, regardless of tonnage. At sea, it provides an 8-hour day and 56-hour week for watch-keeping deck personnel on foreign-going ships over 2,000 tons; and for watch-keeping engine-room and stokehold personnel, on foreign-going ships over 700 tons.

For day workers, deck and engine-room, both at sea and in port, it provides a straight 8-hour day and 48-hour week.

Certain exceptions are allowed by the treaty, as, for instance, under unusual circumstances at sea when deck officers' watches have to be doubled. An extra hour daily also is permitted for deck officers as additional time for clerical work. Again, on arrival and sailing days national regulations or collective agreements may permit extra time for deck and engine-room ratings and for deck officers. Any other extra time, unless required for the safety of the ship or for assisting others in distress must be compensated as overtime. The nature, or rate, of compensation is to be determined by national regulations.

For the steward's department, the treaty prescribes an 8-hour day in port on all foreign-going ships, passenger and cargo, subject to certain exceptions which may be allowed by national regulations or collective agreements: with a 10-hour day at sea on cargo ships, and, on passenger ships, 12 hours rest in every 24 (including 8 consecutive hours).

On the manning side, the treaty provides for three mates in ships over 2,000 tons gross; and three engineer officers in ships over 700 tons gross or 800 indicated horse-power. It also lays down a minimum manning scale for the deck crew in ships over 700 tons, according to two tonnage groups—700 to 2,000 tons, and over 2,000 tons.

Another feature of the manning provisions is a specific requirement as to the number of skilled hands to be included in the minimum complement; that is, able seamen, who must be at least 18 years old and must have at

least three years' previous sea service, or a government certificate attesting that their efficiency is equal to the standard of the average man with three years' service.

Each country is left free to regulate its own coastal or intercoastal shipping.

The principal opposition to the Hours and Manning treaty came from the shipowners group and from the British and Japanese Government delegates. Nearly all other governments, including the United States and France, cast their votes in favor of it. The final vote was 62 for adoption and 17 against.

Before the vote was taken, Thomas G. Jenkins, British Government delegate, told the treaty Conference that he had been instructed to vote against the treaty and to say that the British Government could hold out no hope of its early ratification.

However, Ernest Bevin, advisor to the British Seamen's delegate and spokesman for the British Workers, promised that the British Labor Movement would endeavor, with all the means at its command, to put the conditions of the agreement into operation.

"It may be that the British Government will refuse legal enactment he declared, "but we will not allow British seamen to be used to the detriment of any other nation that ratifies the treaty; we will not allow them to take economic advantage of any of you who take the step of ratifying this treaty. I think it is only proper that I should say that quite frankly, because I admit that with the statement of the British Government in front of you, you may be reluctant to take the step of voting for this treaty. In industrial affairs in our country, however, even the Government has not the last word."

The "Paid Vacation" treaty, which was adopted by a vote of 60 to 15, provides that after one year's continuous service, officers and wireless operators shall be entitled to paid vacations of at least 12 working days per year, and other ratings to paid vacations of at least 9 working days per year.

Captain Fitzgerald, advisor to the United States Government delegates, sponsored an amendment which would reduce "Paid Vacations" to six days a year for ratings other than officers. The Seamen's delegates from the United States, Canada and Australia vigorously opposed the Fitzgerald amendment which was finally defeated by a record vote of 19 to 43, both United States Government delegates and the United States Shipowners delegates

voting for the objectionable amendment.

The treaty specifying the **Responsibility of Shipowners** in case of injury or death of a member of the crew, was adopted by a vote of 70 to 14.

The "**Sickness Insurance**" treaty, which provides for the establishment in each country of a system of sickness insurance for seamen similar to systems already existing in most countries for workers ashore was adopted by a vote of 60 to 5.

The "**Officers Certification**" treaty lays down minimum requirements of professional capacity for all navigating and engineer officers on ships over 200 tons. It was adopted by a vote of 80 to 9.

The treaty "**Raising the Minimum Age for Employment**" at sea from 14 to 15 years was adopted by a vote of 81 to 0.

Along with the treaties, the Conference adopted two recommendations. One, supplementing the "Hours of Work" treaty asked the various governments to investigate conditions in all ships excluded from the terms of that treaty, and to take necessary measures to prevent overwork and under manning. This recommendation was adopted by a vote of 61 to 15.

The other recommendation, suggesting a series of measures designed to promote the welfare of seamen in ports, was adopted by a vote of 88 to 0.

The Conference also adopted Resolutions urging the Governing Body of the I. L. O. to:

Consider the desirability of placing on the agenda of the next session of the Maritime Conference: (1) Provision of **accident insurance for seamen**; (2) Provision of benefits or allowances for seamen **involuntarily unemployed** (sponsored by Choei Horiuchi, Japanese Seamen's delegate);

Use its best endeavors to facilitate the calling an Economic Conference, or conferences (sponsored by Choei Horiuchi, Japanese Seamen's Delegate);

Consider the desirability of placing on the agenda of the next Maritime Conference the question of equality of treatment for national and foreign seamen (sponsored by Chao Pan-Fu Chinese Seamen's Delegate);

Consider the desirability of investigating the "Contractor System" of employment and reporting to the Con-

ference on this matter at the earliest possible date (sponsored by Chao Pan-Fu, Chinese Seamen's Delegate);

Consider the desirability of directing the International Labor Office to continue and to extend its work in connection with the **periodic collection and compilation of information on the wages of seamen** (sponsored by the United States Delegation);

Consider the advisability of: (1) Undertaking a study of the conditions of construction of life-saving appliances on cargo vessels and of the crews' accommodations on board; (2) Examining whether international regulations can be introduced and reciprocal agreements concluded among the different countries; (3) Inviting the Joint Maritime Commission to deal with these questions at its forthcoming session.

The United States delegation at the Conference comprised: Robert W. Bruere of the U. S. Labor Department, and Charles W. Sanders of the United States Department of Commerce, for the Government; R. C. Lee, vice president of Moore & McCormack, for the Shipowners; and Paul Scharrenberg, Legislative Representative, of the International Seamen's Union for the Seamen. They were assisted by a staff of eight technical advisors including Bertram Warn and John McGinn of the International Seamen's Union of America.

Two members of the United States delegation, Messrs. Lee and Scharrenberg, were chosen members of the Joint Maritime Commission, consisting of 18 Members (nine shipowners and nine seamen's representatives). The Joint Maritime Commission functions as a standing committee to advise the I. L. O. on maritime labor questions.

President Green: We have here a telegram from the Tri-City Central

Labor Union of Sheffield, Alabama, drafted at a regular meeting, inviting the entire delegation and friends to visit Muscle Shoals, the heart of the TVA, on the return trip from the convention.

This cordial invitation is extended to all the officers and delegates in attendance to visit Muscle Shoals when returning home from this convention. I hope as many of you as may find it convenient and possible will take advantage of this invitation and visit the great project at Muscle Shoals.

President Green called for reports of committees. No committee was ready to report, but several committees announced meetings.

Delegate Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, read the following announcement:

"The picture 'Here Comes the Mail,' a work picture of the postal service, will be shown at 8:00 o'clock tonight in the Hotel Floridan Ball Room. All are cordially invited. Congressman James M. Mead will preside."

President Green: Please take notice of this announcement. It is very important.

It seems that we have concluded our business for the afternoon. The Chair will entertain a motion to adjourn.

Delegate Lindelof, Painters: I move that the rules be suspended and that we adjourn until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 4:45 the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m. Friday, November 20.

Fifth Day—Friday Morning Session

Tampa, Florida,
November 20, 1936.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Alford, Bender, Breidenbach, Cahir, Cairns, Clinedinst, Dodd, Drake, Draper, Duldner, Fenton, Fine, Gale, Gatelee, Gerhardt, German, Glasgow, Graham, Harrison (J. W.), Hansen, Heaton, Hudson, Jenkins, Johnson (E. A.), Jones (John), Keegan, Kindred, Kirby, Klarish, Knopka, Kocher, Lisse, Merritt, Meyers (Irving), Minton, Mundell, McDonald (S. S.), Nischwitz, O'Neill, O'Reilly, Owens, Patterson, Patton (Fred), Powers (George), Preston, Prior, Reed, Reynolds, Rosqvist, Saltus, Schreier, Shave, Stackweather, Stoffels, Thomas, Tracy (Wm.), Turnblazer, Will, Williams (Clemmon S.), Williamson, Wood (Vic), Woolf, Yablensky.

President Green: I present to you this morning Dr. Redhead, of the First Presbyterian Church, for the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rev. John A. Redhead, Jr.,
Pastor, First Presbyterian Church)

Eternal God, our Heavenly Father, Thou mighty Worker of the universe, we bless Thee for the privilege of work; for the joy which comes from a sense of work well done; for the improved conditions of those who work; for those persons who have made these improvements possible. We invoke Thy blessing upon this convention. Guard Thou the health of these delegates and their families. Guide the deliberations of this convention and prosper it in all worthy enterprises, to the end that Thy kingdom may come and Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, Amen.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Davis, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommends that the following be seated:

Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor, Cedric Parker, 1 vote.

In accordance with information received in communication from Secretary-Treasurer Dennis Lane of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America,

we recommend the seating of John J. Walsh, as an alternate delegate in the absence of Delegate Patrick E. Gorman, who was previously reported.

Delegate Maloney, President, Glass Bottle Blowers, requested that W. W. Campbell be seated as a delegate to represent the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, instead of William S. Dixon.

The committee recommended seating Delegate Campbell.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Mr. Edwin Smith, National Labor Relations Board, will arrive in the city this afternoon for the purpose of addressing the convention. I desire to appoint as a committee to meet Mr. Smith and escort him to the hall, Vice President John Coefield, Brother Robert Watt, Secretary of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, and Brother Joseph Moreschl, President of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers.

I ask that the committee arrange to meet Mr. Smith of the National Labor Relations Board at the earliest possible moment after his arrival, and escort him to the convention at his convenience.

Mr. Altmeyer, of the Social Security Board, has arrived in the city. I remind the committee I appointed yesterday to meet and escort him to the hall, that he is here. He is here at one of the hotels and I hope they will get in touch with him and escort him to the hall.

The Committee on Executive Council's Report will submit its report at the afternoon session.

Secretary Morrison: I have been asked to announce that the automobiles will leave the Auditorium at 12:30 Saturday, for Lakeland, and you are requested to leave with the Sergeant-at-Arms the names of those that are going.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Sacramento, Calif.
Nov. 20, 1936.

Frank Morrison, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Tampa, Florida.

Thanks for telegram regarding opening and dedication San Francisco Oakland Bay Bridge. Those connected with its building are most happy that construction was carried to completion in so harmonious manner with Union men and all who had a part in the realization of this great enterprise. Through this experience we will look back upon this accomplishment with satisfaction and pride and as a fine example of co-operation. Accept appreciation for your gracious message and good wishes for a successful meeting of your organization.

FRANK F. MERRIAM,
Governor of California.

Nov. 16, 1936.

A. F. of L. Convention,
Tampa, Florida.

Accept our thanks for convention call. Regret inability to send delegate. Trust all clouds will be turned inside out and show only their silver linings in the years to follow.

Cheyenne Central Labor Union,
M. H. HAMMOND, Secy.

President Green: I desire to submit for inclusion in today's proceedings the report of Fraternal Delegate Gillooly to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

**Report of Fraternal Delegate to the
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress
Which Convened at Montreal,
Quebec, September 7, 1936**

To the Officers and Delegates Attending the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Toledo, Ohio,
November 9, 1936.

Greetings:

I herewith submit my report as Fraternal Delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the Fifty-second Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress held at the Mount Royal Hotel, Montreal, Quebec.

The Convention was called to order at ten o'clock Tuesday morning, September 7, by George R. Brunet, chairman of the local reception committee and addresses of welcome were delivered by R. Trepener, President of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council on behalf of the organized workers; Alderman Leo McKenna, acting Mayor

of the City of Montreal, extended welcome on behalf of the citizens; he was followed by the Honorable Norman Rogers, Minister of Labor, E. L. C. St. Pierre, M. P. for Hochelage; and Chas. Rodier, legal advisor to the Montreal Trades and Labor Council. President P. M. Draper in response to the addresses of welcome, commended the delegates for the able assistance they and their fellow trade unionists had rendered the officers of the Congress the past year, and asked for their continued co-operation. He related the progress made in organizing the workers in Canada and the legislation enacted beneficial to labor.

The credential committee reported that some 382 delegates were in attendance and President P. M. Draper announced that it was one of the most representative conventions that has assembled in recent years, every province being represented and almost all of the national and international unions affiliated.

Some 205 resolutions were submitted, dealing with a host of questions.

While the convention reiterated its stand on a great many questions the following decisions were outstanding:

The convention pledged the wholehearted support of Canadian labor to the government of Spain in its struggle against fascism and will act as the spearhead in Canada in enlisting the support of the Canadian people for the labor government in that country in its struggle to maintain democracy.

Canadian labor again declared for the six-hour-day and five-day-week with no reduction in wages.

It declared against amalgamation or unified management of Canadian railways for a continuance of the Canadian National Railways as a separate railway system under public ownership. It also declared for labor representation on the new board of directors of the Canadian National Railways.

It took a strong stand on banking and currency and resolutions were approved by requesting the Canadian government to take over all the shares of the Bank of Canada so it will be publicly owned and operated and have a free hand in increasing currency. It further declared that public undertakings be financed by non-interest bearing certificates. It also declared for legislation that would prohibit payment of dividends on watered stock and allow for the payment of dividends only on the actual capital employed in industry and commerce. Legislation, extending the provisions of the Farmers' Creditors' Arrangement Act to include city dwellers, was also favored.

In view of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada in declaring the "reform laws" unconstitutional the

convention instructed the executive council to again press for amendments to the British North America Act so that parliament will be supreme and that the legislative jurisdiction of the federal and provincial governments will be clearly and definitely defined.

While the convention voiced its approval to the government's action in closing the federal relief camps it took strong objection to the policy of subsidizing the railways for the work these single unemployed are now performing and hold that the men are performing work which ordinarily would have been done by men at higher rates of wages. In this connection the convention gave unanimous approval to the following resolution:

"This Congress, while agreeing with the abolition of relief camps, emphatically protests against the principle of government subsidy to private interests as carried out in this scheme and against the use of camp workers in a form of forced labor to do work now covered by schedule rates of pay, said work being done by camp workers at a much smaller rate of remuneration."

On the question of housing the convention declared for amendments to existing laws so that municipalities might be encouraged in schemes and developments and that such schemes be financed through the Bank of Canada and that trade union rates of wages prevail on these undertakings.

The convention reiterated its stand on the question of employment and social insurance and requests that the law be amended to give the commission power to pay unemployment, health and old age insurance. It also declared for contributory form of insurance.

In view of the fact that many workers are denied the right to organize and strike the convention instructed the executive council to press for legislation that will guarantee to workers the right to join any union of their own choice, without intimidation from employers, and also the right to strike and picket peacefully.

Injunctions in industrial disputes are increasing in Canada and the convention went on record favorable to the enactment of legislation that will prohibit their use in the future.

Amendments to the Industrial Disputes Act will be sought to include public service workers—hospital employees and the like—under its provisions.

Protest was voiced in the resolution unanimously adopted against the action of the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario in the formation of a company union.

Although some 13 resolutions were submitted on the question of industrial as against craft unions no action was

taken on the question. The committee on resolutions brought in a recommendation, which reads:

"Your committee having carefully considered resolutions Nos. 69, 71 to 79 inclusive, also Nos. 82, 83, and 86, dealing with same subject matter, namely industrial union resolutions, are, after the most careful consideration of the opinion that the entire matter which is proposed in these resolutions, is ultra vires of the jurisdiction of the Congress. Inasmuch as such lines of demarcation is determined by our respective international organizations in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor and this Congress. Therefore, it is resolved, that we reiterate our position as the legislative body of Canadian international unions and refrain from action which might be considered as being injurious to the best interest of the labor movement on the North American continent."

President P. M. Draper then read the following ruling, which was not challenged and no debate took place:

"Restrictions on the membership of the Congress are as set forth in Articles II and III of the constitution. Broadly speaking, any union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor may join under Section 2 of Article III, while Section 5 of the same Article permits any union to join on a 2/3 vote of a convention, providing the union is not dual to any properly affiliated organization. By-laws provide for the forming of federal unions. It is to be noted that the constitution does not provide that any affiliated union must be a craft union, nor does it specify that members shall be industrial unions, and the Congress at all times has had as affiliates unions of either type. From this it must follow that the intention of the Constitution never was to fix the type of internal organization of the member-unions, but to leave that matter to themselves, and to include both types in the Congress. Any change in this regard could only be effected, legally, by changing the Constitution, and hence, until the Constitution is so changed, any simple declaration of the Congress convention, aimed at the same purpose is out of order."

The convention declared itself opposed to war when it approved the following sections of the report of the executive council:

"The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada favors at all times a pacified attitude on the general subject of international peace in world affairs, supported by any steps which may lead to a better understanding among nations. Seeing that our attitude is one of desiring to avoid armed conflicts, we submit that there should be no declaration of war by Canada until after a

referendum vote of the people may have been cast.

"Past activity of Canada towards world peace through sharing in efforts in regard to disarmament, the League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Organization has met with our ready and complete support, and future efforts along the same line will have our unqualified backing.

"Peace is constantly threatened by allowing the manufacturers of armaments to remain in the hands of private firms whose sole object is profit. Their urge is always toward an increase in armaments and to prevent this every effort should be made to secure the nationalization of the manufacture, import or export of war material and arms by all countries, supervised and controlled by the League of Nations, and we respectfully ask that the Canadian government, through its membership in the League of Nations, give its support to these proposals.

"Your executive council desires to affirm its steadfast faith in democracy as a system of government. In so doing we desire also to deplore the tendency towards dictatorships. In some European countries the labor movement has all but disappeared before the new dictatorships and civil liberty has almost been suppressed, but immunity from the depression has not been secured in return. We believe it to be the ardent wish of Labor that mankind may be saved from the horrors of another war and that international peace and friendship may be brought about. May these European countries which are now submerged by dictatorial tyranny masquerading under the name of Fascism and Nazism—again see the light of day and their lands become homes of human rights and freedom.

"Finally, we believe that the only salvation for the social security of all the people rests in the closest possible organization of all who labor. We must come closer together in order to understand one another and our many complex and involved problems. We must pay the price of sacrifice and struggle that justice may prevail."

The Congress reiterated its stand on political action and declared that as the Congress is the legislative mouthpiece of organized labor in Canada, it should remain independent of any and all political parties and leave political action to the regularly constituted labor political party.

The report of Secretary-Treasurer Robert J. Tallon showed an increase in the membership during the past year of more than 6,000. The per capita tax paying members now stands at 112,972, just a few short of that of the boom year of 1929.

Thursday morning, September 9, at 10 o'clock the delegates attending the convention heard addresses from Harold Clay, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress; M. J. Gillooly, fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor; W. Shevenels, secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions with headquarters in Amsterdam, Holland.

An effort was made to have a full-time secretary-treasurer and for the Congress to appoint organizers who would be utilized in an effort to unionize the unorganized. These resolutions were voted down on the ground that the Congress did not have the necessary finances and upon the further ground that it should not interfere with the jurisdiction of regularly affiliated unions.

P. M. Draper was unanimously re-elected president as was Robert J. Tallon to the office of secretary-treasurer. James Simpson of Toronto, Percy R. Bengough of Vancouver and D. W. Morrison of Glace Bay were re-elected vice-presidents. Carl Berg of Edmonton was elected fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor. Ottawa — the national capital — was chosen as the convention city for 1937.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express my thanks and deep appreciation to the delegates who comprised the Atlantic City, New Jersey, 1935 convention for the honor they conferred upon me in electing me unanimously as the Fraternal Delegate to represent the American Federation of Labor at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and to convey to that body the Fraternal Greetings and sincere good wishes of the organized workers of the United States. I wish to thank the officers and delegates of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada for the courtesy extended and for the co-operative spirit manifested during my visit to Montreal, Quebec.

Fraternally submitted.

M. J. GILLOOLY,
Delegate, Canadian Trades
and Labor Congress.

President Green: I know that you are going to be most especially, and I feel tremendously, interested in the address which will be delivered by the distinguished visitor who came all the way from Washington to meet and greet you and to address you this morning. There is no subject in which labor is more interested than the subject of social security, and, inasmuch as our great nation is just beginning to adopt and apply social security measures, we, of

course, are going to give the subject primary and special consideration.

Chairman Altmeyer, who comes to us, is an expert in social security legislation. For years he served in Wisconsin in the administration of social justice measures. He comes to his new position in Washington with a background of experience and brings to the support of the Government rare ability and rare qualifications. It is with a feeling of very great pleasure that I present to you this morning Chairman Altmeyer of the Social Security Board, who will now address you.

MIL. A. J. ALTMAYER

(Acting Chairman of the Social Security Board)

Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention—the President of your Federation did me the honor of calling me Chairman of the Social Security Board. John G. Winant, former Governor of New Hampshire, who, as you know, resigned to defend the Social Security Board from attack, has agreed. I am glad to say, to return to his position as Chairman of the Social Security Board. He asked me to express to you his regret that he could not be with you here, and he hoped to confer with your officers at an early date in Washington.

Labor's defense of the Social Security Act during the last few weeks, in my opinion, was largely responsible for the fact that the attack on the Act, turned out to be a complete failure. From every corner of this country we received word of the loyal support of labor. I am confident if it had not been for that the attack on the Social Security Act would have confused many persons. I want to express to you now the appreciation of the Social Security Board for the fine defense that labor made of the Social Security Act.

Labor's interest in social security is by no means new. Thirty years ago labor was responsible for introducing into Congress a measure to provide aid for the aged. Twenty years ago labor was responsible for introducing the first state unemployment compensation bill in Massachusetts. And so it has gone. In my own home state of Wisconsin, labor has been responsible for most, in fact, I shall say all, of the legislation to protect workers, to protect the aged, and to protect childhood. Jack Hanley, Henry Olds, Jack Padway, and others, were in the front in all the activity in that direction, and all were battling for progressive legislation. And I am sure that in every state in this Union labor has taken a similar stand.

Social security legislation in this

country was long over due. More than fifty years ago it started in Germany, and twenty-five years ago it started in Great Britain. Now this last year, we find the beginning of a long range social security program in this country. Probably the vast natural resources of this country and the prosperity enjoyed by the upper half of the economic strata is responsible for the masking of the widespread destitution that prevailed in this country long before this last depression. We had wide-spread destitution among children, we had much unemployment, and we have had much dependency in old age. It took the depression to awaken this country to a realization of the task before it, and of the need for social security. Even then, in the earlier days of the depression, we spoke only of taking emergency action. But we found that emergency measures were not enough, and it was then the Social Security Act was proposed.

I am glad to say that labor again took the leading part in supporting this long range program of social security. President Green and three other labor men were on the committee that assisted in framing the Social Security Act.

You have heard it said on occasions that the Social Security Act was hastily conceived, that it was a botched job, and a hodge-podge of conflicting principles. No single Act was ever given as careful consideration as this Act received. In 1934, there was introduced the Wagner-Lewis Unemployment Compensation Bill. Congress prepared to adjourn before that bill was ready for reporting to the House. The President sent a message to Congress stating that he intended to submit to the next Congress a comprehensive program of social security measures. All the material in this country and in the world which bore upon this problem was collected. The results of this labor were distilled into a report to the President.

And again I want to remind you that the Social Security Bill received almost universal support in Congress. After six months of intensive consideration by the committees of Congress, it came on the floors of the two Houses, was debated and passed by an overwhelming majority, a majority of Republican members as well as Democratic members. I hope that this non-partisan support of the Security Act will be continued in the future.

The Act has ten separate and distinct benefits. Of these ten separate and distinct benefits, nine are administered by the state and only one is administered by the Federal Government. However, the significant thing is that for the first time the Federal Government has recognized its responsibility for financing these benefits. So under the nine categories administered by the state, you

will find liberal Federal aid in each one. You will find aid for the support of the needy aged. Every state in the Union that passes an improved old age pension law receives aid to the extent of 50 per cent of its support to the aged up to a maximum of \$30.00 a month. Every state that passes a dependent children's act, or what is better known as the Mothers' Pension Act, receives one third of the amount expended, and every state that passes a blind pension law receives 50 per cent contribution from the Federal Government. And so it goes down the line, aid for the neglected, aid for the needy aged, aid for dependent children, aid for maternal and child health—all these activities now receive liberal Federal aid.

The two categories, of course, that are most interesting to labor are the unemployment compensation and the Federal old age benefit. In the case of unemployment compensation, as you know, the Federal Government has made it possible for every state to pass an unemployment compensation Act without fear of placing its employers at a competitive disadvantage with employers in other states. It has done this by placing a universal payroll tax, paid by employers, and that tax is payable, regardless of whether the employer operates in a state that has an unemployment compensation Act, or whether he operates in a state that has no such Act. The only difference is that if he operates in a state that has an unemployment Act, he is entitled to a credit off-set up to 90 per cent of his tax.

Every state in the Union is cooperating in one or more ways, and there are eight or nine states that are cooperating in three or more ways. We now have covered under compensation laws 45 per cent of the payrolls of this country. I am hoping that before the year is ended, 55 or 60 per cent will be covered by unemployment compensation Acts. With the passage of laws now pending in industrial states, such as Connecticut and Pennsylvania and Ohio, I am hoping this will be done.

Turning to the two categories of most interest to labor, I should like to express, as I see it, the fundamental principle underlying unemployment compensation and Federal old age benefits. It seems to me the first fundamental principle is this: That we are now recognizing that unemployment and economic old age is a part of the true cost of production, just as we recognized twenty-five years ago that industrial accidents are a true part of the cost of production.

The second principle is that because of the fact that these hazards arise out of the payrolls, the taxes to protect these hazards shall be raised by a levy upon the payrolls.

The third principle is because labor's loss is based on its past earnings, so its benefits shall be based on its past earnings.

May I say a few words about the provisions of the Federal old age benefit plan? Because of the widespread discussion, misstatements and misunderstandings that occurred a few weeks ago, I think it is important that labor should have clearly in mind the provisions of the Federal old age benefit plan, so that it can more unitedly support those provisions.

First, as to the much discussed payroll taxes. Beginning on January 1, the employer will pay one cent on every dollar of payroll up to earnings of \$3,000 in the individual case. The worker will likewise contribute one cent of every dollar of earnings up to \$3,000 per annum. That rate will continue for three years. Thereafter every three years it will be increased by one half a cent each month, and finally, in 1949, twelve years from now, there will be a contribution of 3 cents each on every dollar by employers and employees for old age security.

These contributions are not a new thing to labor. Labor has always supported the Federal retirement system, has always supported policemen and teachers and firemen retirement systems. Labor insists, however, that employers shall contribute, and that the Government shall supervise and direct the collection and distribution of the benefits.

Now, may I say a word as to the benefits derived from this section of the Act. May I emphasize that the Act does treat the older workers and the lower paid workers more generously than the higher paid workers, but in no case does the worker, no matter how young and no matter how paid, get back less than he has paid in, with interest, and in no case does the worker receive less than he could have purchased by investing the same amount of money with a private insurance company. However, the older workers and the lower paid workers now receive more generous benefits.

The size of the benefits will depend entirely upon how much the worker earned between January 1, 1937, and his sixty-fifth birthday. A man or woman who gets good pay and has a steady job most of his or her life can get as much as \$85 a month for life after age 65. The smallest monthly benefit any worker can get who comes under these provisions is \$10. Let me give you some concrete examples of the benefits which will be received by those of you who work for wages or salaries in the employments covered.

Take the case of a worker 35 years of age who is making \$25 a week.

When he is 65 years old, and retired, he will receive a check for \$45 a month from the Federal Government for the rest of his life. If he should die at age 65, his family will receive \$1,365. Now, let us take the case of an older person who is 60 years of age and who earns \$25 a week. When he retires in five years' time, he will receive approximately \$18 a month for the rest of his life.

And now, let us compare the total amount of contributions paid with the total benefits received. For the man of 35 who is making \$25 a week, his contributions over thirty years' time amount to \$975. If this man lives out his normal life expectancy of twelve years after reaching the age of benefit, of 65, his benefits will amount to \$6,480, or more than six and one-half times what he pays in. In the case of a woman, the normal life expectancy is 15 years, and she would receive \$8,100, or more than eight times what she paid in.

For a man of 60 who pays in for five years before he retires, his total tax is \$78. In return he gets \$2,580 if he lives out his normal life expectancy, or more than thirty-three times the amount he has paid in.

In the case of a woman, she will receive \$3,225, or more than forty times the amount she paid in. Nowhere else can the worker get as much protection for the same amount of money that he pays in. This is true not only because he receives the benefit of his employer's contribution, but also because it would cost a private insurance company a great deal more to collect the premiums directly from the worker in such small amounts weekly or monthly.

While the monthly retirement payments will not go into effect until 1942, there will be lump sum payments due next year. They will be due to workers who become 65 years old before the monthly benefits begin, or to the families of workers who die before their monthly payments are due.

These lump sums will amount to 3½ per cent of the worker's earnings during the time he was covered—i. e., from Jan. 1, 1937, to age 65, or to date of death.

May I now discuss briefly with you the arrangements now under way for putting into effect this gigantic system of old age insurance, which goes into effect January 1. As you undoubtedly know, from the newspapers, last Tuesday all the employers throughout the country received a blank to fill out giving certain information. Among other items, the number of their employees. These blanks must be returned not later

than tomorrow. Next Tuesday, there will be distributed to all the work places throughout this country application blanks for the workers to use in applying for the benefits. Not later than December 5, two weeks from tomorrow, those applications are to be returned, and on the basis of those applications, each worker will receive a Social Security account card. In order that workers, as well as their employers, may be absolutely certain that the proper account is credited, each account will be given a number which is comparable to an insurance policy number.

To repeat then: Beginning on November 24, the 45,000 post offices throughout the country will begin to distribute to employees, through their employers, forms known as Application for Social Security Account Number. These employee application forms will be distributed to all work places and will also be available after November 24 at all post offices. The employee's application is a simple form asking a few simple questions, such as name and address of the worker, name and address of the employer, date and place of birth, and father's and mother's names. When the worker has provided this information on the application, he may return it, without paying any postage, in any of the following five ways:

By handing it back to the employer; by handing it to any labor organization of which the worker is a member; by handing it to a letter carrier; by delivering it personally to any local post office; or by mailing it, without postage, in a sealed envelope simply addressed to the local postmaster.

On the basis of the information furnished in the employee's application card, he is assigned a number and he will receive a little card similar to the card he receives from an insurance company indicating his account number. He is also requested to affix his signature.

This application card, let me say again, does not ask for any intimate details as was charged. It does not ask for the worker's church affiliation, his union affiliation, his marital relations, his physical defects, etc. Only a minimum amount of information is asked for, none of it of an intimate character.

May I also say this: When that application card is returned, the information will remain confidential with the Federal Government, and will not be divulged under any circumstances. If a worker desires to have his account number changed, he can do so by making application to the Social Security Board. Every effort

has been made to safeguard the interests of labor in this gigantic undertaking.

But again let me say, it is absolutely essential that these applications be returned by December 5, and that account numbers be assigned immediately thereafter, so that the Government can keep an accurate account from Jan. 1 of the worker's wages, upon the total amount of which his benefits depend.

When a worker makes his application, he takes the first step towards old age security. And may I suggest that he is doing so in a truly American way. Unemployment compensation and old age insurance are not alien or strange things to the American scene. The institution of insurance has been with us a long time, and it has magic in it, because every single dollar contributed goes to the protection of every contributor. An individual's savings would be absolutely insufficient under ordinary circumstances to protect him from the hazards of old age, but when millions of employers and millions of workers contribute to the fund, every dollar contributed is protecting every single worker in that fund. May I suggest that this approach is not a new approach and it is not a new problem with which we are confronted. It is the old problem of economic security and economic freedom, but it is in a different guise, due to changing conditions. New methods of production require that new methods shall be developed to protect the workers against these new hazards. I submit to you that the worker has a certain property right in his job, and he has a right to protection when he is dispossessed of this property right which means so much to himself and to his family.

Later on it may be possible to show to you some movies indicating the benefits under the Social Security Act, and showing how people must apply for these benefits.

President Green: I am sure I express your feelings and your sentiments when I say that we very deeply appreciate this very instructive address delivered by Acting Chairman Altmeyer this morning. It will become a part of the permanent proceedings of this convention. You will be able to study it and read and transmit it to those you represent in reply to inquiries which they will no doubt submit as to what they will be required to do in order to qualify for old age benefits.

I thank you, Mr. Altmeyer, for your

address and for your visit this morning.

We set aside this morning for the delivery of the addresses from our most welcome friends from across the sea and from the Dominion of Canada. They are here prepared to deliver their addresses this morning. I know you are waiting with interest and with a feeling of anticipation to hear these addresses. These brothers came a long way for the purpose of submitting to this convention interesting messages, for the purpose of conveying to the officers and delegates in this convention representing the hosts of labor of our nation the fraternal greetings of our brothers and sisters in Great Britain. They will tell us something about their own problems, about their accomplishments, their hopes, and their achievements.

This is a beautiful custom we have always maintained. The British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress each year commission distinguished representatives of labor to journey here to our country as fraternal delegates for the purpose of bringing their messages of greeting and good will and information. We in turn send our representatives to Great Britain and to Canada for the same purpose. In that way we have maintained a fraternal relationship, beautiful in its simplicity, but immeasurable in its results. It has developed a feeling of sympathy and good will among the working people of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States of America.

And now I am going to present to you Brother William Kean, J. P. As I stated yesterday, in his own country he serves as General Secretary of the National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades, but he comes to us as the representative of the workers of Great Britain in the British Trades Union Congress. I extend to him a hearty welcome to this convention, and it affords me extreme pleasure to present him to you now—Brother William Kean, from Great Britain.

MR. WILLIAM KEAN, J. P.
(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President—and may I call you fellow delegates: It was a great privilege to meet your President, as I was privileged in past years in my own country to meet Sam Gompers. If I have any standing, Mr. President, in the trade union movement, it is not a very high one because I can scarcely reach this microphone. But at any rate, it is a long one, and it has been my privilege and pleasure to act in a fraternal capacity in welcoming the delegates that you have sent across the water to tell us in England how you carry on your work in this great country. I think it very wise to tell us how you do it, because I should never be audacious enough myself to tell you how to do it. I am quite content to tell you how we do it, and I hope it will be mutually helpful to both sides of the Atlantic.

It is a matter of great pride and pleasure to me as belonging to one of the smallest but most highly specialized of the craft unions in the trade union movement, to bring you the fraternal greetings and sincere good wishes of the British Trades Union Congress. My Union in the classification we adopt for purposes of organizing the trades and industries at home is grouped with the Iron, Steel, and minor Metal Trades.

The metals with which the members of my organization are concerned can scarcely be described as minor metals. Many that I represent are workers in gold and silver. We are not a numerous body, but I think I can say that we are a very high standard of craftsmanship, and I have always regarded it as a significant illustration of the spirit which moved British trade unionism, that delegates of our Congress and my colleagues of the General Council have elected me to membership of that body, notwithstanding the smallness of my Union and despite the fact that there are from time to time nominations made by bigger Unions than mine for representation on the Executive Body in the group of trades which I belong. I speak to you quite naturally as a hardened craft unionist.

Organization in the gold and silver trades has necessarily been based upon craft. For many years the crafts in my industry were highly numerous and differentiated indeed. That is true of the metal industry as a whole. No section of the trade union movement in my country is of a greater variety of specialized and localized crafts.

In what is described as the Midlands of England a very large number of small craft Unions still flourish. There are a score of separate organizations in the iron, steel and minor metal trades to

which I have previously referred, including such Unions as bedstead workers with a few hundred workers, the cutlery Union with even fewer members, the Society of Edge Tool makers smaller still, the Society of Spring Trap Makers, and also Wool Sheep Shear Makers whose members are counted not by the hundred but by the score.

Among the workers in precious metal there were when I became a Union official separate organizations for almost every process needed to complete a single article, and one of my earliest tasks as an official in trade union activity was to promote a consolidation of some of these tiny trade societies. The National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades of which I have the honor to be General Secretary is the outcome of that amalgamation.

I may perhaps be forgiven for speaking thus of the craft organization to which I belong, because of the pride I feel in being sent to this great convention by the vote not only of craft unions of small numerical importance, but of the great mass of organizations with hundreds of thousands of members represented in our congress.

Size is not the only asset which commands the respect of trade unionists. I like to think it is not only my union that is small, I have myself no such pretensions to the occupation of a large place on this platform, as my colleague and co-delegate Mr. George Gibson, but little men have made history, and so have little unions. Organization began in my country among small bodies of craftsmen, and on the smallest and most localized scale. I need make no further application of this point.

Although I may be built upon a somewhat smaller scale than last year's delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, I am pleased to say I have the privilege of being the representative of a bigger body of organized workers, because the membership of our British Trades Unions continue to grow. At our Congress in Plymouth last September an increase of nearly a quarter of a million new members was reported by the affiliated trade unions.

Let me here say a word about this growth in membership. It is a significant development for many years. In fact, since 1920 with slight exceptions there has been a downward movement in the numbers of organized workers. There were many reasons for the decline. The decline seemed to be really catastrophic. In 1920 there were in the British Trades Unions no less than 8,347,000 paying members; in the Unions affiliated to our Congress there were over 6 and a half millions.

That was the highest point reached in the great expansive phase of trade unionism during the years of war, in

the next dozen years our numbers fell almost every year by hundreds of thousands. With the exception of two years (1924 and 1929) which happened to be the years in which a Labor Government held office and trade Union membership improved, the post-war tendency was for the number of trade unionists to decline. Happily the position in the last three years has changed for the better. Membership has been rising as fast as it fell in the previous decade. There are approximately half a million more members in the Unions affiliated to Congress than there were three years ago. This means that the Unions are recovering ground at the rate of over 100,000 per year. If that pace goes on, before the end of the present decade we shall have built up the British trade union movement, in a numerical sense, to the level it reached in the peak year of 1920.

Delegates will perhaps understand my reason for dwelling upon these facts. One reason is that our experience of Union expansion is that it coincides with economic revival. When industrial and commercial conditions are on the down grade, employment is on the down-grade, employment is restricted and wages fall. The Unions in consequence are compelled to pursue a prudent line. Wisdom dictates that they shall husband their resources, and adopt a policy of strict self-defense.

Unemployment, however, causes many members of Unions to lose their status. In search of work they leave the districts where they have lived, and where their trade union connections have been formed. If they are fortunate enough to find work in a strange district it is often difficult for them to find a connection with their former union, and in strange surroundings it may be some time before they encounter once more vigorous trade union spirit amongst their fellow workmen.

There is not the smallest doubt that industrial recovery in Britain during the last three years has re-awakened the trade union spirit. Those responsible have been keen to take advantage of the upward movement in trade to obtain increases. They have been very successful in many directions. It would not perhaps be true to say that all the wage cuts made during the crisis of 1931-33 have been restored, but very substantial progress has been made towards raising the general wage level, and in some instances Unions have obtained new agreements substantially better than those negotiated under conditions of industrial depression.

Throughout the period of economic slump, it is true to say that the workers generally have recognized that trade unionism provides the only protection of their standards.

What we are witnessing now, however, is a growing realization of the workers that Union membership is a sound investment in times of prosperity and adversity alike. In bad times it is their sheet-anchor. In good times it is the agency by which they are, as wage earners, enabled to obtain a more equitable share of returning prosperity.

We are very proud of the way in which our trade union structure has withstood the economic blizzard of the post-war years. One striking feature of the present position of the British Trade Unions is their financial stability. Aggregate income of the Unions is increasing now at the rate of over 1,000,000 pounds (five million dollars) a year. I think it would be true to say that the reserve funds of our Unions are almost back to the height at which they stood in 1920, when membership was at its best. In that year the Unions had at their command nearly 16,000,000 pounds or about 80 million dollars. These sums may not compare with the reserves of Unions in your great country, and attending this Convention, but are sufficient for our little island to be proud of, having regard to the fact that Union reserve funds represent mainly the residue of members' subscriptions.

After all the expenses of organizations have been met, and all the cash benefits guaranteed have been paid out the last named item is very substantial, for during the 25 years 1910 to 1934 some 450 Unions distributed in trade and friendly benefits an aggregate sum of 103 million pounds sterling, or about 515 million dollars.

Nearly half this total represented benefits of a friendly society, or provident character—that is cash payments to members in respect of funeral expenses, sickness and accident benefit, donations in relief of distressed, and superannuation for aged members. Over 46 million pounds, about 230 million dollars was expended by these Unions during this period in assisting members in personal or domestic difficulty. Over 57 millions, or about 285 million dollars were simultaneously distributed in what we call trade benefits, namely, unemployment and dispute benefits. This makes a total of over 103 millions spent by these Unions in 25 years. It can be fairly regarded as a great achievement that notwithstanding these heavy disbursements our Unions have been able to build up strong financial reserves, such as I have stated. What this achievement means delegates will understand better, perhaps, if I say that in 1926, the year of our national strike, the reserve funds of Unions had fallen to about 8 and a half millions, about 42½ million dollars. To put it in another way, in seven or eight years of acute trade depression with millions unemployed, with millions pouring out from

bank balances to assist members in distress and out of work, or involved in trade dispute within this later period of seven or eight years Union reserves have been practically doubled, notwithstanding the fact that they made cash payments to members for trade and provident purposes amounting to nearly 45 millions, or about 225 million dollars.

These are some aspects of the British Trades Union record in the circumstances of difficulty which have surrounded them in the post war period. We believe now that we are emerging from those difficulties. Our Unions have weathered the storm. They are in a stronger position today financially than they ever were, and if industrial recovery continues trade union expansion, too, will go on.

Whether economic revival will go on in our country is a question that excites anxious thought among trade unionists, as it no doubt does with you in regard to conditions in your country. There are those who believe that the industrial activity of today is a temporary revival, and another crisis may supervene. It is seriously questioned by some authorities whether the deep-seated and permanent causes of industrial progress have been set in motion in my country. I gather that similar doubts are entertained regarding your own country.

I will not undertake to pronounce a verdict in this discussion. What I am prepared to say on the basis of our trade union experience is that Union organization is essential to the wage earners. Whether the present phase of industrial expansion is permanent or temporary, that much experience has taught us.

It is a great pleasure to me as to all of us to think that your wide experience in this sense coincides with ours, and that your movement, too, can tell the same tale of service rendered to the wage earners in these disturbed and difficult times.

I will leave it for my colleague, Mr. Gibson, to deal with other aspects of the situation in which we on our side have been involved, as a result of the breakdown, or should I say smashup, of the democratic system of Government in so many of the European countries. He will tell you, I hope, about the efforts we have made as a trade union body nationally, and internationally in this situation. All that I will say is that it is a matter of grave significance that the dictatorships set themselves as their first task, the destruction of the working class organization. When democracy goes trade unionism goes—it is the first to go. I hold strongly as a lesson of history and as a fact of recent experience in Europe that the interests of

trade unionism are bound up with the development of democratic principles and the maintenance of the institutions of free citizenship.

Our movement originated more than a century ago with the struggle of the working people against undemocratic methods of government, and it has developed side by side with and as a part of the great liberating movement of the 19th century. That movement towards freedom and democracy has suffered a strange and abrupt reversal with the last few years. It is strange that whole nations in Europe seem to have turned their back just when they were reaching political maturity upon the ideals of freedom and democracy. For the causes of this we must await the disclosure of all the facts concerning the organization and establishment of the dictatorships; for we do not know all the truth yet. We do not know how it came about that large sections of the middle classes in countries like Italy, Germany, Austria, gave their support to Fascist conspiracy which destroyed them along with the working class.

These are questions I will not pursue, but as a trade unionist of long experience and with some capacity I hope to look facts in the face and I would sound the note of warning to the wage earners of America who stand yet outside the trade unions of their own country. The liberties they cherish as citizens are bound up with the maintenance of trade unionism and the expansion of trade unionism power to protect their liberties.

A weak trade union movement in a time like this can be over-ridden by the dark forces that are driving towards dictatorship in every country, and aiming at the complete domination of the working people.

A strong trade union movement is a barrier against dictatorship, a bulwark of the popular liberties which your forefathers fought for on this continent. See to it, workers of America, that these liberties are cherished and defended.

President Green: Now, I take great pleasure in presenting to you the colleague of Brother Kean, his associate fraternal delegate from Great Britain. I present to you with feelings of pleasure and satisfaction Brother George Gibson, who, in his own country, serves as General Secretary of the Mental Hospital and Institutional Workers' Union. He comes to us clothed with authority to speak for the British Trades Union Congress and to extend their fraternal greetings.

I am pleased beyond measure to present to you Brother Gibson.

MR. GEORGE GIBSON
(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

It is with deep feelings of gratification and pleasure that I respond to the call of your distinguished President, William Green, and accept his kind invitation to address the Convention.

I speak as no stranger, for I have been privileged to meet many of the wonderful colleagues whom you have from time to time sent over to Britain to represent you, and I myself, together with my wife, can almost claim to be American by affiliation, between us we have five brothers and four sisters on this side of the Atlantic, and we are alone of our families in the Old Country. When I add that in addition I served in France with a Brigade of Artillery which was attached to both the Canadian Corps and an American division in addition to the Imperial Forces, you will realize that I have close association with and tender regard for your great Nation.

The British Trades Union Movement, like your own, is emerging from a period of acute depression, a depression which, indeed, lasted longer perhaps in Britain than in the United States, but in both countries it was a period which called for high qualities of leadership from those charged with the responsibilities of office during that long and trying time.

That our movements emerged from such a test of stability with unimpaired confidence, with strength and vitality maintained, and competent to take advantage of the improving Trade barometer, is perhaps the best testimony that could be paid to the ability and capacity of those to whom the English speaking Trade Union Movements entrusted the onerous task of guidance.

In England, as I am glad to note is also the case in the United States, wages are steadily on the upgrade, and this tendency will, I trust, long be maintained. It is significant, however, that it is only in the democratically governed countries that labor conditions are improving, and the significance lies in the fact that only in such countries does a free trade union movement exist. Where there is no such protection the worker sees his standards of living steadily deteriorating.

The importance of preserving democratic government and the right of free speech cannot be over-emphasized. If I dwell for a little upon this aspect of world politics you will bear with me, I hope, for to us in Europe, the spectre of dictatorship seems to overshadow everything else. We have seen dictator-

ship arise and democracy crumble in countries where such developments seemed literally impossible, until now, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, there exists a solid wedge of Fascism in one or another of its several forms.

Whole nations who once prided themselves on exercising control of their own destinies by virtue of the ballot box, now find themselves dependent upon the whim of an individual, a not too intelligent individual, as to what they may read, learn, hear, (even from the pulpit) and find themselves constrained, even, as to what they may speak, and limited as to what they may listen to on the radio.

If the Leader makes a speech, a very frequent occurrence, then the whole nation, man, woman and child, whether at work or at play, may be mobilized to listen to the epileptic ravings. Work ceases, school is abandoned. The activities of a nation are brought to a standstill while the **ONE PERSON** tells them (through the loud speaker) all about everything.

I feel convinced that if Mussolini or Hitler had married an American girl, neither of them would ever have been a dictator.

Such things may seem strange to you but they are commonplace to us in Britain. Why in Germany no independent journalist exists; all are servants of, and paid by the state, and in Italy I read that the legal profession is to be made a civil service! When dictators, possessed of such amazing personal authority, and controlling vast armed forces, openly covet the territory and possessions of neighboring countries, when they cynically break treaties and covenants, and when they have avowed that they consider only their own interests, and that they have deliberately planned breaches of International law; when they have made, and continue to make, the most extravagant and ridiculous promises to their deluded masses, of exclusive racial domination, of conquest and loot, of territorial and national aggrandisement, and when they emphasize their intentions by piling up armaments, munitions and forces of war on such a scale as was undreamed of even a few years ago, then you can appreciate the unease which possesses the European democracies at the present time.

Mr. Miller referred yesterday to the situation in Spain. I will say only this about it: The International Federation of Trade Unions and the British trade union movement declared from the very first that in their view the Spanish government was a legitimate government and as such was entitled to secure from the other powers such supplies and munitions of war as they requested. That they have not se-

cured them is evidence of the power of Fascism in Europe.

The British trades union movement is, by tradition and instinct, pacifist. It would support no British government in a war of aggression, nor would it deny to any nation equal economic rights and equal access to essential raw materials, but there is one thing that British trade unionism is prepared to fight for—Freedom! And for liberty and freedom we shall fight if necessary, whether it is menaced by our own or by foreign governments. That was the emphatic message of Plymouth Congress in September, this year.

Devotion to the principles of democracy is not mere lip service on the part of the British working class. To them, as to the United States citizen, liberty is as essential as air and water, nor, I submit, can an individual live in the Cultural sense of the word, without freedom.

The working class of Great Britain, have demonstrated, not once, but many times, their attachment to the principles of freedom and democracy, and their intention to maintain them. Kings who attempted to usurp more than constitutional power have been toppled from their thrones and in the cause of freedom the workers of Great Britain have lent their aid even in circumstances which meant privation and suffering for themselves.

You who are elected representatives of a working class movement in a great democratic country will be familiar with the terms of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence in 1776. Great and noble minds in Great Britain were not then wanting who warmly supported the Declaration in spite of kingly disapproval, and during the Civil War in America, which lasted for over four years, and which resulted in a death roll of over 600,000, the North had the unanimous support of the British working people, and that largely because it was regarded by them as a war against slavery. The Civil War, which suspended supplies of raw cotton caused acute suffering in Lancashire, and indeed, brought the entire industry of the country to a standstill.

The distress, and the commercial interests involved, naturally induced a strong feeling in some political quarters in Britain for intervention against the North.

There was a great deal of sympathy for the South, and Gladstone, for example, said in 1862 after the Confederate armies had won some victories, that Jefferson Davis "had made a nation." Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time, and he also strongly favored the South.

There was a serious possibility at one time that Britain, France, and other continental powers would recognize the South as an independent government.

You will remember that Lincoln declared that the war was a rebellion against the authority of the Union of States. He refused to admit that any state in the union had the right to withdraw from the Union and it was the withdrawal of one or two of the Southern States in 1861 which really began the war.

The outstanding fact, however, so far as the working class in Britain was concerned, is that notwithstanding the very heavy cost to themselves as a result of the stoppage of the cotton industry, they did not waver in their sympathy with the North throughout the long struggle.

At that time there was no Trade Union Congress in Britain, and no Trades Councils existed which could mobilize and express working class opinion, but the Trade Unions did join in a campaign which was organized in support of the Northern States and a great meeting was held in 1863 at St. James Hall, London, at which John Bright presided, but where the chief speakers were Trade Union leaders like George Howell, George Odger, W. R. Cramer and others, in support of the North. It is a matter of historic interest that Karl Marx attended this meeting, although he did not speak.

The weight of working class opinion, however, by finding expression effectively disposed of any suggestion of intervention.

I have recited these facts as evidence of the historic attachment of the British working class movement to the principles of Freedom and democracy, and you may ask what relation this has to modern Trade Unionism. I suggest that the relationship is this. Peace is essential to working class progress. The workers fight wars and pay for wars, but they do not profit by wars. Here in this great continent of America is living evidence of the ability of the various nationalities to work and live together and to fuse into one organic whole. It is not beyond the wit of man, we suggest, to imagine, and to create, a United States of Europe, a political and economic entity which could deal with the problems of Europe, economic and otherwise, in a spirit of brotherly good will.

Therefore, I say, that while the British Working class movement will concede nothing to dictatorship that it would not concede to reason and justice, yet it will support and has induced the British Government to say it will support, the creation of an economic section of the League of Nations which

could deal with the problems that affect the various European countries, such problems as the distribution of population, access to essential raw materials, opportunity for sharing in the development of new territories, etc.

The British Trade Union Movement desires justice and equity for all nations and domination over none, but so long as dictatorship exists it will favor the organization of collective security through the League until any aggressor will find himself opposed by overwhelming collective force. The rule of international law will come, until it arrives the rule of force applied by international agreement can be made an effective deterrent.

I am no prophet. I think the only safe prophecy is the one made by the palmist whom Hitler is reputed to have consulted and who told him he would die upon a Jewish holiday. Hitler said, "How could you know which day I will die?" The palmist said, "Whichever day you die, it will be a Jewish holiday." But I can and do prophesy that whatever the situation is at the moment, dictatorships will not continue forever.

I have stressed these points because I believe that given peace the working class movements of the world can create Heaven upon earth, but only given peace, and the job of preserving peace is the job of the international working class movements.

On Christmas Day, 1914, it is recorded that front line troops in France fraternized, exchanged food, and even sang Christmas carols to each other—forgot war but remembered their little children and their homes, saw in each other's eyes not hatred and the will to kill but brotherly love and good fellowship, and the message I bring to you and to the working class of the world from the Trade Unionists of Great Britain is a message of affection and fraternal greeting. Our movements can be frank with each other just because we are so closely allied, and I assure you that never was there at any time in history greater respect and affection for the citizens of the United States than is the case at present. Your newspapers have even hinted at its manifestation in unusual quarters. I am certain that I express the feeling of your organization no less than our British movement when I say that we look optimistically for the arrival of the day when in the words of our Scottish Poet, Burns,

"Man to man, the world o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that."

President Green: I am pleased now to present to you Brother George R. Brunet, member of Montreal Local No. 52, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North Amer-

ica, who is the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. It seems that he is a part of us, not only that, he is a part of the great American labor movement. So he speaks in that capacity representing the great movement of Canada, our neighbor just across the line, and as a member of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America. I am pleased indeed to present to you our colleague, Brother George R. Brunet, representative of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

MR. GEORGE R. BRUNET
(Fraternal Delegate Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

Mr. President and Delegates—This is the most enjoyable moment I have had since my affiliation with the Labor Movement 35 years ago, to have the great honor and privilege to appear before this most important convention and convey to the American workers, through you, Mr. President, the fraternal greetings and best wishes of the officers and members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and also of all the workers of the Dominion.

It is natural for the Canadian citizens to have a keen interest in all matters affecting the welfare of your great country. Is it not true that our industrial and economic problems are identical; as many of our important industries operate on both sides of the international boundary, rail and water traffic is to a large extent international, and many other interests bring us close together.

On many occasions we hear or read about these two great nations living side by side for over a century in perfect harmony and peace and very often mentioned as an example to the remainder of the world. But very rarely do the people give credit to the International Labor movement for their large share of responsibility in the maintaining of these conditions due to the close relations of the workers of the two countries through their membership in their respective International Unions. The hopes and desires of the majority of the Canadian Workers are that these conditions will continue to exist for many more decades.

It is true that efforts are being made by our common opponents to separate the workers by having them divide on National and even sectarian lines. The activities of these different

bodies have forced our movement to keep very active in educating the workers, and our constant work has kept our opponents from making the progress they anticipated. It is true that the crisis has caused considerable reduction in our membership but we are pleased to report that as soon as conditions of employment improve we also notice an improvement in our membership, and at the last convention of the Trades Congress of Canada the report of the Secretary-Treasurer showed a substantial increase of membership over last year.

Our country has been greatly affected by the problem of unemployment. In fact, it seems to be slower in recovery in Canada than what I have observed in the United States, and although our governments have tried various methods to cope with the situation we still find this problem far from being solved. The Trades Congress has given this most important question very serious study and on several occasions made presentations to the authorities, and among these recommendations the Trades Congress sponsored certain definite policies such as the establishment of the six-hour day and five-day week, with corresponding increase in wages so that purchasing power might be restored; the development of a Housing project, and the extension of Public Works.

We have also asked that the qualifying age for old-age pensions should be reduced from 70 years to 60 years and the allowances should be increased. Canada, as you know, has had a national system of old-age pension, paying \$20 per month, since 1927. The law was enacted by the Dominion Parliament, and is now in operation in every province in the Dominion.

In certain provinces of the Dominion, legislation, designed after the N. R. A. has been adopted and up to the present this legislation has done considerable good in re-establishing better wages and working conditions in the industry. The putting into operation of these laws has had the effect of increasing the membership in several of our local unions and especially re-establishing contact with the employers.

All phases of unemployment are serious, and all sections of the problem demand attention and remedy. In the opinion of our Trades Congress there is one special class of unemployed that deserves particular study for the consequences of idleness, enforced by conditions, threatens to carry them into the future in a way that we cannot regard with peace of mind. This class is the unemployed youth. To them will fall the obligations of full

citizenship tomorrow, the duty of carrying forward the welfare of our country. It is important that they should not enter upon their duties with bitterness bred by disappointment, or with pessimism of defeat.

As to the condition of unemployment among the youth, there is no need to deal at length. Every trade unionist with children reaching maturity in the last half-dozen years knows from experience the serious problem of finding any gainful employment for a son or a daughter only too willing to work. The Relief Camps, when operated, had thousands of youths within them, and many more would have been glad of admission if there had been room for them. Figures given in the House of Commons on March 30, 1936, by the Minister of Labor, told that 8.3 per cent of the unemployed on relief were young people under 25 years of age who have never had gainful employment but were looking for work.

Under the Act creating the National Employment Commission, it is required to give special thought to the unemployed youth. This is at least the beginning, through being a recognition of the pressing duty of Parliament and public to offer some solution. The Congress will see that the matter is not allowed to rest until a solution is found.

On June 17, 1936, the Supreme Court of Canada handed down its opinions in connection with the social and labor legislation passed by Parliament in 1935. I want to interpolate this statement at this moment: We in Canada seem to copy the systems in the United States, and when anything too progressive, in their opinion, is passed, it has to go to the Supreme Court for a ruling. I heard statements made yesterday concerning the Supreme Court of the United States, and I made the reflection that they would excellently fit the Judges of the Supreme Court of Canada on many, many occasions, especially relating to labor legislation.

The opinions of the Court were given as a result of the reference to that body by the Government of several measures of the 1935 Parliamentary program to determine whether Parliament was within its rights in dealing with the subjects involved. Four of these Acts are of special interest to Labor: the Employment and Social Insurance Act (unemployment insurance); the Weekly Rest in Industrial Undertakings Act; the Minimum Wage Act; and the Limitation of Hours of Work Act.

On the Act dealing with Unemployment Insurance, the Supreme Court divided 4 to 2 against the legality of the statute; in the other three cases

the Court decided 3 to 3 on the question of validity.

And we are glad and proud to report to you that in each case the Chief Justice, Sir L. P. Duff, voted in favor of validity.

On July 8th, the Hon. Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, announced that the Government would take appeals against the Supreme Court opinions of the four Acts mentioned, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, for final ruling as to the constitutional points at issue. In a preliminary hearing before the Privy Council, permission to have the cases heard was recently granted, so that the way is now clear to get a final judicial opinion on the validity of this labor legislation.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada favors at all times a pacific attitude on the general subject of International Peace in World affairs, supported by any steps which may lead to a better understanding among Nations. Seeing that our attitude is one of desiring to avoid armed conflicts, we submit that there should be no declaration of war by Canada until after a referendum vote of the people may have been cast.

Past activity of Canada toward world peace through sharing in efforts in regard to disarmament, the League of Nations, the World Court and the International Labor Organization has met with our ready and complete support, and future efforts along the same line will also have our unqualified backing.

Peace is constantly threatened by allowing the manufacture of armaments to remain in the hands of private firms whose sole object is profit. Their urge is always towards an increase in armaments and to prevent this every effort should be made to secure the nationalization of the manufacture, import or export of war material and arms by all countries, supervised and controlled by the League of Nations, and we have asked that the Canadian Government, through its membership in the League of Nations, give its support to these proposals.

During the year a very important conference of Miners was called in the City of Calgary and after serious discussion a program was submitted by referendum to the members of the Mine Workers of Canada which resulted in this Union returning to District No. 18 of the United Mine Workers of America, thereby removing dualism and uniting the men employed in the coal fields of Western Canada.

At this time I believe it is proper for me to make the statement to this convention that the Workers of Canada are greatly interested in the controversy which now exists between the Executives of the A. F. of L. and the

C. I. O. and we express the sincere hope that a way will be found to amicably settle this difficulty, as any division in the ranks of the American labor movement would have a damaging effect on the International movement in Canada, which is being attacked from different angles at this time.

The Trades Congress, being a legislative mouthpiece for the workers of Canada, refused to make a pronouncement of this question at its last convention, but again I repeat we sincerely hope that a solution of the difficulty will be found and work out to the best interest of all concerned.

In concluding I desire to emphasize the need of unity and solidarity in our ranks. It is only by union of all those who toll that we can build a saner and happier nation. Our potential powers are practically limitless if we will but unite upon a common program and proceed with the social and economic vision and clarity of purpose which is ours for the taking. Three fundamental evils, namely, the development of industrial dictatorship, the insufficiency of wages to provide the basis for a decent standard of living, and unemployment, are all too prevalent. To cope effectively with these evils in our industrial life, the labor movement should learn to do for itself rather than depend too much upon governments. When work people feel that government does everything for them, their ability to organize is greatly reduced. For that reason labor must continue to preserve the militancy of the movement if it is to win the larger social goal toward which it is aiming.

Finally, we believe that the only salvation for the social security of all the people rests in the closest possible organization of all who labor. We must come closer together in order to understand one another and our many complex and involved problems. We must pay the price of sacrifice and struggle that justice may prevail.

And so, brother workers, I conclude by taking this opportunity of wishing to the American Federation of Labor continued success, to all of its officers the best of health in order to continue their good work, and to the American workers the kindest thoughts and a continuance of the friendly and brotherly relations that have so long existed.

Before taking my seat, Mr. Chairman, I also wish to make this personal statement. Many international officers are familiar with the handicaps that they suffer when they come into the section of the country in which I happen to reside. We have been endeavoring to help these international representatives to the best of our ability every time they visited our section of

the country, and I wish to repeat on this occasion that our offices in Montreal are always open to any international officer coming into our section and needing our services to overcome that handicap, as I call it, in our section. I hope you will make it a point when visiting that section of the country to call upon us for our services, which will be gladly given.

I thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN'S RESPONSE TO ADDRESSES OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: Officers and delegates in attendance at the convention—With your permission and for you I will undertake to make a brief response to these addresses of the fraternal delegates who are attending the convention. I think I can sense your state of mind when listening to these inspiring addresses delivered by the fraternal delegates who are commissioned to attend this convention, and particularly those of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress.

You are thinking about the relationship of the great organization we represent and the movement in Great Britain. We are reminded that our movement is patterned after the great economic movement of Great Britain. We recall how in the early days those associated with the British Guilds experimented in the development of organization and cooperation and solidarity. Then following the establishment of the British Guilds, perhaps a century ago, the great democratic organized labor movement represented by the British Trades Union Congress came into being. Running parallel with that development came the American Federation of Labor, organized by those who were inspired by the success of the movement in Great Britain. Patterned after that great democratic institution, the foundations of our movement were laid fifty-six years ago, and upon that foundation has been erected the superstructure with which we are now associated and related and which rep-

resents the American Federation of Labor.

We have found, as they found in Great Britain, that the economic philosophy evolved out of human experience, economic suffering and distress, is sound and practical, and we are applying it in the solution of our difficulties. I know I can say to these brothers from across the sea that our movement shall run parallel with theirs, not only in all of its administrative work, but in relation to its objectives and its achievements.

Again we think of these great organizations as representing the sound, well-established democracies of the world. At the moment we are filled with feelings of apprehension and deep concern over the growth of autocratic government in nations across the sea. We can scarcely understand here how it is possible for a dictator to rule over the destinies of a nation, to make his will the supreme law of the land. And yet it has transpired. It has happened. It has taken place. We realize that when we stop to think that freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assemblage and the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of one's own conscience are but empty phrases in lands where dictatorships prevail.

We are not so much concerned with the brand of the dictatorship, its character or its kind. We do not classify any dictatorship as fair, good, better or best. The American Federation of Labor is against every brand of dictatorship of any kind, and we are happy to observe that in the great democracies of Great Britain, of the Scandinavian countries, of the Danish countries, and of Belgium, where freedom still prevails, though there threatened as some of them may be in this crucial hour, the flag of democracy and of freedom is still unfurled to the breeze. We rely upon the democracy of Great Britain particularly to preserve that principle in Europe.

We are shocked here over the atrocities that have taken place and the assaults that have been made upon minorities, upon freedom and upon liberty in those lands where dictators control. As we have pointed out and as our distinguished fraternal delegates stated this morning, it appears that when the dictator arises to usurp all power and authority, establishes himself in complete control, the first democratic institution to be wiped out is the trade union movement. Is there any significance attached to that? Does that mean anything? Does it appeal to us?

Well, I will tell you how it appeals to me, that if that lesson means anything, it means that a dictator interprets the existence of a trade union movement in the land where he controls as a menace to his authority and as an obstacle to his administration. We ought to take our lesson from that and develop the trade union movement to its maximum strength and its maximum power. What for? To stand ever as the Rock of Gibraltar against every dictator wherever he may arise or from whence he may come. The church may fail. Chambers of commerce may meekly submit and applaud. Fraternal organizations are impotent. Civic groups cannot cope with the power of the dictator. But there exists within the trade union movement the economic power of the workers throughout the world, there exists the strength, if properly mobilized to its very maximum, to prevent the establishment of a dictator anywhere or any place.

That means that the Ark of the Covenant so far as it includes within it the charter of world democracy rests within the keeping of the trade union movement, and if freedom comes and it is ever restored again in those countries where human freedom is a byword, it will come from an uprising from the common people themselves when they rebel finally against the dictates of the autocrat and the dictator.

We have learned with feelings of indignation of the persecution of the Jewish race in Germany. Does that go with the autocrat and the dictator? We protest against the persecution of a noble race, a race that has committed no wrong, but during all the centuries of civilization has made contributions toward the development of freedom and life, toward the intellectual and spiritual welfare of the world. Today the American Federation of Labor protests with all the power it possesses in behalf of the millions of working people in America against this autocrat in Germany who has persecuted a noble race within that great country. We shall carry on our boycott in every possible way in order to bring home to not only the dictator himself, but to the people of that country, the opposition of labor to the policy that is being pursued.

Then we are proud of the attitude which the workers of Great Britain have assumed toward war, Fascism and the conflicts that develop between nations. I want to make it plain: We stand with you in your opposition to war. We are against it, and I am of the opinion that it is going to be impossible ever to involve the people of the United States in another European war.

We will stand in defense of our free institutions of democracy, of the enjoyment of all those rights which are collateral and flows from the establishment of democratic control. But we join with you, we share with you in the attitude you have assumed in opposition to the settlement of conflicts between nations through resort to war and resort to arms.

We believe it is the great democracy in Great Britain that has served to preserve, so far as it has been preserved, the peace of Europe. Remove from that great country the influence of this great democracy, and we shall have chaos and war and murder and destruction, in my opinion.

So we say Godspeed to you in Great Britain in your efforts to preserve the

peace of the world, and when you stand in defense of your policies, please understand that there is standing behind you the great labor movement of the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada as well.

Now, speaking as I have in all sincerity in response to these inspiring messages, may I say to you that we appreciate more than words can express your visit here. We have been inspired by the splendid addresses you have delivered. They will become a part of the permanent proceedings of this convention, to be read and studied by thousands of people. You came a long way to bring those messages to the American Federation of Labor, its constituent organizations, and those whom it has the honor to represent.

Carry back to the workers of Great Britain the good will and the best wishes of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. Extend to them our fraternal greetings and our personal felicitations. May you enjoy a happy visit here and a safe return to your loved ones at home.

President Green: The Chair at the moment will recognize Dr. Meyers, of the Federal Council Churches of Christ in America, for an announcement.

Dr. Meyers read the following announcement:

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor convention will speak in various churches at the morning and evening services and at a mass meeting at Plant Park, at 3:00 in the afternoon, Sunday, November 22:

First Baptist Church; William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; at 11:00 a. m.

First Baptist Church; Warren Mullen; subject, "Labor and World Peace;" in the afternoon.

First Congregational Church; Gilbert Hyatt, Legislative Representative of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; at 11:00 a. m.

First Congregational Church; George Gibson, Fraternal Delegate from British Trades Union Congress, Vice President, Trades Union Congress, and on the Executive Council of the Labor Party of Great Britain; subject, "British Labor Movement; Trade Unions;

Labor Party and Cooperatives;" at 7:30 p. m.

St. Andrews' Episcopal Church; Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of Workers' Education Bureau; also Social Service Department National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church; at 11:00 a. m.

First Methodist Church; Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of Workers' Education Bureau; also Social Service Department National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church; at 7:30 p. m.

First Christian Church, John B. Robinson, Vice President, Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America; Deacon; at 9:30 a. m.

First Christian Church; James A. Crain, Secretary, Social Service Department, Disciples of Christ in America; at 7:00 p. m.

Hyde Park Methodist Church; Dowell Patterson, Southern Representative of International Typographical Union; in the morning.

Highland Avenue Methodist Church; Holt Ross, Southern Representative, American Federation of Labor, New Orleans, Louisiana; in the morning.

Riverside Baptist Church, Keyes and Tampa Streets; George L. Googe, Representative, American Federation of Labor for Southern States, B. Y. P. U. Official; in the morning.

Spencer Memorial Baptist Church; George L. Googe, Representative, American Federation of Labor for Southern States, B. Y. P. U. Official; in the afternoon.

Tampa Heights M. E. Church (Rev. Hurt); Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; in the evening.

Plant Park, Religious Services under Tampa Ministers' Association; Geo. M. Harrison, President, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; also Rev. James Myers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; band concert of sacred music; Rev. A. J. Moncrief, President, Ministers' Association, will preside; at 3:00 p. m.

Synagogue; Address by Morris Feinstein, Secretary, Hebrew Trades of New York; Friday evening at 8:00 o'clock.

Secretary Spencer Miller, of the Workers' Education Bureau, made the following announcement:

The Labor Institute on Housing and Slum Clearance and Consumer Cooperation, sponsored by the Workers' Education Bureau of America, with the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor, and the Cooperative League of America, will be held in the Municipal Auditorium, Saturday, morning and afternoon, at 9:30 and 2:00 o'clock respectively. The morning session on

Slum Clearance will be addressed by the Honorable Langdon Post, Commissioner of Housing; Mr. E. L. Pettit, Assistant Administrator, Housing Division, PWA; Warren Vinton, Economic Advisor on Housing at the Resettlement Administration, and Katherine Bauer, of the Labor Housing Conference.

The morning conference will adjourn at 12:30 to permit the delegates who so desire to go to Lakeland.

The afternoon session at 2:00 o'clock on Consumer Cooperation will be addressed by E. R. Bowen, General Secretary, Cooperative League of America; Morris Katt of the Racine Oil Station Cooperative; and Harry Culbreth of the Credit Union Division of the Farm Credit Administration, and Dr. Mercer Evans of the Resettlement Administration.

The delegates are cordially invited to attend both sessions and take part in the discussion.

There will be a special meeting on Workers' Education held this evening, Friday, November 20, at 7:30 p. m., in the Banquet Hall of the Floridan Hotel, for delegates from State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies and Federal Unions.

A discussion on Workers' Education will be led by Spencer Miller, Jr., Director, Workers' Education Bureau of America.

The meeting will be adjourned in time for the delegates to attend the dance which has been tendered to the delegates by the local committee on arrangements.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Delegate Quinn, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Union-Made Cement

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate James Gallo, United Cement Workers' Union No. 18421 and John R. Tauscher, United Cement Workers' Union No. 20066, Oglesby, Ill.

WHEREAS, The newly formed National Council of United Cement Workers, formulated the plans to inaugurate an extensive campaign to organize all the unorganized workers in the cement industry, and

WHEREAS, The 54th annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor unanimously concurred in the request to use their influence and urge

the organized labor movement to use and handle only union-made cement, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through its affiliated National, International, Central Labor Unions and Federal Labor Unions, can assist in this organizing campaign, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Tampa assembled, be requested to use their influence through its labor press, by correspondence to the various State Federations, National and International Unions, Central Labor Unions and Federal Labor Unions and other methods, to urge and request the organized labor movement to use and handle only union-made cement, manufactured by organized cement plants.

Your committee is in hearty accord with the intent and purpose of this Resolution to increase the sale of union-made cement; and therefore recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor advocate through their publication the use of this union-made product.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I notice the committee recommends that the officers use the publication of the American Federation of Labor to further the sale of union-made cement. Has the committee any recommendation on that part of the resolution pertaining to the cement industry?

President Green: I am not sure, Brother Martel, that the resolution deals with that. I know the Committee on Organization reported on that, and that it obligated the Federation to carry on an organization campaign in the cement industry for the purpose of endeavoring to establish a thorough and complete organization in that field.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Quinn: This concludes the labors of your Committee on Local

and State Federated Bodies, which is signed:

FELIX H. KNIGHT, Chairman.
JAMES C. QUINN, Secretary.
JOS. M. MARSHALL
THOMAS C. CASHEN
A. ADAMSKI
C. C. COULTER
R. E. WOODMANSEE
WILLIAM J. MORAN
FRANK B. POWERS
JEROME DAVIS
L. B. PARRISH
EDWIN E. GRAVES
LAURENCE FOLEY
P. J. CULLEN
J. E. LENTIE
A. A. EVANS
J. B. EASTON

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

President Green: If there is no objection, this report of the committee as a whole will be accepted by the convention. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

Now, the Chairman recognizes Vice-President Harrison, Chairman of the Committee on Education. Secretary George of the committee will submit a report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Secretary George submitted the following report:

Financial Support for the Workers Education Bureau

Twelve years ago the El Paso Convention of the American Federation of Labor by unanimous action approved a plan for the voluntary support of the Workers Education Bureau on a per capita tax of one-half cent per annum, from the affiliated National and International Unions. Two years later that tax was increased to one cent per member per annum. For ten years and more now an increasing measure of support for the Bureau has come from the trade union movement. The balance has come from private individuals and grants from educational foundations.

With the expansion of the activities of the Bureau and in recognition of its services to the Federation the Atlantic City convention, in 1935, unanimously approved an annual contribution of \$5,000 to the support of the Bureau.

Today with the service universally recognized it becomes even more apparent that if the Bureau's work is to be adequately supported that every national and international union should undertake its responsible part in the support of this educational arm of the Federation.

Your Committee therefore strenuously urges that every national and international union not now in active affiliation with the Bureau undertake such affiliation on this voluntary basis so that its activities may be expanded to serve all the membership of organized labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vocational Education

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 133 and 180, the committee reported as follows:

Vocational Education

One of the many activities of American labor in behalf of public education was its service in securing the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act. Year after year the American Federation of Labor has urged the Congress of the United States to make grants in aid of this program for the vocational training of youth. In the last Congress of the United States it favored an appropriation of \$12,000,000 to further this work in the several states and territories.

But in recent years American labor has become increasingly disturbed by the manner in which Vocational Education has been administered and the funds expended. Last year at the Atlantic City Convention this was expressed in three different resolutions of vigorous protest against the use of vocational funds for training strike breakers. The result was that an

Advisory Committee was set up by the Commissioner on Education on which Labor is represented by John P. Frey, George Googe and Emil Rlieve. Regulations have been prepared to safeguard the use of Federal funds.

In addition a Commission has been appointed by the President to make a thorough study on Vocational Education and report to the Congress. Labor is ably represented on this Commission by John P. Frey, Thomas Donnelly and Elizabeth Christman.

But neither Committees nor Commissions will avail unless Labor on the Local Committees takes the initiative to see that standards are upheld and the interests of wage earners protected.

Your Committee joins with the Executive Council in recommending that State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions take steps to set up local advisory committees to advise an all plans of vocational education.

Your Committee also recommends that the Convention record itself not only as approving the appointment of a Permanent Advisory Committee to the Commissioner of Education on Regulations but urge the fullest measure of cooperation with the President's Commission charged with a study of the existing program of Federal Aid for Vocational Education.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Social Security of Teachers

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The welfare of the American public school system is dependent upon the efficiency and effectiveness of the teachers in the classrooms of the nation; and

WHEREAS, The welfare of the public schools is a matter of primary concern to the organized workers of America; and

WHEREAS, Effective work in the classrooms is curtailed by worries on the part of the teachers resulting from inadequate salaries and is hampered by a feeling of insecurity caused by fear

of dismissal for unjust reasons, such as political patronage and activities of anti-union interests; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its Tampa Convention, in 1936 go on record as favoring a living wage for all public school teachers, and the enactment of tenure laws in the several states which shall provide that teachers shall not be dismissed except for just cause and in a manner established by law.

This resolution is in accord with the position of the American Federation of Labor upon the question of adequate compensation to members of the teaching profession and upon the question of tenure of position as set forth in numerous pronouncements of previous conventions.

Holding, as we do, that the purpose of our educational system is the preparation of our youth to cope with and solve their economic and political problems, we believe it highly essential that their instruction be entirely free of any consideration other than the search for truth. To serve that purpose it necessarily follows that those entrusted with their teaching must be economically free. That requires security of tenure during efficient and honorable service and compensation commensurate with the service rendered.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Teachers' Salary Act—Public No. 496, approved April 10, 1936, raised the trade or vocational school in the District of Columbia from the present elementary school level to the rank of junior high schools as to salary schedule.

The Board of Education is authorized and empowered to establish occupational schools on the elementary school level for pupils not prepared to pursue vocational courses in the trade or vocational schools; and also to carry on trade or vocational courses on the senior high school level or in senior high schools.

On the above section of the report

of the Executive Council, page 132, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Teachers' Salary Act," the Executive Council reports the enactment of a law elevating the grade of teachers in the vocational schools of the District of Columbia to that of teachers in junior high schools.

The same Act authorizes the Board of Education to expand vocational training to pupils of elementary schools.

Your Committee commends the Executive Council upon their assistance in securing this improvement in teachers' salary status and the extension of the privilege of vocational training to children who have hitherto been deprived of even junior high school preparation. Your Committee further recommends that the efforts of the Washington Central Labor Union in support of the vocational teachers of the District of Columbia be commended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

School Training in Money Management

Resolution No. 134 — By Delegate John J. McCurry, Aluminum Workers Union No. 18738, New Haven, Conn.

WHEREAS, Training in scientific money management has never been afforded in the public schools of this country (except in one place) with the result that the great majority of the adults of today are financial drifters,

WHEREAS, For the same reason, over 2,000,000 financial illiterates are being turned out of our schools and colleges every year until such training shall have been made a requirement in school and college curricula; and

WHEREAS, Such training is now possible as the result of nearly two decades of specialized study and eight years of practical experimentation throughout one public school system; and

WHEREAS, The method evolved through these years of experimentation has now made it possible for all children in the schools, all mothers in the homes, and all fathers who bring home the pay checks to use the same simple terms, and to understand the same few basic principles which under-

lie all successful money management; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be requested at the earliest possible moment to look into the possibilities of this practical form of education for the benefit of all its members and their families.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

This resolution requests that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor investigate the feasibility of introducing into the public schools instruction in the business-like management of family income. It is believed that such instruction would tend toward a greater independence of the worker by assisting him in avoiding debt, or financial obligation beyond reasonable limits.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

This completes the report of your Committee on Education and is signed by the full committee.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE M. HARRISON,
Chairman.

L. E. GEORGE,
Secretary.

L. P. LINDELOF
THOS. E. BURKE
W. R. TROTTER
L. E. SWARTZ
ROBERT J. WATT
SID J. TILLER
OTTO J. KAPL
NEIL McLELLAN
T. N. GUERIN
JOHN J. DEMPSEY
Wm. L. McFETRIDGE
LEON DE VESE
CLARENCE L. EDWARDS
HARRY BEGOON
ALLIE B. MANN

Committee on Education.

President Green: In your behalf and in your name, I thank the committee for the fine service rendered.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m.

Fifth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Absentees—Alfred, Bender, Breidenbach, Cahir, Cairns, Clinedinst, Dodd, Drake, Draper, Duldner, Fenton, Fine, Gale, Gatelee, Gerhardt, German, Glasgow, Graham, Harrison (J. W.), Hansen, Heaton, Hudson, Jenkins, Johnson (E. A.), Jones (John), Keegan, Kinder, Kirby, Klarish, Knopka, Kocher, Lisse, Merritt, Meyers (Irving), Minton, Mundell, McDonald (S. S.), Nischwitz, O'Neill, O'Reilly, Owens, Patterson (Dowell E.), Patton (Fred), Powers (George), Preston, Prior, Reed, Reynolds, Rosqvist, Saltus, Schreier, Shave, Stackweather, Stoffels, Thomas (Steve), Tracy (Wm.), Turnblazer, Will, Williams (Clemens S.), Williamson, Wood (Vic), Woolf, Yablensky.

President Green: Arrangements have been made for a motion picture showing the activities of the Administration in the Social Security Act. We have granted permission to a motion picture operator to make the showing and it will be done in just a few moments here on the stage.

(The picture referred to was shown immediately following.)

Delegate Mollie Levitas, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 20074, requested unanimous consent to introduce a non-controversial resolution.

There was no objection, and the resolution, numbered 260, was introduced. The resolution is as follows:

Women's Bureau—U. S. Department of Labor

Resolution No. 260, by Delegate Mollie Levitas, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, Local No. 20074, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor was established by Act of Congress as a fact-finding agency to study the problems and working conditions of women wage earners, and to decide by research and investigation the best standards for their employment; and

WHEREAS, The results of these investigations have been of inestimable value in the formulation of standards

and employment policies, and have contributed largely to the welfare of the millions of women workers in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The constantly changing industrial conditions are greatly affecting the employment of women and are emphasizing the necessity for this valuable agency of the Government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby endorse and highly commend the work of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention calls upon its affiliated organizations to support the Women's Bureau with all and every means within their power.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Announcement

Mr. Sack, on behalf of the Tampa Cigar Manufacturers' Association, extended to the delegates and visitors an invitation to visit the cigar factories some time during their stay in Tampa, at any convenient time during the day with the exception of the lunch hour, which is from 11:00 to 12:00 o'clock.

President Green: The Chair calls upon Secretary Morrison to read a communication.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

Washington, D. C.
November 16, 1936.

Dear Mr. Green:

I appreciate your very considerate invitation to attend and address the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. I have delayed my reply in order to be able to give a definite answer. After much deliberation I have concluded that since neither of my colleagues, Messrs. Edwin S. Smith nor Donald Wakefield Smith, had the privilege of attending your convention last year, they have claims superior to mine for this year. Unfortunately, it is not possible for all members of the Board to travel to Tampa.

It is Edwin Smith's plan to arrive on Friday, November 20th, at 1:45 o'clock and to address the Convention,

If you so desire, on that afternoon. Donald Wakefield Smith may come at the same time, or later, depending upon the exigencies of our work here. I think he could be persuaded to say something to the Convention, if there is time and occasion for it.

Would you please convey to the officers and delegates of the Convention my sincere regret at being unable to attend, and my best wishes that the Convention may be both profitable and enjoyable.

Sincerely yours,

J. WARREN MADDEN.

William F. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor
Floridan Hotel,
Tampa, Florida.

President Green: Mr. Edwin Smith is here, and Mr. Donald Wakefield Smith is present also. I will ask the committee, of which Vice-President Coefield is Chairman, to escort the two Mr. Smiths, of the National Labor Relations Board, to the stage.

Vice-President Coefield and his committee complied with the request.

President Green: I am pleased now to present to you Mr. Edwin S. Smith, of the National Labor Relations Board. Naturally, labor is interested in the administrative work of this Board, and I know we will be pleased to hear from Mr. Smith a report as to the activities of the Board, its administrative work, its plans and policies.

The National Labor Relations Board was created as a result of the enactment of the Wagner Bill. Mr. Smith has been associated with this Board from the beginning. He is therefore able to speak in an expert way regarding the past experience, present experience, and future policy of the Board. I know he has a message for you that will be of very, very deep interest. I present to you Mr. Edwin S. Smith, of the National Labor Relations Board.

Address by Edwin S. Smith, Member, National Labor Relations Board, Before American Federation of Labor Convention, Tampa, Florida, November 20, 1936

When the National Labor Relations Act, or, as it was then more familiarly known, the Wagner-Con-

nery Act, was passed by Congress in July, 1935, it was hailed as a Magna Charta for labor by no less a spokesman for labor than President Green himself. Why did Labor regard the passage of this Act as a step of such great importance? I need only refer you to the favorable results for the labor movement under Section 7(a) of the Recovery Act. With all the difficulties of enforcement which were experienced by the original National Labor Board, under the Chairmanship of Senator Wagner, and by the former National Labor Relations Board, under the Chairmanship of Lloyd Garrison and Francis Biddle, Section 7(a) gave to hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the country courage to assert their personal rights to join unions of their own choice. The experience under 7(a) has made Labor and students of labor realize to what a great extent the spread of organization has been held back by the workers' fear of reprisals. It is for this reason that Labor held high hopes for the results of the operation of the National Labor Relations Act.

The Act has now been in practical operation for a little more than a year. It would hardly become a member of the National Labor Relations Board to speak in praise of the work the Board has done before a group which must itself be the judge of the effectiveness of that work. I can only say that our Board is much gratified by the account of its activities which your Executive Council has published in its report to the Convention. I can also say that the members of the Board and the staff have worked hard and spared no effort to make this statute a success. We have done so because we ourselves have faith in its great importance as a piece of social legislation.

The operation of the Act during the past year has demonstrated certain things very clearly. The unfair labor practices, which the Act talks about, do in fact exist and in considerable numbers. In the charges brought before us and in the decisions issued by the Board, there is ample evidence that the labor movement has greatly to fear discriminatory discharge by employers for union activity, intimidation and coercion practiced against employees who desire to join unions, forcing upon workers of company-dominated representation plans, and refusal of employers to bargain collectively with representatives of their employees' own choosing. Every union organizer, every official of a newly created union, has been aware of these things. The general public knows little about them. Propaganda by employers on labor relations has been widely circulated for many years past, but the activities which the Wagner Act sought to eliminate and which our investigations and hearings have un-

covered are not the sort of thing such propaganda talked about.

The holding of public hearings in cases under the Act has been of real educational value. There have come to these hearings wives of workers, wives of executives, students from local colleges, and members of the public generally. It must have been very painful for many employers to listen to the public exposé of intrigue, threats, and unabashed discharges for union activity which have been spread on the records of some of these hearings and which have later been printed in the public press. I do not know what the ultimate result of these airings of facts has been in the plants whose management has been brought before us for in only a few cases have we received actual compliance with decisions of the Board. But even where there has been no formal compliance I suspect that the management's attitude has become somewhat more liberal as the result of a hearing and of later publication of a Board decision, reciting the unfair labor practices which have been committed.

In all, the Board or its agents, have held 272 hearings. The Board has issued 104 decisions. These have set forth findings of fact, sometimes in great detail. Summaries of these decisions have been widely used by the press. The actual text of decisions in particular cases must have been read by a great many workers and employers. From such reading would be sure to come on both sides some new orientation on labor relations in the particular plant.

I emphasize the educational effect of the Board's activities because, as is well known, the practical effect, in terms of enforcement, is far less than we would wish. How the National Labor Relations Act might work, if it had not been encompassed at the beginning by legal entanglements, and had it not from the beginning stood in the shadow of a decision by the Supreme Court which may substantially curtail its activities, no one will ever know.

How serious some of these legal difficulties may be, I can give you in a few words. Eighty-two injunction suits have been commenced against us in district courts, of which ultimately 42 were denied by the district courts themselves. Six of these suits were withdrawn and 5 were disposed of in other ways. This leaves 29 cases, of which applications for injunctions were granted in 13 and 11 are as yet undisposed of. In each of the 18 cases in which injunctions were granted, the Board has taken appeals to higher courts. So far the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second, Fifth, Sixth, and Ninth Circuits and the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia have denied the in-

junction sought by employers to prevent the holding of hearings. The Supreme Court has refused, in the *Bradley Lumber* case, to review the action of the Fifth Circuit in denying injunctive relief, which is a very strong indication that the Supreme Court feels that the Board should have a right to hold hearings and that the circuit courts, as provided in the Act itself, are the ones afterwards to review questions of the Board's jurisdiction.

If the Board's right to hold hearings had been uncontested and if it had issued decisions which the courts would readily enforce as contemplated in the Act, we would have seen in the twelve months of its operation tremendous changes in the attitude of employers towards organized labor. If some obstinate employers had been obliged to recognize that they must meet and treat with organized labor instead of trying by every means to circumvent it, the basis for satisfactory dealings on both sides would now be well along toward establishment. In most cases, where well-founded charges were brought under the Act, there would no longer be any need for holding hearings. The employer would not spend money to fight cases in the courts if he knew the courts had already affirmed the right of the National Labor Relations Board to issue fair orders after impartial hearings. This is what might have been. Instead of the country being able to contemplate such a favorable development in employer-employee relationships, the Board has been forced to devote most of its energies to fighting legal battles over its right to get started toward its ultimate goal merely by holding hearings to get at the facts.

Even this past year, with all the doubts which employers and their attorneys have expressed as to the Board's jurisdiction, there has been a disposition shown in many instances to settle cases on a basis mutually agreeable to the employer and to labor, and in substantial compliance with the Act. Three hundred and sixty-nine such cases were settled during the past year in the Board's twenty-one regions. Each of the cases so settled meant that grievances of the union under the Act had been adjusted, including in many cases men out of work who were returned to their jobs and the laying of a basis for a more cooperative relationship between the employer and the union in each of the 369 industrial establishments.

While I am on statistics, it will be of some interest to note that the Board has had 1405 cases before it. Of these 891 were disposed of without recourse to formal machinery. In 298 of these cases the union withdrew its charge, being satisfied that it did not have a case which the Board was justified in pressing. In 146 cases the regional

office refused to issue a complaint after it was satisfied that no ground existed for charging an employer with an unfair labor practice.

The Act, as you know, provides formal machinery for the holding of elections to determine by whom employees wish to be represented. In this field, the opposition of employers and legal entanglements have been less marked. The Board, either on a formal or informal basis, has actually held 57 elections.

Employers have been hopefully waiting and watching for the first Supreme Court decision on manufacturing cases. Their hope is, of course, that the Court will invalidate our activities in the field of their greatest usefulness. I shall speak later of the fundamental problem which is presented to Labor and the American people by the widespread doubts as to what the Supreme Court is likely to do with this and other important pieces of Federal legislation. Before doing so, I wish to devote a few words to the work of the LaFollette Committee on Civil Liberties. The Board has constantly cooperated in the activities of this Committee. In fact, it was the startling disclosures of the use of stool pigeons and of espionage which the Board uncovered in its own cases which played an important part in the decision of the Senate to establish the Committee.

I cannot here speak in detail of matters which fully deserve a lengthy speech in themselves. The miserable story of the use of hired labor spies, armed thugs, machine guns, gas, and terrorism generally in order to break up successful organization of workers has already been spread at considerable length on the records of the Senate Committee. More such testimony will be forthcoming when the Committee resumes its hearings in December. Incidentally, certain of the Board's more notable cases, such as the Jones & Laughlin case, the Fruehauf case, and the Brown Shoe Company case, afford very interesting reading as to the methods which an unscrupulous employer bent on destruction of unions will resort to to achieve his ends.

I think it is difficult to exaggerate the potential menace of the organized lawlessness which many employing groups are practicing against Labor. I have had occasion to visit the Pacific Coast twice in the past year and noted from the State of Washington south to lower California everywhere unrestrained vigilantism, frequently with the connivance of police officials, red scares whipped up to frighten legitimate labor organizations, anti-picketing ordinances, formation of armed citizens' committees, and such things, all of them indicating the grossest disregard of elementary civil rights. The

labor movement could make no better investment than to insist that the full story of the invasion of the workers' civil rights in all sections of the country be told before the Senate Committee, no matter how long it takes or what it costs. Even opponents of organized labor, may, as the result of these hearings, come to the conclusion that peaceful adaptation to the growing labor movement is to be preferred to the use of deceit, hatred, and violence in order to thwart it.

One of the most disturbing indications in this wave of vigilantism which has swept across many sections of the country is the connivance of peace officers, persons entrusted with the upholding of the laws with groups of employers to attack, by whatever means lie at hand, the organizations of labor. Students of modern European history will recognize in these episodes a disturbing parallel to events which preceded the growth of Fascism in European countries. The dangers in such a situation are dramatically symbolized at the present time by the struggle for the preservation of democratic government which is taking place in Spain.

The difficulties which the National Labor Relations Board has experienced in discharging its task are part of a general difficulty which the American people are facing and which has come sharply to the fore as the result of the recent labor sweep at the polls.

The recent national election has confronted the American people with a major opportunity. Labor was a big factor in the return to power of a liberal Administration. The overwhelming national vote for progressive legislation and for legislative freedom has given Labor a go-forward signal on the political front which it cannot and will not ignore.

The American Federation of Labor, like many other powerful bodies in American life, has been taught much by the disaster of the depression. It recognizes that the vast uncontrolled forces of private industry will, if left to themselves, precipitate another major economic depression. Labor will once more be dragged down into the morass of unemployment, subsistence wages, and despair from which it has begun to arise. Government regulation of minimum wages and maximum hours, adequate provision for social security, and protection of collective bargaining are essential curbs on a business system which has more than once followed the lure of unfettered individualism almost to the brink of its own destruction.

Labor should insist upon these economic protections just as it should insist upon governmental prevention of the squandering of our national re-

sources and governmental protection of the farmers' right to a fair return for his toil. The miserable housing of large sections of our industrial and rural population demand prompt and large-scale remedial attention by the government.

Labor has every right to lead a decent, comfortable existence freed from the menace of penury and social degradation. The huge natural and technological resources of the country make these goals possible of attainment. The whole philosophy of democratic government demands that the wage earner should rise to ever new heights of material well-being.

The Congress of the United States, the President of the United States have been told by a great majority of the voters to deliver more of the good things of life into the hands of the people who create them.

Labor's pressure upon Congress to achieve these aims may be confidently assumed. Where then is the difficulty to which I have referred? Over against the demands of democracy is the incalculable will of a Supreme Court, with its veto power over legislation. Behind the Supreme Court stands a mighty but puzzling document, the American Constitution.

What was the essential purpose of the Constitution at the time the founding fathers adopted it? It was to provide an instrument for national government which would enable the people to act as a unit for the advancement of their own welfare in those fields where the separate state governments were inadequate for the task. It was for this purpose that the Constitutional Convention was called, and it was toward this goal that its labors were directed. The Constitution of the United States was the fruit of its earnest travail. It is a long gap between 1787 and 1936, an historical period filled with tremendous change. The states have grown from 13 to 48, the territory of the Nation has expanded northward and westward across three thousand miles of continent, and over the great areas of the then undeveloped and almost undreamed of South and Southwest. All sorts of communication systems have grown up, uniting these great expanses of territory and of people. The simple farming economy of the Revolutionary era, serving principally local markets and a sparse population, has expanded into the foremost agrarian and industrial civilization of the world.

Suppose by some process of magic any one of the able participants in the Constitutional Convention could be transported into the year 1936 and be

once again called upon to fulfill his high task of devising a constitution under which the American people could live satisfactorily for the next 150 years. What a sense of bewilderment, what deep humility he would feel before the problem of governing so tremendous a nation.

We should not forget that the first task which Congress, urged on by the states, set itself back in 1789 was the adoption of amendments to the newly-created Constitution, no less than ten amendments in one year. The Constitution was not too sacred to amend in those days. Have the American people grown more subservient and less intelligent in the years that have intervened? Are they less alive than their forebears were to the role which a national government must play in securing for them a well-rounded, ample life?

I do not believe it. I do believe that the lessons of history are slowly taught and that it took many years for the American people to realize that their new needs and new aspirations had outgrown their venerable Constitution. During this great period of our growth cautious legal philosophers have preached the doctrine that the language of the Constitution was broad enough to cover the demands which the people might make on it. Liberal interpretation by the courts, they said, was all that was needed. Does Labor believe now that liberal interpretation of the Constitution is likely to be the saviour of the democratic program to which it has recently so wholeheartedly dedicated itself? Did liberality of interpretation save the minimum wage and maximum hour provisions of the NRA? Did it save crop control for the farmers? Did it assure pensions for railway employees? Did it allow regulation of the coal mining industry and the oil industry, those great natural resources of the people subject so long to a reckless and uneconomic exploitation from which employers, workers and consumers alike have suffered? Vital New Deal measures are now humbly awaiting verdicts from a Supreme Court which it is hoped almost against hope will broaden the intent of the Constitution, not stultify it.

Labor is profoundly concerned with the fate of two of these measures, the Social Security Act and the National Labor Relations Act. I shall not here undertake to prophesy what the Supreme Court will do, but I do assert that even if the Supreme Court were to take a more liberal attitude toward federal protection of collective bargaining in manufacturing enterprises than it did in coal mining by its Car-

ter decision, and even if the Social Security Act were allowed to stand intact, these decisions would not afford adequate security for the future. The workings of the minds of individual judges, their liberal outlook, or their conservative outlook, would still hold in doubtful jeopardy other measures yet unconceived but which will be necessary for the achievement of the good life for American labor and the American people.

Another school of thought says, "Let the states do what the Supreme Court declares the Federal Government cannot do." Their voices, it must be conceded, have grown a little less firm and confident since the recent New York Minimum Wage Decision. Of course, the states can and should do much to improve the lot of their citizens, but the fact remains that our greatest need is for adequate national legislation. I understand that proposals will be made at this Convention for the support of state collective bargaining laws. I see no objection to this. The states can properly assist labor in many fields where federal jurisdiction would be less useful. However, when we are talking about protection of the organization of labor and protection of collective bargaining, it must be remembered that we have reference to a social program which short-sighted and selfish employers have opposed and will continue to oppose with all their collective strength. Frequently this strength is exercised through the great financial resources of corporations doing business in many states, corporations which enjoy the commanding position of veritable industrial empires. Many of these corporations have shown themselves skillful, ruthless and unrelenting enemies to the self-organization of their employees. Nor does the large-scale employer work at this task unaided by his fellows. Through participation in chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations, having a regional or nation-wide membership, he can draw upon the moral support and the active assistance of other influential employers in obstructing the growth of labor organizations in the communities where he does business. Is it conceivable that the action of a single state or even of a number of states joined together will be powerful enough to subdue such well-organized and recalcitrant forces? Only the power of the federal government is large enough to meet the opposition to liberal legislation and to forceful administration of such legislation which certain private interests will muster in the future as they have done in the past.

I think that Labor will see that an amendment or amendments to the Constitution, broad enough to permit Congressional action of the sort which labor needs and the country demands, is put in the forefront of its activities in the year ahead. By the aid of such a constitutional amendment, Labor can confidently expect to struggle successfully toward a more secure and a more beneficent future. By any other path, its steps and its hopes will be darkened; along any other course, the future of the American people and of our democratic experiment will be clouded by doubts and fears.

President Green: I now sincerely thank Mr. Smith for his visit to this convention and for the address he has delivered. It will become part of the proceedings of this convention to be analyzed and studied by the officers and delegates to this convention.

Now, I present his associate, just for a brief address. His name is Smith also, so that we understand now that there are a pair of Smiths upon the National Labor Relations Board. They are not brothers, and, as I understand it, are not related. I am happy to present to you the other member of the Labor Relations Board, Mr. Donald Wakefield Smith.

MR. DONALD WAKEFIELD SMITH
(Member, National Labor Relations Board)

Although there are two Smiths on the National Labor Relations Board, we at least sleep with our whiskers out of the sheets.

President Green, members of the American Federation of Labor, and friends of labor:

I appreciate your courtesy in inviting me to attend your Convention. It is a distinct honor and a privilege to be here. Knowing of your aims and accomplishments, as a Member of the National Labor Relations Board, I naturally desire to become better acquainted.

My colleague has just given to you a resume of what the NLRB has done and what we are endeavoring to do in order that the inalienable right of labor to organize and bargain collectively shall be protected. I can add little more, except that I might clarify to some extent any skepticism which may exist as to the future policy of our Board. I note in the report of your proceedings in this Convention in referring to the summary of your Executive Council's Report, under the title "Na-

tional Labor Relations Board," the following:

"We have recited a number of outstanding decisions of the Board which clearly indicate what we may expect in the future from its work unless a decided change of policy is adopted."

As one sympathetic to collective bargaining and other aims of organized labor, I can frankly prophesy to you that you can expect more in the future than you have in the past and that there will be no decided change of policy adopted. Congress has said in no uncertain terms that employees have the right to self-organization for purposes of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection free from any interference, coercion, restraint, domination or discrimination on the part of any employer. Congress has charged our Board with the duty of protecting that right. We unqualifiedly accepted that responsibility, and although the Board has unfortunately met with certain obstructionist tactics and an unprecedented amount of litigation during the past year, it has endeavored to protect the rights of labor to the fullest extent of the law. We shall continue to do so.

The last four years have seen the rise of social legislation enacted for the purpose of protecting labor, the fruits of labor and the security of labor, all designed to foster better labor relations. As an outgrowth of this new Governmental philosophy, the National Labor Relations Act resulted. The Act is one of the most constructive pieces of legislation for the worker ever enacted by Congress or by any legislative body. If given a "fair break" by employers, it will result in a stabilized condition in industry that would be beneficial, even to investors. I say this advisedly because the Act is bilateral in purpose. Experience has shown that industry generally has yet to explore the advantageous effect of the purposes underlying the Act. Labor has long recognized that organization and collective bargaining are the only media through which it can hope to gain that degree of equality with industry to which it is so justly entitled. Industry should realize that the human should be placed upon an equality with the corporate factor in business, if industrial strife is to be avoided and more harmonious relations are to be had. There should be a community of thought and interest and a calm and intelligent consideration of matters of common interest. There should be an equalization of bargaining power in order that these two groups who have to buy and sell labor shall be on an equality. There should be a partnership of labor and industry. Wis-

dom demands that each be encouraged to prosper legitimately and to grow into harmonious relations with each other on a basis of equal standing and responsibility before the law.

It calls for progress to a higher plane of education and intelligence in adjusting labor relations.

The effective administration of the National Labor Relations Act will go far toward accomplishing that objective.

If given a free reign by the Supreme Court consistent with the intent of the Act, the Board will spare no effort to accelerate the attainment of that objective.

President Green: In your name, and in your behalf, I thank Mr. Smith for his visit here and for his address. We ask him to remain with us as our guest as long as he can. We are pleased to have him here.

The Chair now calls upon the Committee on Executive Council's Report for a report. The Chair presents to you Vice President Wharton, Chairman of the committee.

Delegate Coleman, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

CHARTERS TO NATIONAL UNIONS

Upon the section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 58, the committee reported as follows:

It is noted in the Executive Council's report, page 58, under the caption "Charters to National Unions" that there is an apparent discrepancy in the number of members in the Sleeping Car Porters and the American Newspaper Guild, and the number of members they are paying per capita tax on at the present time, as well as the voting strength of these organizations.

The Committee calls this to the attention of the Convention in order that this error may be corrected in the official proceedings of the Convention.

With the correction of this apparent discrepancy, the Committee recommends that all affiliated National organizations, State Federations of Labor, and Central Labor Unions extend

to these National Unions their full cooperation and support.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this section of the report.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 59-64, the committee reported as follows:

On pages 59-64 will be found statistical data showing in dollars and cents the amount of money expended by the affiliated National organizations during the past year in payment to their members as out of work, disability, pensions, death and sick benefits.

That more than \$26,000,000 was expended for these purposes indicates not only the stability of the organized labor movement, but also indicates some of the practical benefits accruing to the membership.

In addition to which, there are many other benefits represented in the form of improved working conditions, increased wages, shortening of hours of labor, and many other benefits, resulting from legislative and other activities too numerous to mention.

The Committee recommends concurrence in this portion of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protest Against Lithographers' Label

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Geo. C. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The printing trades union of California, and particularly in the southern part of the State, have suffered severely, during the past several years, from the injection into the industry of a so-called union label, issued by the Lithographers' Association, and distributed indiscriminately to printing plants non-union in all departments except one or two members of that Association; and

WHEREAS, The promiscuous issuance of this label to non-union employers has acted to confuse the

friendly buyer of union label printing into believing the label to be a bona fide union label, and such buyer is induced to purchase the product on the assurance of the non-union printer that it is a union label recognized as such by the Union Labor Movement; and

WHEREAS, The Los Angeles Allied Printing Trades Council, after much effort and expense, created a demand for the union label on printing being produced for breweries, distilleries, and for political purposes, only to have the Lithographers' label injected into the picture and a great portion of the work absorbed by printing plants operating 98 per cent non-union, and employing no members of the Allied Printing Trades, and whose salesmen and solicitors canvass the buyers of union label printing, selling them their products bearing the so-called union label of the Lithographers' Association; and

WHEREAS, The Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor does not recognize the Lithographers' label as a bona fide union label, and it is not advertised by Department in its book of bona fide union labels. And, ever since the American Federation of Labor Convention in 1915, the Lithographers' Association has refused and failed to comply with the instructions of that Convention, and each succeeding Convention, ordering them to consolidate with the International Printing Pressmen, and the International Photo Engravers' Unions, and at the last Convention of the American Federation of Labor they were allowed six months to reach an adjustment, which they have failed to do; and

WHEREAS, The continued use of this label, and its being granted to printing plants operating non-union in all departments, is making serious inroads on the work of the Allied Printing Trades, and is giving an unfair advantage to the non-union employer, who is permitted to use it in competition with the real union label of the printing trades, the Allied Printing Trades Council Union label, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the California State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemns the use of this label, and urges its withdrawal from use in the unfair way it is being employed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the State Federation of Labor bring to the attention of the American Federation of Labor the necessity of an early adjustment of the difficulties surrounding the actions of the Lithographers' Association, and compel them to com-

ply with the often repeated instruction of the Federation.

The committee is of the opinion that the subject matter of this resolution is one which the California State Federation of Labor should have submitted to the International Unions directly affected for their consideration and decision as the course to be followed in disposing of this controversy, because the record indicates that these International Unions have been actively engaged in conferences and otherwise with the object in view of having the decisions of the American Federation of Labor complied with. In the judgment of the committee no action should be taken on this resolution because it is inextricably interwoven with the major question and a recommendation and subsequent action on this committee's report bearing upon the Executive Council's report will definitely dispose of the question involved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY LITHOGRAPHERS' PROTECTIVE AND BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 100-103), the committee reported as follows:

On pages 100-103 under the caption "Memorandum Submitted by Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association."

This title has been changed to read "Case of Lithographers vs. Printing Organizations."

The reading of this portion of the Executive Council's Report will disclose the historical facts in connection with this controversy and in the concluding paragraph the Executive Council urgently solicits the interested organizations to reach an adjustment of their differences along the lines indicated by the Executive Council.

The Committee recommends reaffirmation of previous actions and decisions of the Conventions of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor, and also recommends concurrence in the Report of the Executive Council to this Convention.

Delegate Kennedy, President, Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association; Mr. Chairman, I naturally arise to object to the committee's report and to urge the delegates to vote it down. The matter of the discussion is a jurisdictional dispute and has lasted for many years. It revolves around a dispute over an offset press and the making of plates for this press. The unions concerned are the Printing Pressmen's Union and the Photo-Engravers vs. the Lithographers.

In order that the delegates might understand better than they can from the Executive Council's report the facts of the situation, I will explain that the graphic art industries are the seven unions operating in that field, and these seven unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Five of these unions comprise the Allied Printing Trades Council, and the Lithographers and the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers are not affiliated with the Allied Printing Trades Council. The lithographing industry originated about the year 1800. It is a definite process, using chemicals throughout, that is, chemicals in the making of the plates and chemicals in the printing of those plates. In that respect it is different from the relief printing processes or the intaglio.

During the years of the lithographic industry there has been development in equipment, just as there has been in every other industry. We have gone from using the slow flat bed press to the rotary press, and finally to this press under discussion. Each move that has been made in equipment has religiously followed the original process of lithography. Now, we have, of course, developed along with the press. As each press came in we have placed our members on it, and of course this has not pleased the pressmen's union or the photo-engravers' union when we control the plate making.

The dispute before us started in 1913. At that time the lithographers protested against the teaching of pupils on offset presses by the Printing Pressmen's school. In 1914, the dispute became a jurisdictional dispute over the offset press and the making of plates for that press. In 1915, a committee was appointed by convention action to investigate and to decide the jurisdiction claims over the making of plates. The committee recommended that an award be made, and, incidentally, recommended that a plan of amalgamation be established by the Execu-

tive Council in conformity with the award that had been made. This report of the special investigating committee was referred to the Executive Council, who approved the report and included it as part of its report in the 1916 convention. However, the 1916 convention did not act upon this report. It was printed in the proceedings, but was not referred to any committee and did not appear upon the floor of the convention. It was neither modified, approved, or disapproved; in other words, no action whatever was taken on that report.

In 1917, the Committee on Adjustment recommended that the Executive Council draw up a plan of amalgamation to be put into effect April 1, 1918, or as soon thereafter as the Executive Council might determine, and that the organization or organizations failing to become part of the amalgamation should stand suspended. This was adopted by the Convention.

The 1918 Convention approved a plan of amalgamation prepared by the President and directed the suspension of any organization failing to comply therewith by September 1, 1918. The 1919 Convention approved the request of the Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers which was joined in by the Lithographers to hold in abeyance the enforcement of any suspension until advised by a majority of the unions that the differences could not be amicably adjusted.

After the 1919 Convention, no action in respect to this controversy was taken by any Convention, Executive Council or Committee until 1932, when the first shop difficulty arising during this 13 years period required attention. Thereupon the 1932 Convention adopted the report of the Committee on the Executive Council's report recommending that another conference be held to bring about an acceptance by all parties of **"the decision of the 1916 Convention"**. (There was no 1916 decision).

The 1935 Convention, upon the recommendation of the Committee on Adjustments, approved Resolution No. 199 that "in the event no such agreement or understanding be reached within a period of six months after the adjournment of the 55th Annual Convention . . . that the Executive Council . . . be and it is hereby authorized to suspend the charter of the International Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association . . . until the previous decisions of the A. F. of L. are observed, or to take such other and further action as will seem to the Executive Council best suited to bring about the desired result." The report upon which the approval of this resolution was based said in part: "This Committee recommended the amalgamation of the Trades involved, which recommendation was

approved by the 1916 Convention and in accordance with instructions given at that time the Executive Council decided upon the terms of the amalgamation . . ." (But there was no 1916 decision, or other valid previous decisions.)

This report of the Committee was corrected on the floor of the 1935 Convention by Delegate Kennedy, Lithographers, who said: "There were no instructions given or any decision made in the 1916 Baltimore convention with reference to this dispute, so the committee has incorrectly reported the review of that case."

Analysis of 1936 Report of Executive Council

Paragraph first states that "Proposals and counter-proposals were offered but no acceptable basis of understanding was reached". The fact is that the last conference on October 13, 1936, which was attended by Delegates Kennedy, Bruck and Castro of the Lithographers, Delegate Wolf of the Photo-Engravers, Delegate Orr of the Printing Pressmen and Delegate Mills of the Typographical Union was adjourned to give Delegate Wolf an opportunity to prepare a proposal for adjustment to be presented to the interested Unions for further discussion. This proposed adjustment was never presented because further conferences were called off by the Printing Pressmen representatives until after the ruling of the Executive Council. No further conferences have been held.

In the second paragraph of the report, the Council recommends that this Convention in 1936 render a decision upon the report made in 1915 by the special investigating committee appointed in 1915. The Executive Council now in 1936 is recommending that this Convention overcome the failure of the 1916 Convention to act and that it approve a committee report made twenty-one years ago. The report for which approval, delayed twenty-one years, is asked deals with the fundamental question of jurisdiction. Yet the Executive Council does not even present that report to this Convention. Will a Convention in 1936 vote a cat-in-the-hat approval for a report made in 1915? Certainly not. No Union at this Convention will consent to set a precedent which will permit its jurisdiction to be blindly altered by a committee investigation made 21 years ago.

Paragraph third of the report talks of the amalgamation of the Lithographers with the Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers' Union. The action proposed by the Executive Council will not result in equitable amalgamation of the three international Unions. If it did, the Lithographers would be agreeable. On the contrary, the action of the Executive Council will divide, destroy and

dismember the Lithographers' International. The Executive Council seeks to hand over some Lithographers to the Pressmen, some others to the Photo-Engravers and leaves the remaining members virtual orphans, insufficient in strength or in numbers to continue the Lithographers' Union.

Paragraph fourth errs in implying that the Lithographers presented an "urgent request in 1913 to determine the question of the offset press and offset press work". The Lithographers always had jurisdiction legally by their A. F. of L. charter as well as jurisdiction in fact on the job. Lithographic workers always operated these offset presses, (which are a development of the lithographic flat-bed press) and lithographic Unions have always negotiated with employers concerning offset presses and offset press work. What happened is this: the lithographers in 1913 asked the Convention to restrain the Printing Pressmen from conducting a school to train lithographic pressmen. In defense of their action the Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers asked for jurisdiction. The lithographers never asked for jurisdiction; they always had it, and rightfully so.

Paragraph seventh gives birth to a new and dangerous idea in the adjustment of Trade Union jurisdictional disputes. The report claims that the Lithographers lost jurisdiction over their vital members because their President in 1915 approved and agreed to abide by a Committee's report not yet made. Thus, for the first time to our knowledge, an international union is claimed to have lost its fundamental jurisdictional rights by reason of an alleged prior approval or agreement made by its International President, without knowledge of what that agreement would be; and without a referendum of the members. The Council's reliance upon such an illusory claim seems to be due to a belated recognition by it that since no action was taken by the 1916 Convention upon the Committee's report, and since all actions at subsequent Conventions were based upon the false belief and basis that the 1916 Convention had approved such report, there are no prior Convention decisions binding upon the Lithographers.

The Council's report in conclusion, says "Thus by action of the Convention and by specific approval of the Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association itself, the Executive Council upon the report of a committee to be appointed was fully and completely authorized to render decisions and proceed unqualifiedly with the terms of the report and recommendations of the Committee on Adjustment." First, the Council itself has admitted, and the record is clear on this point, that there was no such Convention action. Second,

there was not and could not be any such alleged agreement and approval without membership referendum. Third, this report accepts as a fact that the Convention of 1915 could delegate to a future Executive Council the right to determine the jurisdiction of at least three international Unions and terms of their amalgamation. A convention cannot delegate or transfer to any Executive Council its sole and unqualified power to determine fundamental jurisdictional rights. This power to settle jurisdictional claims belongs exclusively to the members of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Convention. This right and power cannot and should not be yielded by the affiliated unions.

For these reasons, the report of the Committee on this part of the Executive Council's report should be rejected by this Convention.

POINT I.

- (1) **The 1916 Convention took no action of any kind upon this controversy.**
- (2) **The basis of all action by subsequent Conventions was the purported action of the 1916 Convention.**
- (3) **Therefore, there are no valid Convention decisions to be observed by the Lithographers.**

(1) The report of the special investigating committee was presented to the Executive Council prior to the 1916 Convention and the Executive Council referred to it in its report to the 1916 Convention (Report, page 136). Other jurisdictional disputes were also referred to in the Executive Council's report to the 1916 Convention: for example, dispute concerning acetylene welding (Report, page 139 and 278), dispute concerning jurisdiction of Tailors over Dyers, Cleaners and Pressers (Report, page 139 and 279), etc. These other jurisdictional disputes were presented to the 1916 Convention for action. The controversy between the printing trades and the lithographers was not submitted to the Convention, it was not voted upon, approved, modified or rejected. This is now admitted by the Executive Council.

(2) Subsequent Conventions acted upon this controversy on the assumption that the 1916 Convention had received and considered the Executive Council's report on the special investigating committee's recommendations and that the 1916 Convention had acted thereon. In fact, as pointed out above, the 1916 Convention had not acted and therefore the subsequent Convention decisions were based upon fundamental mistakes of fact and are not entitled to full faith and credit.

The report of the Executive Council

to the 1932 Cincinnati Convention states in reference to this jurisdictional dispute that "reference to the proceedings of the 1916 Convention of the American Federation of Labor records the Convention's approval of the report and recommendation of the special committee which had been appointed to investigate the jurisdictional dispute between these three organizations." This was an error; there was no 1916 decision.

The report of the Committee on Executive Council's report in this 1932 Convention states "We note with approval that upon the invitation of President Green, several conferences have been held between the representatives of the parties in interest and that another conference is being arranged in a further effort to reach an adjustment which we hope will be successful and bring about an acceptance by all parties in interest of the decision of the 1916 Convention which clearly established the jurisdiction of the respective organizations." (Emphasis ours). In fact there was no 1916 decision.

In the 1935 Atlantic City Convention, Resolution No. 199 submitted by the Printing Trades, says in its first preamble "WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor upon report of a special committee after thorough investigation by Convention decision in 1916. . . ." (Emphasis ours).

The report of the Committee on Adjustment to which Resolution No. 199 was referred said in part in referring to the report of the special investigating committee: "This Committee recommended the amalgamation of the Trades involved which recommendation was approved by the 1916 Convention and in accordance with instructions given at that time the Executive Council decided upon the terms of the amalgamation." (Emphasis ours). This is the same basic error; there was no 1916 decision.

It thus becomes clear that the Executive Council the various Convention Committees and the Convention itself have always been under the misapprehension that the 1916 Convention acted upon and approved the report of the special investigating committee and thus directed the action of the Executive Council thereafter. All subsequent action was based upon the supposed 1916 decision, which never occurred. All such Convention action is therefore null and void.

POINT II.

The Authority and Recommendation of the Special Investigating Committee Appointed by the 1915 Convention lapsed upon the failure of the 1916 Convention to act thereon.

We have set out above and beyond any question that neither the 1916 Convention nor any Convention Committee took any action of any kind upon the report of the special investigating committee which was made within the year to the Executive Council.

The work of a Committee appointed by the Convention must be performed within the period of time prior to the next annual convention, at which time the authority of the preceding Convention of its Executive Council and of its Committees ceases. This is necessarily so for the reason that the members assembled in Convention in one year cannot control and govern the organization during succeeding years when another group of members are the chosen and authorized delegates. It is therefore the practice and the law that Committees shall perform their functions and report to the Executive Council within the year of their appointment, unless their authority is renewed. Each Convention authorizes the continuance of any desired activities of the Executive Council or of a special Committee. The Special Committee's recommendations, having failed to secure the 1916 Convention's approval or modification, have lapsed and are of no further effect.

The Investigating Committee investigated the facts at the time of its appointment in 1915; its recommendations were made upon the basis of the then circumstances. Because in the very nature of things circumstances change, a Committee's recommendations upon certain discovered facts cannot be acted upon properly by a Convention many years after the facts have been determined. The facts in 1936 are not the same as the facts in 1915, and obviously we cannot assume that the findings of fact and the recommendations made in 1915 would be repeated today.

There is neither authority nor logic for Convention action in 1936 upon the report of an investigating Committee made twenty-one years ago. In this instance, the report was made in 1915. No action was taken at the succeeding Convention in 1916. The findings and recommendations of this Committee became without force and effect after the 1916 Convention, and afforded no authority for action by subsequent Conventions.

POINT III.

The Convention alone had the right and power to determine jurisdictional disputes.

This power cannot be delegated to the Executive Council or any other subordinate body.

The 1915 Convention authorized the appointment of the investigating Com-

mittee with the power to make findings of fact and recommendations to the Executive Council which was then authorized, as set forth above, to bring about an equitable amalgamation, and to determine the jurisdictional claims.

The entire controversy centered about the request of the Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers for the jurisdiction over offset pressmen and offset platemakers. Any determination of this controversy was within the powers of the Convention alone. This is a fundamental principle of the American Federation of Labor; namely, that only a Convention can finally decide a jurisdiction award. Whatever other powers might be delegated by the Convention, it is clear that this power can under no circumstances be delegated either to the Executive Council or to any other subordinate body. Therefore, any action by the Executive Council to determine jurisdictional awards can serve only as an advisory opinion or recommendation to the Convention. The Executive Council's recommendations in turn are of no effect until they have been submitted to and approved by a Convention.

The Executive Council's report to the 1936 Convention rests in part upon the delegation of power by the 1915 Convention to the Investigating Committee and to the Executive Council. We repeat that this power of the Convention cannot be delegated. The Convention cannot abdicate nor transfer this power to the Executive Council nor to any subordinate Committee. Any other conclusion would result in a dangerous shift of power in jurisdiction matters from the whole Convention to a small group of men in executive session.

POINT IV.

Findings of Fact and Recommendations made twenty-one years ago by an Investigating Committee have no value to this Convention.

In the 21 years intervening between the report of 1915 and this 1936 Convention the increased use of the offset press has been entirely by lithographers. Neither the Printing Pressmen nor the Photo-Engravers have gained any portion of such increase in lithographic employees.

The Lithographers' Union in existence since 1882 was chartered by the American Federation of Labor in 1906, and its autonomy was ordained and secured by its charter. It has been faithful in its obligations to the American Federation of Labor. It has never defaulted in its responsibilities and it should not be divided to satisfy other unions.

The Printing Pressmen seek control of the offset lithographic pressmen and the Photo-Engravers seek control of

the offset lithographic platemakers. These workers constitute the backbone of the Lithographers' Union. The remaining lithographic workers including artists, letterers, transferers and roller makers, among others, would be left to shift for themselves without union protection.

The Lithographers will not consent to the division, disruption and dismemberment of its Union, embracing all workers in the lithographic industry. The destruction of this Union cannot be justified by an effort to satisfy the desires of the Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers. Amalgamation of all of the Unions in the graphic arts upon an equitable basis might have merit but there is no merit, logic or law which can compel the death of the Lithographers' Union.

CONCLUSION

The Executive Council's report must be rejected.

The Lithographers are prepared to confer at any time with all or any of the other printing trades for their mutual good.

The Lithographers are not disposed to refuse to confer with the other Printing Trades in an attempt to adjust any difficulties which may be presented. They have carried on the conferences of the past years for the purpose of adjusting any difficulties (few as they have been) and are willing to continue to meet in such conferences.

If the Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers are so eager to rely upon a Special Committee's recommendations made twenty-one years ago, they might pay heed to the recommendation of the Executive Council to the Convention in 1915 wherein the Council said: "Both in connection with the conference to encourage amalgamation, as well as for the better determination of the question of offset press work, we recommend that the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association should be admitted in the Allied Printing Trades Council where the subject matter of jurisdiction, co-operation and agitation for the extension of the use of the Union label is best furthered." The Printing Trades have consistently during this period of twenty-one years denied us admission to the Allied Printing Trades Council. We requested such admission at all conferences for the purpose of settling any existing difficulties, but our requests were promptly denied.

We refuse to be placed in the position of seeming to claim jurisdiction from other Unions, and of seeming to deny the authority of either the Executive Council or the Convention. Rather, we want this Convention to understand clearly that the Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers were the aggress-

ors in seeking to take jurisdiction from us by Convention authority (never obtained); that they failed and refused for 21 years to admit us to the Printing Trades Council; and that within this 21 years period of development of the offset lithographic process their alleged jurisdiction over offset pressmen and offset platemakers has gained them no new members engaged in this process of work. Their theories of jurisdiction and the true facts are in direct conflict. Offset Pressmen and platemakers are today members of the Lithographers Union. Offset press work and offset platemaking is done by and lies solely within the province of members of the Lithographers Union. Any fair investigation by competent men will confirm these statements in full.

The Lithographers Union, in justice to all of its members, and in justice to its record of industrial unity for over fifty-four years, cannot consent to be destroyed by an unwarranted division and dismemberment.

We firmly believe that the delegates of affiliated unions in Convention will vote against this part of the Executive Council's report, which if adopted means the destruction of the Lithographers Union, the removal of all union protection from several thousand workers, and the establishment of a new and dangerous precedent for the determination of the jurisdiction of all unions.

In connection with the 1916 decision, printed in the proceedings of 1916—that that report has run there for the past twenty years. It is now presented to the Committee on Executive Council's Report in the report of the Executive Council. And while this report of the investigating committee is placed before the Committee on Executive Council's Report and placed now before you for approval or disapproval, the report itself is not included in the report of the Executive Council. No decision was made in 1916, and therefore there were no decisions against the lithographers. The Council states:

"Because this point was raised and vigorously supported, the Executive Council decided to recommend to this convention that a clear-cut and definite decision be rendered upon the report of the special investigating committee and upon the disputes existing between the several organizations interested."

In this case we find that the Executive Council is asking this convention to consider a report made twenty-one years ago, printed in the proceedings of 1916, and you have not the report before you. I have briefly stated in one portion of my remarks that this convention could not consider a report made twenty-one years ago based on the facts as they were at that time

and apply those facts and recommendations to 1936.

The offset press which in 1915 had just started to develop had recently come into existence. There are now something over 3,000 of them. Since that is the bulk of our membership, it will leave a large number of the men engaged in the old lithographic process without any protection. The report of the Executive Council is that since the lithographers allowed the special investigating committee's report to be printed in the proceedings of 1916 without raising any question in the convention, we had given our assent to that report. It might just as well claim that the photo-engravers and the printing pressmen, by not taking any action, would claim that the report in their favor was of little consequence, and they paid no special attention to it.

In this long period of conferences and attempts to form an amalgamation, the lithographers have been willing to enter into any equitable form of organization on the recommendation of the special investigation committee, which provides that amalgamation take place, and that pending that investigation that jurisdiction be given to the photo-engravers and the printing pressmen.

They will not enter into any amalgamation unless we concede that they have entire jurisdiction. The Lithographers' Union is a union which comprises all the workers in the lithographic crafts, that is, the plate makers and the pressmen work side by side. They do not want to be divided. Years ago they came together with the assistance of President Gompers. Half of the shop is working under a contract that expires on one date and half on another date. We have not been able to reach a plan of amalgamation. At our last conference we had something encouraging from President Woll, but it never did come to the surface.

President Green spoke of unconditional surrender in his remarks. He said that is not part of the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, but unconditional surrender is what has been asked of the lithographers. It is embodied in the report before you. You are asked to approve the ruling made by the Executive Council. If that is done, it means that the printing pressmen and photo-engravers, according to the decision of 1919, can at any time write the Executive Council and ask for a suspension of the lithographers and the suspension will take place. We are asking the convention to not approve of that.

In closing, I would like to take the liberty of again quoting from the remarks of President Green in opening the convention. He stated, speaking of the American Federation of

Labor convention:

"Here the humblest, weakest international union in the American Federation of Labor is accorded the same right as the most powerful organization, and democracy means much to them. If they were to determine their questions by force, they would lose, but determined by the rule of reason and the application of the principle of democracy, they can win."

I thank you.

Delegate Gill, Typographical Union: For a point of information, do I understand that the lithographers are willing to affiliate either with the photo-engravers or the printing pressmen, but not to be divided between the two of them? Is that the intent?

President Green: Perhaps Brother Kennedy can answer that more definitely than I can answer it, but it is my understanding that Brother Kennedy, speaking for his organization, registers their opposition to being assigned either in whole or in part to either the photo-engravers or the printing pressmen. I will let him answer.

Delegate Kennedy, Lithographers: At one of the many conferences held between the three organizations, we were discussing the kinds of amalgamation. One of the proposals we brought in to be considered by that conference—and, of course, if acceptable, to be referred back to our membership—was the proposal that we affiliate with either one of the organizations with whom we were in dispute, if we were to go in as a unit, but with this proviso, that when we would go into this one union as a unit, any other unions in the printing industry that might have claims on jurisdiction or might want to present them, would withdraw such claims and promise not to bring them into the records of the American Federation of Labor.

We have no desire to move our International out of existence, go into one of the unions and then find ourselves split afterwards. We want the protection of the American Federation of Labor, we want to be assured that any arrangement made like that will be permanent.

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I shall be brief, because I realize that jurisdictional controversies are often tiring and that it is impossible to make a clear explanation in regards to certain technical applications to a body such as this, and clarify the issue.

I want to differ with some of the remarks made by President Kennedy insofar as any decision having been reached. While it is true there was an unfortunate placing of the year 1916 instead of the year 1915 in the resolution presented to the convention last year, prior to that time the lithographers had never questioned and never raised the issue that a jurisdictional award had not been made. Even up to the time of the reporting of the committee to the convention last year and after the report was submitted, Delegate Kennedy will be found on the record to say that the report of the committee in regards previous action by the convention is substantially correct. It is true that the next day he recalled that, and since then he and his associates have been taking the stand that no decision had been reached in 1916.

The records clearly indicate that the 1915 convention approved of the appointment of a committee to investigate, that committee to report to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council was empowered by the 1915 convention to act. Such a committee was appointed, one of the members of the committee selected by the lithographers being James Holland, at that time President of the New York State Federation of Labor. Another appointed was Jacob Fischer, of the Barbers' International Union, selected, I believe, by the Printing Trades unions, and James Wilson, who was appointed by President Gompers. That committee, after a very thorough investigation, an investigation which included visits to shops where the process of offset plate making and printing and the process of relief plate making and printing was being carried on, brought in a unanimous report to the Executive

Council which was based principally upon the fact that the finished product of either offset printing or relief printing is so similar that the ordinary purchaser of printing cannot tell the difference. For that reason, and to avoid conflict, the committee recommended the amalgamation of these organizations, recommended that the offset plate makers be included in the International Union of Photo-Engravers and that the printing of offset plates be included in the Printing Pressmen's Union. The committee rendered such a decision and made such a jurisdiction award.

President Kennedy also stated that the processes are quite different, and that quite different chemicals are used. Let me say that the processes are very similar. A camera is used in both processes, a similar screen for separation is used in both processes, and a person who can make a negative for the one process can equally well make a negative for the other process. The same chemicals are used in both operations. In both processes the print is made on a piece of sensitized zinc or copper or other metal, but the same chemicals and process are used in producing that print or metal, and there is not a photo-engraver who cannot produce a negative for offset plate making or an offset printing plate. So that the processes are quite similar.

I might say, too, that there are few photo-engraving plants who do not produce offset printing plates, and there are some offset printing plants where the entire process of plate making is done by members of the photo-engravers' union. The only difference that does exist is the unfortunate difference—and I don't hold Delegate Kennedy or the lithographers' officials responsible for this condition, a condition over which possibly they have had insufficient control—but the only difference is that when the lithographer produces negatives and plates, he produces them for a lesser wage and under conditions inferior to those

which prevail when they are produced by the photo-engraver, in consequence leading to a very unfair competitive condition.

The photo-engravers and the pressmen, if I can speak for them, have consistently agreed to the findings of the committee of investigation which made a thorough investigation and reported to the Executive Council, and they have agreed to the decision of the Executive Council following the 1915 convention in regards amalgamation and jurisdiction. We have had numerous conferences since, and as I stated, at no time prior to a year ago—and this controversy, as pointed out by President Kennedy, has been continuing for some twenty years—at no time prior to a year ago did the lithographers question the findings of this committee of investigation or the findings of the Executive Council to whom they reported, and in all instances those findings were unanimous.

They have asked for a clear-cut decision, and the committee that has again had this matter under consideration since this convention convened is bringing in a request for approval of those past decisions and of amalgamation, such as previously recommended. That is all that the photo-engravers are seeking, and that is all I believe the Printing Pressmen's Union is seeking.

However, I might state prior to finishing, that it is not alone a question at this time in which the Photo-engravers and the Pressmen's Union are interested. It has developed to such an extent that all of the printing trades unions have become interested, due to the fact that the so-called union label used by the Lithographers is causing considerable confusion and conflict in the minds of those who buy printing and who buy engravings. It has been pointed out at different times that the label of the lithographers is used in conjunction with non-union composition, in conjunction with non-union operations involving the other printing trades.

I might say the resolution presented last year was presented on behalf of all of the printing trades unions, and while it is true that the Pressmen's Union and the Photo-Engravers' Union are the ones most directly involved and are the ones who have been seeking the straightening out of this particular problem, it is equally true that all of the other printing trades unions are interested and are desirous of an agreement and an arrangement being made which will discontinue this conflict and bring about an understanding under which the past difficulties which we have experienced will no longer exist.

I am sure that all of the other printing trades unions join the pressmen and the photoengravers in approving of the action and recommendation of the committee which has just reported.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? Delegate Kennedy asks for the privilege of making an additional statement. Are there objections? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

Delegate Kennedy, Lithographers: I would like to answer some of the statements made by President Volz of the Photo-Engravers. To begin with, he draws attention to the fact that at the last convention, that is, the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor, we raised the point of no decision in 1916, which was the first time that point had been raised by us. The reason for that is this, that any time a request was made to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for the record of the decision made in this controversy, we would receive about fifteen pages of typewritten matter covering six or seven conventions, and one running into another, so that it was hard to tell at which convention this happened or at which convention that happened. Under the circumstances it was very difficult to find out what action, if any, was taken in 1916.

The fact that it has taken fifteen or sixteen pages of typewritten matter to

explain when and how a decision was made was proof conclusive that there was never convention action after the report of the special investigating committee. Now it seems very clear to me, watching the situation at the various conventions, that when a decision is made by a convention which allocates jurisdiction to any particular union, it appears in the record very complete and concise—we hereby approve the award of jurisdiction to this, that, or the other union—and it only takes a few lines and states the story. When it has to take fifteen pages, then it must be an involved decision, and so it was in this case, and it was very excusable that we did not discover that no convention decision had ever been made which gave any validity to this recommendation of the special investigating committee. I have dwelt on that point very strongly. I think it is an important one. I think the delegates in this convention will not want to set a precedent that on any occasion they agree to the appointment of a committee to investigate a jurisdiction controversy, after the appointment of the committee they shall never have another opportunity to speak on the award that will be made, that whether they agree with the award or not, the matter is closed once they have agreed to the appointment of a committee.

I think, as I have stated in my talk, that is a dangerous precedent to establish, and I believe that ought to convince the delegates to vote down the report of the committee.

There has been some talk of the similarity of appearance of the finished work from a relief printing press and from an offset lithograph press. There is some similarity of appearance in the completed product, some of the products that a layman could not distinguish the difference between them, but as my understanding goes, this convention is comprised of International Unions that are not drawn together on products or the competitive conditions between the industry. It is an organization of craftsmen. The

line of demarcation is between crafts, and while the products may be similar in appearance, the workers are not interchangeable, they cannot go from one press to another, and also a pressman cannot operate a relief press, and vice versa. It has been proven innumerable times.

It has been said by Delegate Volz that the lithographers do not agree with the report of that special investigating committee, whereas the printing pressmen are willing to live up to it and they do agree with it. Why not? The investigating committee recommended that the lithographers be split in half, lose their identity and be absorbed in the other two unions, and naturally we object to that. The Printing Pressmen and Photo-Engravers would not object under those circumstances.

On the question of the label we have, as President Volz styles it, a "so-called" union label. It is my understanding that every international union as affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is entitled to use a union label, if that is the type of insignia they desire to use. If they are members of the American Federation of Labor, and if the members of their organization, through their affiliation, are union men, and if they complete a union product, why can't they put a union label on it and say that it has been produced by union men affiliated with the American Federation of Labor? They say that a controversy will arise occasionally where the lithographers put their label on and perhaps some bookbinding is not union in connection with it or some typesetting. That is not chargeable entirely to us. We have gone time and time again to the Printing Trades Council and asked to use the label under the same conditions they use it, but we have always been refused. We have been rejected from their Council. They will not take our cooperation and then they blame us for things that happen. We have never dodged that issue.

It would be interesting also to have

the five unions of the Allied Printing Trades come up here and talk about controversies they have themselves about the Allied label, about one union using it in a shop where the other union is not organized and where that firm is not entitled to use the label. I hear of those things, and the delegates here from the printing trades know that to be a fact. I will wager there is more controversy over the label between the Allied Printing Trades Unions, themselves, than there is between the Allied Trades and the lithographers. I will ask the delegates to consider that very strong point, that there has been no convention decision, and it is my opinion that since the matter is so involved, since it calls for our suspension and without a convention decision on the investigating committee's report, I believe the entire matter should be re-submitted to the Executive Council and that an investigating committee should be appointed now, not to look at conditions as they were in 1915, but to look at them as they are in 1936.

I would further recommend that this committee be like committees that have been appointed in recent years. I have heard President Green appoint such committees from this platform, and always he has made the qualification that the men selected to act as an investigating committee should not be composed of the unions involved in the controversy, but they should have some knowledge of the industries they were about to study. In 1915, that was not the case. We make no charge of fraud against that special investigating committee, but we do say they did not know the technical processes involved in the graphic art, and no matter how willing they may have been to reach impartial judgment, their lack of knowledge of the problem they were studying would interfere with their reaching a just verdict.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen: Mr. President and delegates, I regret very much that it is necessary for me to impose myself upon you for a few

minutes, but I would like for the delegates to this convention to understand that there has been no effort upon the part of the five international printing trade unions to secure the suspension or the expulsion of the Lithographers' Union. The fact is that from the very beginning of this issue, we have had in fact the right to request their suspension on their failure to accept the decisions arrived at through the report of the special committee. The five printing trade unions do not now come to this convention asking that the lithographers be suspended. We come to this convention with the request that the decision made many years ago be re-affirmed, and the basis for our action now is because of the growing consequences attendant to the operation of offset printing presses. The offset printing press is quite different from lithography, as has been stated by President Kennedy of the Lithographers' Union. The offset printing press is a comparatively new institution in the field of graphic arts. The offset printing press is a rotary printing press, and I say to you very frankly and truthfully that I venture the observation that there is not a man or a woman in this convention who can tell the difference between offset printing and relief printing. That is a pretty broad statement, but we have made that test many times.

What is the significance of this absolute similarity between offset printing and relief printing? Well, the difference is this, that in relief printing there is the International Typographical Union whose members set the type with a fine high wage compensation rate in America. There is the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, whose members have a high standard of wages in America. There is the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, the International Photo-engravers, the International Printing Pressmen's Union, all with high scales and the short work week. Now they are in competition, not exclusively, of course, because many of these offset

printing presses in the United States are being manned by members of our union, as, for example, in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving at Washington and in other places. But in these shops where they have established offset printing presses and are turning out this product at a low wage rate, with the product being absolutely identical insofar as the consumers are concerned, you can understand immediately what it means in the field of competition between the organizations that have scales of wages and the shorter work week. That is the situation.

Let me remind you of an incident as an illustration that I presented yesterday to the committee when they were dealing with this subject. When the special committee was appointed, consisting of one gentleman named by the lithographers as described by President Volz, one by the printing trades unions and one by President Gompers, they went into this whole situation. That has been some time ago, and I recall as though it was yesterday when, in a large New York plant, there happened to be on one floor relief printing presses producing a label. The committee investigated that. The lithographers were present as well as the representatives of the printing trades unions. We went down to the next floor and there was an offset printing press producing labels. I recognized the similarity in the design and colors and I asked the superintendent if he would not be good enough to go to the floor above and get a sheet with a hundred labels on it, approximately, in four colors, bring it down and show it to the committee. This sheet was brought down and shown to the committee. There in front of the committee was an offset printing press printing the identical labels, and the committee could not tell the difference.

Now, there is the answer to this problem. Illustrating that fact, let me give you very briefly a little historical background which will iden-

tify the practicability to which I am making mention. In 1908, when the printing trades unions engaged themselves in a great national movement to establish the 48-hour week, we had a fight, not so great as later, but we had a fight with the relief printers of the United States doing color. The lithograph houses having offset printing presses got busy mighty quickly, because it was easy for them, the relief printing houses, to take their work and have it done on offset printing presses. In 1921, when he had our national fight for the 44-hour week, the same identical thing occurred and the customers did not know the difference between the printing. We lost additional commercial printing houses in the United States at that time.

In the interim period between 1908 and 1921, the lithographers elected to go out and improve their conditions, and immediately the non-union relief employing printers of the United States began to get busy and do the work that was being done by the lithographers. That is just the whole truth of the situation.

We have been patient, hoping against hope that we would be able to compose this difference in the interests of all concerned.

There are two plate-making organizations in the American Federation of Labor. That is the photo-engravers that make the originals and the etchings and the drawings, and the stereotypers and electrotypers. They have gotten along. We are seeking to help and not hinder the plate makers now affiliated with the Lithographers' Union.

We operate printing presses in the International Printing Pressmen's Union with high scales and shorter hours. We seek to help the offset printing pressmen who may be in the Lithographers' Union rather than to hinder them, and so we come here today accepting the suggestion of the Executive Council that this matter be again reaffirmed, the decision of the Executive Council that a special com-

mittee be appointed. We ask for that. We accept the committee's report made here upon the report of the Executive Council. We seek no suspension of this union. We hope to work out with them a happy composition of our differences. That is the truth as I see it.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? Delegate Kennedy asks for the opportunity of saying something more. Are there objections? Under the rules a delegate cannot speak twice upon any question until all other speakers who desire to speak have been accorded an opportunity to do so. Brother Kennedy has spoken twice on the matter. He now asks for the opportunity of making a somewhat brief statement again. Are there objections? Hearing none, Delegate Kennedy may proceed.

Delegate Kennedy, Lithographers: I will be very brief, but I would like to answer a couple of statements made by President Berry of the Printing Pressmen's Union. In the matter of comparative wages between the Lithographers' Union and the unions in the printing industry, it would not do to quote wages here, the comparative scales or any question of a technical nature such as that, but it does seem when you have two unions who have claimed for twenty years to have jurisdiction over the lithographic process—if the conditions were so far superior in those unions, could we have held them all these years? I ask you to answer that question.

With reference to the removal of the sheet of labels from the relief printing department to the offset department, where the sheet was the same set of labels and the product could not be distinguished, I asked President Berry at a committee meeting yesterday, could he, instead of moving the sheet from the relief printing department to the offset department to make comparison of similarities, remove the relief pressman from his printing press and place him on an offset press, or vice versa, and could they both operate that press? He knows and I know

that neither one could operate the press to which they had been assigned.

The last statement I want to make is that this is not a reaffirmation of a convention decision on jurisdiction. What you are voting on is an original jurisdiction award, and if you approve it, it is the first time any convention has approved an award respecting the offset press or the plate makers. It is an original decision and you haven't got before you the report of any special investigation committee. You haven't even got the Executive Council asking for a decision. They are asking simply for the approval of a ruling which they made, which states in substance that it is not necessary for a convention to approve a committee's report, that once the committee is appointed and agreed to, its report need not come back here and the jurisdiction award is made and is complete and final.

Vice-President Wharton: It is not the desire of the chairman of the committee to enter into the technical discussion of this dispute, but I would like to call your attention to the nature of the committee's report. This committee recommends to this convention the following:

"The reading of this portion of the Executive Council's report will disclose the historical facts in connection with this controversy, and in the concluding paragraph the Executive Council urgently solicits the interested organizations to reach an adjustment of their differences along the lines indicated by the Executive Council.

"The committee recommends reaffirmation of previous actions and decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and also recommends concurrence in the report of the Executive Council to this convention."

We do not attempt to go into the technical points involved, but to place the matter in a situation where we believe something could be accom-

plished, because there was the continual raising of technical objections to previous action of the convention. The report of the committee, in our judgment, removes those technicalities and places the matter in a position where these organizations may fairly sit down and attempt to adjust their differences in the best interests of the men working in the industry.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Kennedy, Lithographers: I want to be recorded as voting no, on behalf of the Lithographers' delegation.

Jurisdiction Over Workers in Neon Sign Glass Industry

On page 100 of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Jurisdiction Over Workers in Neon Sign Glass Industry," the Committee commends the Executive Council for its effort to adjust this controversy and concurs in the recommendation in the last paragraph pertaining to this subject.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Moriarty, Sheet Metal Workers: I would like to move that when further conferences of this committee are held, the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association be part of that committee.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that there would be no objection to that course, Brother Moriarty, and that it would be perfectly agreeable for the representatives of the Association you name, your organization, to participate in future conferences when this subject is considered. Are there any objections to the motion offered by Delegate Moriarty? Hearing none, the Chair will consider it adopted by this convention.

The question now occurs upon the adoption of the committee's report. The committee's report, in essence, provides that we continue conferences

for the purpose of trying to bring about a settlement of the jurisdictional disputes.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Engineers—Firemen

On pages 103-104 under the caption "Engineers—Firemen," the Committee recommends concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Foundry Employees—Moulders

On page 104 under the caption "Foundry Employees—Moulders," the Committee recommends concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Jurisdiction Over Beer Coll Cleaners
Page 104 under the caption "Jurisdiction over Beer Coll Cleaners."

The committee recommends concurrence in the recommendation of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Jurisdictional Conflicts

On page 104 under the caption "Jurisdictional Conflicts," the Committee recommends concurrence in the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Change of Titles

On page 105 under the caption "Change of Titles," two subjects are dealt with. The first paragraph deals with a request from the Metal Polishers' International Union for a change in title. The request was granted.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Second paragraph—The Stove Mounters' International Union made application to change title to read "Allied

Stove Mounters' and Stove Processors' International Union."

The organization also introduced Resolution No. 40 dealing with the same subject. The resolution is as follows:

Stove Mounters' International Union—Application for Change of Title

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Edw. W. Kaiser, Stove Mounters' International Union.

The Stove Mounters' International Union asks your consideration and approval of the following resolution:

WHEREAS, In accordance with the mandate of the Stove Mounters' International Union of delegates assembled in convention, in the city of Newark, Ohio, August 13-17, 1935, by resolution adopted that our title be changed from Stove Mounters' International Union to Allied Stove Mounters' and Stove Processors' International Union. Due to the evolution and changes in the industry we represent, we are compelled to make this change in order to insure us of peace and harmonious relationship with those firms who have signed our agreements. Further, due to seasonal work of our industry, which in part is made up of stoves, enamel parts, refrigeration assembly (not mechanical mechanism), packers of such parts, and such work pertaining directly to assembly line and sub-assembly, and preliminary work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the Stove Mounters' International Union petition this convention to grant us the change of title as aforementioned, in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

A representative of the organization appeared before the committee in defense of the resolution and the action of their International convention which had adopted the change in title. The committee gave due consideration to the statements of the representative and the claim of no intention to extend the jurisdiction of this International. It was the judgment of the committee the change sought would lead to disputes with closely related organizations because of the all embracing scope of the words "Allied" and "Processors" in the title requested.

The committee recommends non-concurrence in Resolution No. 40 and con-

currence in the action of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Department of Food Industry Employees

On page 105 under the caption "Department of Food Industry Employees," your Committee recommends concurrence in the Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 27 introduced by the delegates of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Union deals with the same subject.

Resolution No. 27 is as follows:

Favoring Establishing A. F. of L. Food Department

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Only a small fraction of many thousands of workers employed in the food industry are at present organized; and

WHEREAS, Conflicting interests and cross purposes prevailing among the various organizations representing the food industry serve as barriers and prevent a genuine unification of all food workers; and

WHEREAS, This condition is responsible for subjecting food workers to brutal treatment and inhuman conditions of long hours and low wages; and

WHEREAS, An effective remedy may be brought about by the formation of a Food Department in the American Federation of Labor; and, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring the establishment of such a Food Department.

President Edward Flore advised the Committee that favorable action on the Executive Council's Report met the situation and was satisfactory to his organization. The adoption of the Committee's report will therefore make unnecessary any action on Resolution No. 27.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I would like to ask the Chairman of the committee whether that still leaves the matter in the hands of the Executive Council.

Vice President Wharton: If you will read the report of the committee, you will find it states that the question of organizing a department in the food products industries would be subject to favorable action on the part of the interested organizations, and we concurred in that report because it leaves it up to the organization directly interested to show sufficient interest in the organization of the department to again bring the matter to the attention of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which I understand has so far made no objection to the organization of a department when the interested organizations are ready to organize a department.

Delegate Flore: I still ask the same question: Does that still leave the matter in the hands of the Executive Council?

Vice President Wharton: And I just replied that it did.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Official Changes

On pages 105-106 under the caption "Official Changes" your Committee recommends concurrence in the action of the Executive Council in the filling of the vacancies created by the resignations of Vice-President John L. Lewis, Vice-President David Dubinsky, and Vice-President William L. Hutcheson.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Death of Former Vice-President Jacob Fischer

On page 106 under the caption "Death of Former Vice-President Jacob Fischer" your Committee recommends concurrence in the tribute paid to Brother Jacob Fischer, former Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, who passed away August 25, 1936.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Metal Trades Department

On page 107 under the caption "Metal Trades Department," your Committee is pleased to note the substantial progress made by the Metal Trades Department, both in reference to increased membership, of the number of work agreements negotiated, as well as the spirit of cooperation which has developed between the Metal Trades Department, the Building Trades Department, and the Union Label Trades Department.

Particular reference to the practical application of the cooperative action of the Metal Trades and the Building Trades Departments in negotiating of agreements where many, if not all, of the affiliated International Unions were directly concerned, is worthy of note.

The Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report and also recommends a continuation of the policy of the cooperative action between the different Departments wherever practicable and feasible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Railway Employees' Department

On pages 108-111 under the caption, "Railway Employees' Department," the report submitted by the Railway Employees' Department discloses that there has been substantial progress in the organization field as well as in securing the enactment of legislation beneficial to the railway employees. It is also to be noted that success attended the joint action of the railway labor organizations in negotiating what is known as the National Coordination Agreement, which in a substantial way protects the employees who are displaced as the result of consolidated railway facilities.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Gompers Memorial Fund

On page 106 under the caption "Gompers Memorial Fund," the Committee recommends concurrence with the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Investigation of American Federation of Teachers

On pages 120 and 121 under the caption "Investigation of American Federation of Teachers" the Committee recommends concurrence in the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Department of Labor

On pages 126-137 under the caption "Department of Labor" the Committee concurs in the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Wages and Hours

On pages 142-143-144 under the caption "Wages and Hours" information has been compiled which commends itself to the careful consideration of every person interested in the economic welfare of the workers.

The Committee recommends that the affiliated International organizations publish this portion of the Executive Council's report in their trade journals.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Labor Relations Board

On pages 153-158 will be found information that should be carefully considered by the officers of all affiliated organizations because of the employers' attack upon the validity of the Act.

The apparent determination of many large employers to disregard the provisions of the Act in some measure

justifies the conclusion that this legislation must be of the greatest importance to Labor.

There may be some weaknesses develop in the provisions of the law with particular reference to the right of labor to organize. This would not be an unusual situation in legislation beneficial to workers which is being so strongly opposed by large industries.

The Committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor continue to follow the work of the National Labor Relations Board and the decisions rendered by the courts affecting its application with the thought in mind that it may be necessary to prepare and submit to Congress corrective amendments.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Unemployment

On pages 158-159 under the caption "Unemployment" reference is made to the inadequate methods of measuring unemployment.

The Committee is of the opinion that adequate information regarding the fluctuation of employment in industry will never be satisfactorily dealt with until legislation is enacted which will require employers to cooperate with Government agencies in filing data so necessary in dealing with the problem of unemployment.

With the above comment, the Committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to give further study to this question, and if deemed advisable to prepare suitable legislation for submission to the next Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Machine Displacement

On pages 168-169 under the caption "Machine Displacement" reference is made to a bill introduced in Congress as a result of the action of the 1934 Convention of the American Federation of Labor requesting an investigation of workers displaced by machinery

and power devices. The Committee commends the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their efforts in supporting legislation necessary to secure the information as regards the displacement of workers by the introduction of machinery and power devices.

The Committee recommends that they continue their efforts to secure this desired information.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Union Label—Ready-to-Wear Men's and Boys' Clothing

On pages 104-105 under the caption "Union Label — Ready-to-Wear Men's and Boys' Clothing" the Committee finds that the language is but a synopsis of the Executive Council's Report.

In order that this question may be fully understood by the Convention, we are herewith submitting the entire report of the Executive Council on this subject. This report is as follows:

Union Label on Men's and Boys' Clothing

At the Washington Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1933 there was presented to that body the question of granting a charter of affiliation as an international union to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

This organization had existed for some years as a dual organization to the affiliated organization—The United Garment Workers of America.

Just prior to that Convention in 1933 an agreement was signed by the Executive Officers of these two organizations which defined and provided for jurisdiction lines along which both organizations could work harmoniously within the Federation. This agreement also provided that both organizations would use only one union label and that label to be the union label of the United Garment Workers of America.

Due to this understanding having

been arrived at between both organizations and in the belief that both unions should and would live up to it, a charter of affiliation was granted to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

At the October 1936, meeting of the Executive Council it was brought to our attention that on October 14, 1936, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America announced that it was then using and intended to continue using and issuing a label of its own. This is a clear violation of the existing agreement with the United Garment Workers of America which formed the basis for granting a charter to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America by the Federation. Therefore, the Executive Council disapproves and condemns this violation, that the label of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America does not have the endorsement or approval of the American Federation of Labor; and that the President of the Federation is directed to immediately advise all international, state and city central bodies, as well as organizers, that the label of the United Garment Workers of America is the only approved and recognized union label on all men's and boys' ready-to-wear, made to measure tailored to the trade clothing, uniforms, pants, collars, and shirts of all kinds, pyjamas, shorts, bathrobes, white goods, leather lined coats, playsuits, men's and boys' overalls, windbreakers, and on all similar clothing for men and boys.

Your Committee recommends that the language of this report be inserted in the Executive Council's Report in lieu of the synopsis under the caption "Union Label — Ready-to-Wear Men's and Boys' Clothing" appearing on pages 104-105 of the Executive Council's Report.

With the insertion of this language in the Executive Council's Report your Committee recommends concurrence in the Executive Council's Report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Zaritsky, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers: I would like to ask a question of the chairman or secretary of the committee for my own information and for the information of others. Does the organization mentioned in this report control the men's clothing industry, and is the men's clothing industry organized by that organization sufficiently so as to enable members of the organized labor movement to purchase men's and boys' clothing with the union label of the United Garment Workers of America on it?

Vice President Wharton: Is President Rickert in the room? President Rickert will be here and will make answer.

Delegate Rickert, United Garment Workers: As explained to me by President Green, I want to say that the answer is yes.

Delegate Yagoda, Pottsville, Pennsylvania, Central Labor Union: I want another question answered by the committee, to which the answer might possibly be yes, but I would like the President of the United Garment Workers to make that answer again, and that is, not only are they sufficiently organized, but are the shops under contract with the United Garment Workers organized under such conditions as will enable us to see them exemplify the best traditions of the labor movement? In other words, are there not other organizations in existence which possibly have maintained standards more compatible with the ideals of the American Federation of Labor and the American labor movement than those standards of the United Garment Workers of America? I want him to answer that question.

Delegate Rickert: The answer is not only yes, but the conditions in our shops are far superior to the conditions in many of the shops of the other organization in question.

Delegate Osman, Wholesale Dry-goods Employees Union No. 19932: I notice from the 1935 convention proceedings—judging from the number of

votes—there must have been approximately 35,000 members of the United Garment Workers Union, while the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union evidently had over 100,000 members. We cannot say that an organization that comprises approximately three times the size of the United Garment Workers of America should be excluded from the right to say that they are organized and that they are part of the American labor movement. I would say it is unfair to say that the United Garment Workers' label should be the only one that should be recognized as the union label. It should be recognized as the official label in the clothing industry, but not as an exclusive union label.

We have not yet settled finally and definitely whether this labor movement shall be split or not. I believe the sentiment is that there shall not be a split in this labor movement, and until the decision has been definitely and finally made, I suggest that we table the request to make the United Garment Workers' label the only label recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: May I explain, just as the committee has reported, or at least amplify that section of the committee's report, that an agreement was entered into between these two organizations which provided that the label recognized by the American Federation of Labor for so many years was the only label that each of the two organizations would use. It was the accepted universal label by agreement. That agreement is still in effect so far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, but the one organization abrogated that agreement and has now attempted to set up a label of its own. That is not, in the opinion of the Executive Council, the proper way to proceed.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: If such an agreement was entered into by the two organizations mentioned, unquestionably it was a voluntary agreement and was made by

themselves and ratified by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore, if such an agreement was entered into, it certainly ought to be the right of either contracting party to withdraw from that agreement. It should not necessarily follow that the American Federation of Labor should undertake to boycott an international union that is a part of the American Federation of Labor because it has come to a parting of the ways with an institution that it made an agreement with.

I want to direct your attention to an angle to this thing that is going to affect practically 50 per cent of the men in this convention. To outlaw the label of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers means that any man who insists on getting a custom made suit of clothes will have to wear a pair of overalls in the future. There will be no such thing as a union label for custom made clothes recognized by the American Federation of Labor, under the proposal as set forth here by the Executive Council.

Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Tailors' International Union has amalgamated and become a part of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' organization, and by outlawing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, you are outlawing the only union label that you can get on custom made clothes.

What is the use of us kidding ourselves here by accepting the statement of Brother Ricker? I have every respect for him, but the 30,000 or 35,000 members he has in his organization, including those making overalls, can't make enough clothes for the union men in this country, and for him to stand here and say to us, yes, they can make them, they can supply them, you know that is not in accord with the facts.

You are going to force men who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to go in and buy clothes

with a label of an organization, a label that you are outlawing here, when that organization is yet a part of the American Federation of Labor. Let me tell you, my friends, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is a big part of the American Federation of Labor and it has a large purchasing power.

Such a reprisal is also directed at the International Typographical Union. They are going to outlaw the label of that union, according to Colonel Frey. When you get through outlawing those organizations that have a large purchasing power, you have one branch of the American Federation of Labor at the throat of the other branch, and it is not going to contribute to the solidarity of the labor movement. You are going to destroy all the money and time and effort that you have put in educating union men to demand the union label. It is inconsistent with the philosophy of the trade union movement. It is a destructive tactic. It will get you nowhere except a fight. I am opposed to it.

President Green: I don't believe Delegate Martel would wish to make a misstatement to the convention, I am sure he would not, in order to impress upon the delegates the argument that he is making. First of all, the Tailors' International Union has not amalgamated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It is a distinct union with a distinct label, pays its per capita tax direct to the American Federation of Labor and has a delegate in the convention, and any one who desires to buy tailor made clothing with a tailor's label upon it can do so. Now I know you would not want to leave the wrong impression, so the Chair takes advantage of the opportunity to make that correction.

Delegate Martel: I have been informed by the representatives in my own city of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and by the Journeymen Tailors that both international unions took a vote on amalgamating and that such vote was favorable and such amalgamation was consummated. If they are

here, they are here as a part of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, unless the American Federation of Labor does not recognize that amalgamation. I have been informed by the official representatives of both these organizations that they did amalgamate. If there is a delegate here from the Tailors' Union, I would like to have him tell me that they are not part of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union.

President Green: I can tell you that the American Federation of Labor has never approved any amalgamation of the Journeymen Tailors' International Union with any other organization. It has never been asked for. No application for amalgamation was ever made, and I think you will agree that organizations can't just amalgamate without taking it up in the ordinary and regular way. I merely make the correction for the benefit of the delegates.

Delegate Goldstone, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: I would like to get a point of information. If the Amalgamated Clothing Workers would have a desire to use the label of the United Garment Workers' organization, do they have to apply to the United Garment Workers for the right to use the Garment Workers' label?

President Green: Brother Goldstone, it is my understanding that the agreement is still in effect, and that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, until the agreement is abrogated, by mutual consent, are entitled to use the label of the United Garment Workers' organization.

Delegate Goldstone: Without any application for the right to use it?

President Green: That was settled when they became a part of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Goldstone: But they have not used it?

President Green: I am not sure whether they use it or not. I am advised that they did use it, Brother Goldstone, and they are entitled to use

It under the terms of the agreement. The thing is that we do not want to confuse the workers with two labels. There ought to be an agreement which provides for one, so that the workers could know that they were buying union label goods with one label.

Delegate Osman, Dry Goods Employees' Union No. 19932: I believe I moved to table the question until the matter of the C. I. O. is settled, and I understand a motion to table is not debatable.

President Green: That's right. Do you offer a motion to table until the C. I. O. question is settled?

Delegate Osman: Yes.

President Green: Is that seconded?

The motion was seconded by several delegates.

Vice President Wharton: I rise to a point of order. My point of order is that the reason for the subject matter being tabled has no relation to the question of whether or not the organizations comprising the C. I. O. are in or out of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: The point of order is well taken. The question occurs on the committee's report.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I rise to move that the question be laid on the table.

The motion was seconded, but was defeated on being put to vote.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Workmen's Compensation

On pages 139-140 under the caption "Workmen's Compensation," the Committee recommends concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's Report, and recommends their continued activity in securing legislation necessary to protect the unfortunate victims of occupational diseases and to reduce occupational hazards to a minimum.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: There is one sec-

tion of this report, page 140, fourth paragraph, which if approved might be misunderstood and used against those of us who are trying to secure state legislation for full coverage in occupational diseases. The fourth paragraph reads—I am quoting from the report of the Executive Council:

"In preparing legislation on occupational disease insurance those who are representing the interests of Labor must be on the alert for a number of possibilities. Insurance against occupational disease hazards will, it is anticipated, lead to an insistence on the part of employers and insurance companies that employes submit to physical examinations both preceding and during employment, whether or not this is written into the law. The American Federation of Labor contends that this legislation, protective in purpose, must not be allowed to become a menace to the job security of those now employed and those seeking employment. It is essential that medical examinations, where necessary to safeguard the health of the worker, be carried out by strictly impartial physicians."

I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that in two-thirds of the states in the United States where the workmen's compensation laws are operated by private profit making insurance, there is no such thing as an impartial physical examination. In other words, although it may be to some a coincidence, it seems to me that where examinations of this type take place, the fellow who is active in the organization is always found to have something wrong with him physically, whereas the docile scab is usually in good physical condition.

I am very much afraid that this may be used, and I am further of the opinion, in fact, I hope that the Committee on Executive Council's Report will at least amend their report to this extent, that the Federation of Labor stands absolutely opposed to physical examinations of any kind or sort until such time as the state compensation laws

fully protect those workers who will be removed from industry as the result of such physical examinations.

Let me say that the granite worker, the foundry employe, the stove mounter, the painter, all of these men and many others, and women, too, who are susceptible to occupational diseases, we accomplish nothing whatever if we find upon physical examinations that these men or women may be silicoted, they may be tubercular, unless we guarantee to those men and women rehospitilization, rehabilitation, a decent standard of living for their widows and dependents if, as a result of this physical examination, they are going to be removed from industry. We accomplish nothing if we remove a worker from an industry in which he has spent his life if he is tubercular, if he is simply going to walk into another industry, usually at a rate of wage lower than that which he was receiving in the industry in which he spent his life.

I repeat, Mr. Chairman, I hope the Committee on Executive Council's Report will agree to amend their report to make our position specific, concise, and clear. That position ought to be that the American Federation of Labor is opposed to physical examinations of any worker until such time as a system of legislation has been enacted providing for the complete rehospitilization, rehabilitation, and compensation of those who are removed from industry as the result of such examination.

Delegate Meehan, Painters: I offer a motion that this subject matter be resubmitted to the committee for further consideration.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Protest Against the Arbitrary Change of Title By International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers

There was submitted to the Convention on Thursday, November 19, 1936,

and printed on pages 369-370 of the fourth day's proceedings, the supplementary report of the Executive Council under the caption "International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers."

Your committee recommends concurrence in this supplemental report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Conclusion

On pages 197-198 under the caption "Conclusion" the Committee desires to call to the attention of the Convention the direct responsibility that is placed upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor during the interval between conventions.

We recommend that the very fine comprehensive report of the Executive Council submitted to this Convention be given careful study by all members of Organized Labor in order that they may fully appreciate the complex and difficult problems the Executive Council have considered and acted upon during the past year.

With the great growth of our country, the problems of the officers of Organized Labor grow with leaps and bounds. New and difficult problems are sure to present themselves to the officers of the American Federation of Labor as the condition of this country continues to grow and improve.

That the interest of Organized Labor has been safeguarded and safely guided through the past year in a most intelligent and satisfactory manner is apparent by a study of the report of the Executive Council.

Your Committee desires to commend the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their work in behalf of the workers of this country during the past year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice President Wharton: I would like to ask through the Chair if the

mover and seconder of the motion to recommit the subject matter under the caption "Workmen's Compensation," to the committee would be willing that it be referred to the Executive Council for handling. It is a question in my judgment, if I may be permitted to speak upon the request, that is of very deep and vital importance, and I am not under-estimating that. But at the same time there are some millions of workers in this country working in certain definitely defined occupations that cannot or may not be permitted to work unless they pass physical examinations, and life and property depend upon the physical requirements that are required in these particular industries. There are some millions of them.

The entire railroad industry requires a physical examination for all of its train and engine servers and inspectional forces and numerous others. You would not want to ride on a railroad train if you did not have an engineer and a train crew that was examined, particularly as to their fitness to operate that train in safety. The mere fact that a man may have color blindness, for instance, that green might look red to him—and if it did, you would be over in "kingdom come" very shortly.

Those are some of the complications that enter into this. There is merit to the statement made by the delegate from the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, but it is a subject matter that requires some very careful consideration.

I represent an organization that is just as strongly opposed to physical examination as a requirement of employment as any organization in this convention, but I know some of the difficulties and the realities we are confronted with, and I would not want to see hasty action, and in a convention of this kind I doubt that we could produce the kind of report that would be acceptable to the convention or would meet the situation.

I would therefore suggest, if it is agreeable to the mover of the motion and the seconder, that it be referred to the Executive Council for study and report to the next convention.

President Green: I accept the statement of the chairman of the committee as an inquiry as to whether such a proceeding will be satisfactory to the mover and the seconder of the motion, that the matter be referred back to the committee. Would that be acceptable?

Delegate Meehan, Painters: Mr. President, I do not desire to have this convention go on record in favor of physical examinations as a condition of employment in any industry, regardless of the conditions that may prevail now. We have some of our trades that strike against that condition, because we know that pneumococcosis and silicosis constitute quite a problem, and some of the old timers could be discharged and barred from future employment in industry. The convention of the American Federation of Labor never should recommend that condition, regardless of how it may prevail in some trades.

If the committee believes the subject matter should be referred back to the Executive Council for further consideration, it is perfectly all right with me, but we can bring before you case after case where men were discharged because of a quick examination through X-ray, and it was found they had traces of silicosis or pneumococcosis, and where one insurance company refused to take the coverage any further and a new insurance company took over the coverage of that particular manufacturer, and with very little notice the employees were required to submit to a physical examination. Some of them never lost a day's work in thirty or thirty-five years on account of that ailment, nevertheless, they showed traces of pneumococcosis or silicosis, and they were rejected. They could not get any employment anywhere. We have that condition in Massachusetts, and we do not desire to sit here as a part of this convention

and approve any report that will provide that the American Federation of Labor believes in physical examinations as a condition of employment.

I happen to be a representative of a Brotherhood that has many men who will be affected by that condition. They will be barred from getting employment at their particular trade anywhere in the state where insurance companies cover the employees by the Workmen's Compensation Act. That is the question I want to leave with you and the committee, Mr. President. I do not desire to debate this question at all, but I hope the committee has that thought in mind, and the Executive Council as well when you make a decision on this subject matter.

President Green: Well, the action of the convention stands to refer it back to the committee for report to a later session of the convention.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: I whole-heartedly agree with the suggestion made by the chairman of the committee, Brother Wharton, that the matter might better be referred back to the Executive Council. All I am driving at is not to have the American Federation of Labor, under any circumstances, even by implication, approve of physical examinations, until such times as our workmen's compensation system is operated by the state on a non-profit system, thereby removing the incentive to throw the elderly worker out of industry, or to throw an active labor agitator out of industry. That is actually what happens. I am wholeheartedly in accord with the suggestion of the chairman of the committee to refer the subject matter to the Executive Council.

Delegate Meehan, Painters: I agree with that.

President Green: If there is no objection, that course will be followed.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I voted on that question with the majority. I therefore move reconsideration of the action of this convention.

President Green: You move to reconsider the action of the convention?

Delegate Donnelly: I move reconsideration of the action of the convention on the motion of Brother Meehan. That brings the question then before the convention, Mr. President, and we can then vote down that question and refer it to the Executive Council.

The motion to reconsider, offered by Delegate Donnelly, was carried.

Delegate Meehan, Painters: I now offer as a motion that this subject matter be referred back to the Executive Council. After all, it is your report and you are the only ones who can change it.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: I second the motion.

The motion was carried by unanimous vote of the convention.

Vice-President Wharton: That concludes the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, and the report is signed by all members of the committee:

A. O. WHARTON, Chairman.
FRANK COLEMAN, Secretary.
MATTHEW J. McLAUGHLIN
WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON
J. J. HYNES
ANDREW FURUSETH
F. A. FITZGERALD
JOHN M. GIBLESPEE
JOHN J. STRETCH
HENRY F. SCHMAL
CHARLES SUMNER
GEORGE Q. LYNCH
CHARLES M. RAU
W. S. DIXON
PETER FOSCO
IRVIN BARNEY
ARTHUR HUGGINS

Committee on Executive Council's Report

Vice President Wharton moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report as a whole, as acted upon by the convention.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Secretary Morrison desires to make a statement.

Secretary Morrison: In the committee's report under the caption "Charters of International Unions", it says

there is an apparent discrepancy in the number of members of the Sleeping Car Porters' Union and the American Newspaper Guild and the number of members they are paying per capita tax on at the present time, as well as the voting strength of these organizations. I desire to say there is no discrepancy. The fact is that the Guild paid on 6,000 members for August, the last month of the fiscal year.

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor requires that the payment made in per capita tax shall be divided by twelve where the union is affiliated less than a year. Dividing 6,000 by 12 gives 500 members, which gives them five votes.

The sleeping car porters have paid three months on 5,000 members, which is 15,000 divided by 12, makes 1,200 members and twelve votes. So the report of the Executive Council is correct in accordance with the constitution. I might say that that provision was put in the constitution, dividing by 12, because a number of organizations paid on a small membership for eleven months and came in in the last month with a very large membership, and at that time they voted on the membership of the last month for which they paid. It was to stop that practice that it was put in the constitution. I desire that statement to appear so that the delegates will understand that there was no mistake or inaccuracy. The two organizations understand it because I wrote to them advising them of the constitutional provision.

Vice President Wharton: The chairman of the committee is very glad to get the information.

President Green: The question occurs on the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: The motion offered by the chairman of the committee is that the report of the committee be adopted as a whole. I assume that applies to those sections of the report of the Executive Council on which they reported. There are other sections in

the report of the Executive Council that have not yet been reported on, and those would not be included in the motion of the chairman of the committee?

President Green: It applies to those sections of the Executive Council's report that the committee reported on to the convention. The other matters in the report have not been reported on yet.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report as a whole was carried.

Announcements

Vice President Rickert: The Committee on Adjustment will meet at 2:00 o'clock Monday afternoon in a room upstairs at the back of the stage. It desires before it the introducers of Resolution No. 41, representatives of the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America. In addition to the introducers, we would like to have before us all those who may be interested, the representatives of the Longshoremen, the Railway Carmen, the Electrical Workers, the Engineers, and any other organization interested in that resolution.

We also ask that the representatives who introduced the resolution on the Upholsterers and the representatives of the Painters appear before us.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce as a matter of information that the strike on the Louisiana and Arkansas Railroad, which has been in effect for quite a long time, and which attracted public attention, was settled last midnight. The company conceded all of the demands of the workers and it was settled entirely satisfactory to them.

Labor Institute on Housing and Consumer Cooperation

The Labor Institute on Housing and Slum Clearance and Consumer Cooperation which has been set up by the Workers' Education Bureau of America with the cooperation of the A. F. of L. and the Cooperative League of America, will be held at the municipal auditorium, Saturday, November, 21, 1936.

The first session will open at 9:30 the second session at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

The session on housing and slum clearance will be addressed by the Honorable Langdon Post, Commissioner of Housing in New York City, Miss Katharine Bauer, Secretary of the Labor Housing Conference, E. M. Pettit of the Housing Division of the PWA, Warren Vinton, Economic Adviser to the Housing Division of the Resettlement Administration.

The morning session will close at 12:30 promptly to permit the delegates who so desire to visit the Carpenters' Home at Lakeland, Florida.

The afternoon session will be devoted to a discussion of consumer cooperation. The speakers will be Mr. E. R. Bowen, general secretary of the Cooperative League of America, Herbert Katt, manager of Racine Oil Station Cooperative, Harry Culbreath, Credit Union Division of Farm Credit Administration, and Dr. Mercer Evans, Labor Adviser to Resettlement Administration.

All delegates and their friends are cordially invited to both sessions of this institute.

Workers' Education

The special meeting on Workers' Education which has been called by the Workers' Education Bureau of America for the delegates of the State Federations of Labor, the Central Labor Unions and the Federal Labor Unions will be held in the banquet room of the Floridan Hotel at seven thirty this evening (Friday).

Assistant Secretary Farrell, a member of the local Arrangement Committee, announced that the convention dance would be held in the Ball Room on Davis Islands on Friday evening, and urged all delegates and visitors to attend.

At 6:10 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned under the rules to 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, November 23.

Sixth Day—Monday Morning Session

Tampa, Florida,
November 23, 1936.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Kindred, Hefferly, Heaton, Rosqvist, Williams (E. H.), Graham, Patterson (Dowell E.), Turnblazer, Egan (B. M.), Cahill, Minton, Keys, Mundell, McDonald (S. S.), O'Neill (John J.), McClellan, Johnson (E. A.), Yablensky, Jenkins (E. R.), Dobbs (Joe G.), Jones (John T.), Breidenbach, Nischwitz, Cushing, Van Patten, Will, Stackweather, Drake, Owens, Fenton, Patton, Farrell, German, Preston, Powers (George), Hansen, Hanly, Majors, Soule, Shave, Keegan, Stoffels, Draper, Haywood, Klarish, Lisse, Kane (John J.), Hill (W. F.), Cahir, Legler, Burton (R. L.), Harrison (J. W.), Gatelee, Wood (R. T.), Glasgow, Hudak, Edmundson, Hunter, Reed (George), Saltus, Bender (Frank, Jr.), Moulin, Markva, Johnson (C. W.), Schreier, Vigil, Kocher, Williamson, Cairns, Fitzgerald (I. J.), Gross (W. S.), Greenwald, Feinberg (A.), Reynolds, Clinedinst, Bellows, Finnegan (Thomas), Knopka, Alfred (Earl R.), Merritt, Gales (Don), Lee (Will), Laundry, Gerhart (F. B.), Faupl, Williams (Clemens S.), Matlin, Prior, Duldner, Hudson (Marie), Lufrano, Kirby (Thomas J.).

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: If it be in order at the present moment, I rise to move that the address delivered by President William Green at the First Baptist Church yesterday morning be made a part of the permanent proceedings of this convention.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Howat of the committee, reported as follows:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—Arnold S. Zander, 10 votes.

In accordance with communication received from the Secretary of the

Miami, Florida, Central Labor Union, we recommend the seating of Fred Morris to serve as alternate delegate in place of Walter Hoyt who had to return to Miami.

The committee recommended the seating of the delegates named.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Chairman Coefield and Secretary Henning, of the committee, submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your committee on Industrial Relations has had referred to it four resolutions, No. 13, 32, 55 and 92, and herewith submits its report on same.

These resolutions deal with industrial disputes involving certain employers who have and still are refusing to recognize "Collective Bargaining" on the part of their employees.

Your committee has held hearings on these resolutions and the following delegates have appeared before the committee in support of one or more of the resolutions.

Charles Heymanns, Federal Union No. 18545.

Charles W. Fry, International Association of Machinists.

Vernon M. Crofoot, Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades & Labor Assembly.

J. F. Friederick, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

And has received valuable information from President Wharton of the International Association of Machinists.

The right of employees in any industry to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing without discrimination

or coercion of any sort, is recognized as one of the important principles of our American Government and has been enacted into laws of this country. It is indeed regrettable that certain employers of labor in this advanced day and age, fail to recognize this important principle and to fairly apply it in their relations with their employees.

Kohler Company, Kohler, Wis.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and Charles Heymanns, Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wis.

WHEREAS, The strike at the Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, manufacturers of plumbing fixtures, bathtubs, sinks, pottery ware, lavatories, heating plants, radiators, electric light plants and brass plumbing fittings, continues in full progress; and

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Union No. 18545 is just as determined to prevent this unfair firm from forcing the workers to accept the company union policy as it was July 16, 1934, when the strike commenced; and

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 95 at the Atlantic City convention informed the delegates of the methods employed by this firm, reciting that on July 27, 1934, two union men were killed and forty-three others wounded, besides gassing scores of men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, The 1935 convention gave its support to the request for nationwide publicity, which publicity by President Green's circular letter proved of great benefit and assistance to these loyal strikers, who are still picketing the plant daily and shall continue to do so, so long as the A. F. of L. continues its loyal support; and

WHEREAS, This firm has underbid fair manufacturers in securing government contracts for its products; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention pledge to the Kohler strikers the continued support of the American Federation of Labor by renewing the nation-wide publicity through circular letter and the labor press of North America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to use his best efforts to prevent the awarding of government contracts to the Kohler Company.

The committee reported as follows on Resolution No. 13:

This resolution deals with the Kohler

Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, and involves the refusal of this company to recognize the right of its employees to organize and to bargain collectively.

Resolutions dealing with the Kohler Company were considered by the 1934 convention of the A. F. of L. and by the 1935 convention as Resolution No. 95, pages 236, 237 and pages 407 to 415 of the 1935 proceedings.

Your committee again calls attention to the fact that Mr. Walter J. Kohler, Sr., President of this company, and at one time Governor of the State of Wisconsin, also considered at one time as Presidential timber by the Republican Party, was thoroughly familiar with our American principle guaranteeing to the employees the "Right to Organize" and to bargain "Collectively through representatives of their own choosing," but notwithstanding this knowledge has bitterly refused to recognize this right.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that there are firms manufacturing articles similar to the Kohler Co., which are organized, one of which is organized 100% and recommends to the membership of the American Federation of Labor purchase of the products of such firms.

Resolution No. 13 has for its objectives the renewing and continuing by the American Federation of Labor, through its publicity agencies, the advising of our membership of the policy of the Kohler Company, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor do everything in his power to prevent the awarding of Government contracts to this firm.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

Delegate Heymanns, Federal Labor Union No. 18545:

This is not the first time we have had this controversy before you. At San Francisco, and at Atlantic City we told you long stories about it. We will not repeat those stories. This controversy still exists. The promise that

we made to you last year has been kept. We are picketing the plant. Men are picketing the plant every day. On the outskirts of Mr. Kohler's model village, is the wooden building where the American flag is raised every morning. That is our home. Kohler's agents are going through the country telling the people the strike has been settled. The American Federation of Labor has nailed that lie, because President Green's letters went out denying it. When those letters go out all over the nation, they will put another nail in the lying campaign of Walter J. Kohler.

We intend to stay on the picket line until the fight is won. When this convention convened on the 16th day of November, we had walked the picket line for 28 months, but we are still carrying on. Of course, it is necessary for us to do more than talk about this. We must go out and advertise this strike. It is necessary to send posters, circulars, and what have you, all over the country so that the men and women of labor will become familiar with it.

We in Kohler, Wisconsin, are determined to see this thing through, and in order to make a long story short, I will point out to you that on July 26, of this year, on the second anniversary of the murder of our brothers by hired killers, on Sunday afternoon we had a memorial picket line in front of that plant on the spot where our brothers were murdered. We have pictures in the hall of that service. I hope you will look at them. Five hundred men marched in the picket line to the same spot where, two years ago, our brothers were murdered. These pictures will convince every liberal minded person that we will fight for the principles of organized labor in Wisconsin, no matter how long it takes.

We plead with you representatives of labor, international union officials, when you go back home, to spread the message. We plead with the officials of international unions to instruct their

organizers who travel throughout the country, to spread the message of that strike. We know that if union people and liberal minded people will advise the public of this, the people will shun the products of Kohler.

We have kept up a very expensive advertising campaign. I have here a circular that has been plastered over the country from one end to the other. We must do that, while most of our men are unable to pay dues, but we hold our charter. Our men are working on WPA jobs and few of them are able to pay dues. We plead with those of you who are able to help us financially to assist us in this case. Here is a place that union labor can do something. We are obliged to go out hat in hand to keep the picket line and defend the flag flying over that little wooden building we call our home. We believe that it is our duty to keep up the fight, and we also believe that it is your duty as union men and women to see that the strike is supported.

In our resolution we ask that the Kohler Company be prevented from getting contracts from the Government in the Resettlement projects. They underbid every fair contractor and get contracts from the same Government they are fighting, because one day Kohler will go out and attack the Government and the next day get Government contracts. We have had wonderful cooperation from President Green in the past, and we are asking that the efforts of the American Federation of Labor be directed toward stopping Walter J. Kohler from getting those Government contracts.

In closing, may we thank you for the support we have received from you in the past. We promise that we will keep up that fight, but we will need your further support, your financial support. If you give it, we promise you that we will keep up the fight, we will not surrender to millions and hypocrisy. We say the workers

must be free. The fight will go on. Our decks are cleared for action and we will see that industrial democracy will prevail over industrial autocracy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Application to Place General Household Utilities Corporation of Chicago, Ill., on Unfair List

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, On Wednesday, May 6, 1936, all machinists and die and tool-makers employed by the General Household Utilities Corporation (manufacturers of Grunow refrigerators and radios) came out on strike because Mr. Wm. Grunow continued to refuse to meet with men for the purpose of establishing contractual relations; and

WHEREAS, Every lawful means have been taken by the International Association of Machinists to effectuate a peaceable and honorable settlement, using the good offices of the Conciliation Department of the U. S. Department of Labor, The National Labor Board, the Chicago Federation of Labor, International officers, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The said Wm. Grunow, President of the Company has steadfastly refused conferences to all of the above mentioned officials by having his Secretary say "he is out of town, not in, in the plant, down town, home ill, etc.", when it was definitely known he was in his office; and

WHEREAS, That is the same Mr. Wm. Grunow who, several years ago, was an official of the Grigsby-Grunow Company, which firm was placed on that "We do not patronize" list of the Trade Union Movement; and

WHEREAS, The purchasing power of the organized workers, is a power indeed, that this unscrupulous and arbitrary employer refuses to take cognizance of; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to go on record placing the General Household Utilities Corporation of Chicago, on the unfair "we do not patronize list", as has been done by the Machinists' District Council of Chicago and the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The committee reported as follows on Resolution No. 32:

This resolution deals with the General Household Utilities Corporation (manu-

facturers of Grunow Refrigerators and Radios), and the refusal of Mr. Wm. Grunow, President of the Company, to recognize the right of the employees to organize and bargain collectively.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that Mr. Grunow was formerly associated with the Grigsby-Grunow corporation with which organized labor had similar difficulties. Several of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have members who are employees of this company and involved in this controversy.

We call attention to the fact that the "right to Organize" and to bargain collectively through representatives chosen by the employees, has been recognized as one of the principles of the "New Deal" and that the principles of the "New Deal" have been overwhelmingly approved by our citizens of these United States at the recent Presidential election.

We therefore recommend that the resolution be adopted by striking out the resolve and inserting in its place the following:

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation be instructed to lend every possible assistance to the employees of the Grunow Household Utilities Corporation in their efforts to secure recognition of the right to organize and representation through the legitimate organized labor movement, and in the event of failure to do so, to use the avenues of publicity available to the American Federation of Labor, by advising the members of these affiliated organizations of the attitude of this corporation and its President Wm. Grunow as their judgment may deem it advisable.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Circularize Affiliated Unions in Support of Strike Against Remington-Rand Company

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The trade union employees of the Remington-Rand Company were federated through the District Council Office Equipment Workers, which included some 6,000 employees in

the Remington-Rand plants in Middletown, Conn.; Illion, Syracuse, Tonawanda and North Tonawanda, New York; Marietta and Norwood, Ohio; and

WHEREAS, This District Metal Trades Council two years ago had negotiated an agreement with the Remington-Rand Company covering all of the trade union employes; and

WHEREAS, It became evident early this year that the Remington-Rand Company planned to destroy the trade union organization of its employes; and

WHEREAS, On May 26, of this year, the Machinists, Metal Polishers, Molders and members of the Federal Labor Unions in the company's plants were forced to go out on strike with the sanction of the American Federation of Labor and the International Unions affected; and

WHEREAS, The Remington-Rand Company in its efforts to intimidate strikers, made use of practically every method which had been employed to break strikes; and

WHEREAS, The Remington-Rand Company has spurned the efforts of Conciliators of the Department of Labor to effect an adjustment; and

WHEREAS, The strike is still actively in effect, the strikers indicating a courage and determination highly creditable to the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, These trade unionists now on strike to protect their right to maintain trade union organizations are entitled to every support which can be given to them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention extend its congratulations to the strikers for the heroic struggle they are carrying on in defense of their rights and of trade union principles, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to issue a circular to the trade union movement, requesting affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Councils, to give every moral and all financial assistance possible.

The committee reported as follows on Resolution No. 55:

This resolution is introduced in behalf of the employes of the Remington-Rand Company, manufacturers of office supplies and equipment, which company has plants in eight eastern and central states of our United States and in which some 6,000 employes were forced to go out on strike.

In 1934 an agreement was entered into between the Metal Trades Department, representing all organizations having members employed in the various plants of this company, and this agreement continued in effect until May 26, 1936, when the employes of this Company were again forced to go out on strike on account of the refusal of this Company to meet in conference the authorized representatives of the employes.

As this strike is one of the most important strikes now being conducted involving the right of employes to organize and bargain collectively through their authorized representatives, your committee desires to read into the record of this convention and for the information of the delegates present the report of the officers of the Metal Trades Department to the 1936 convention of the Metal Trades Department held in Tampa, Florida, November 11, 12 and 13, 1936.

District Council Office Equipment Workers—Remington-Rand Strike

In the latter part of 1933, International Unions interested in organizing metal workers in the typewriter, adding machine, addressograph, card index, and kindred office equipment plants, believed it advisable to center their efforts through a District Council of the Metal Trades Department which would have jurisdiction in these industries.

In March, 1934, your Department issued a charter to the District Council Office Equipment Workers, this charter granting jurisdiction over the office equipment industries. The membership of the Council was composed principally of Machinists; Molders; Metal Polishers, and Federal Labor Unions. In each plant these groups set up a joint committee to handle all grievances unadjusted between workmen and their immediate supervisor.

Under this charter an organization was formed which has held annual conventions at which the International Unions are represented by one or more national officers.

Definite progress has been made in organizing many office equipment industry plants through the efforts of the District Council, supplemented by the energetic efforts of International Officers of the unions interested.

One of the first successful organizing efforts was in the plants of the Remington-Rand Company, the largest manufacturers of typewriters, adding machine and card index systems in the United States.

As the result of a strike in 1934, in which the International Unions affected took joint action, an agreement was entered into between the District Council Office Equipment Workers and the Remington-Rand Company. On the part of the unions the agreement was signed by the President, the Secretary and the Executive Board of the District Council, all of these officers being employed in the industry.

The agreement was undersigned by the International Officers who had participated in the negotiations which resulted in the agreement.

For the first eighteen months labor relations under the agreement moved along with a reasonable measure of satisfaction.

Early this year it became apparent that the Remington Rand Company intended to carry out a less friendly attitude. There were valid reasons for believing it had secured buildings already erected in Elmira, N. Y., with the intention of centralizing its production in that city.

Efforts made by official representatives of the District Council Office Equipment Workers to meet Mr. Rand, were unrewarded with success.

Chambers of Commerce became alarmed at the danger of losing the local Remington Rand pay-roll. They also found it difficult to secure Remington Rand's intentions.

In a final effort to take up all that was involved with the Remington Rand management, the members of the Machinists; Metal Polishers; Molders and the Federal Labor Unions, took a strike vote to be put into effect only when their representatives had either failed to secure a conference with Remington Rand, or had failed to secure any adjustment which would safeguard their interests.

On May 26, 1936, it became necessary to put the strike vote into effect. The Machinists, Metal Polishers, Molders and members of Federal Labor Unions in the company's plants, approximately six thousand in number, in Middletown, Conn.; Ilion, Syracuse, Tonawanda, and North Tonawanda, New York; Marietta and Norwood, Ohio, went on strike.

Immediately strike breaking tactics were introduced which were an evidence of the company's intention to destroy trade unionism in its plants. So-called good citizen meetings were

called, arranged by Chambers of Commerce, in which the strikers were vigorously condemned. Full page advertisements were inserted in the local press, attacking the strikers and their motives.

In Ilion, N. Y., within a few days after the strike took place, the Sheriff of the County, assumed responsibility for declaring the strike a public nuisance, and of establishing martial law. Strike headquarters were padlocked. A small army of Deputy Sheriffs, armed with clubs and long slats, were sworn in. Ropes were placed across the streets leading to the company's plant. Deputy Sheriffs covered all of the roads leading into Ilion, stopping every one who attempted to leave or to enter, unless they gave a satisfactory answer to the questions asked.

The tactics applied by the company in Ilion were more high-handed than those in the other cities. Continual pressure was brought to bear on local authorities, mayors, chiefs of police, to arrest and handicap the strikers in every way possible. Under these conditions some strikers were over-persuaded and intimidated, and in Ilion and Tonawanda some returned to work.

Included in the company's efforts to break the strike was the liberal use of tear gas and the employment of the professional type of strike breakers.

The Labor Department, through its Division of Conciliation, made numerous efforts to apply its good offices. These were repulsed by Remington Rand. In one instance Mr. Rand stating he would not visit Norwood, Ohio, as he had intended, if the Federal Conciliator remained in the city.

An interesting and historic event took place in connection with the strike at the Norwood, Ohio, plant. The company applied for an injunction. As there is no anti-injunction law in Ohio, it became apparent that a temporary restraining order would be issued. But the court was unwilling to act in a partisan manner, and believed that the strikers had rights in equity as well as Remington Rand.

After lengthy hearings, Judge Nelson Schawb issued an injunction restraining the strikers from having more than 120 pickets at the plant at any one time, and further restrained the number of strikers who could visit the homes of those who had returned to work, to two.

As the strikers, union and non-union, had entered into an agreement not to return to work until their representatives had effected a satisfactory adjustment, Judge Schaub restrained Remington Rand from endeavoring by persuasion; coercion, or

otherwise, to prevail upon such signers to violate their joint contract and agreement. The company was further restrained from publishing misleading, inaccurate statements in the press through advertisements or otherwise.

Your Department kept in close touch with developments from the beginning of the strike, and as it progressed it seemed advisable that some effort be made to assist and encourage the strikers.

Your President visited each city where the strike was in progress, and did what was possible to be helpful.

The public gradually developed an interest in the strike and in the strikers' cause.

In August of this year the Social Security Administration entered the market for the largest order of office equipment which any Department of the Government has placed. It approximated \$286,000.00. Remington-Rand, which had been most successful in securing contracts of this type in the past, expected to secure this one.

Immediately upon learning that the Remington Rand Company was bidding for the contract, the Secretary-Treasurer of your Department took up the question with the proper Federal authorities, pointing out the hostility of the company to its trade union employees. As a result Remington-Rand failed to be considered as a bidder.

When this report was prepared, the strike had been on for some five months. In spirit and purpose the strikers are more determined than ever. They will not permit their trade union organization to be destroyed. They are entitled to the encouragement which this convention can give them for the heroic stand they have taken, and to the knowledge that the International Unions will continue to give every possible assistance.

This report was unanimously adopted by the Metal Trades Department convention and as result of action taken Resolution No. 55 was introduced in this convention.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution and that the Officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor render all possible assistance financially and morally to the employees on strike, and that they endeavor in every possible way to prevent this corporation from securing government contracts until it recognizes the Right of its em-

ployees to organize and to bargain collectively through their authorized representatives.

Secretary Henning read the following telegram to President Frey, by Arthur Giles, Secretary, District Council Office Equipment Workers:

Illon, N. Y.,
Nov. 21, 1936.

John P. Frey, President
Metal Trades Department

American Federation of Labor,
Floridan Hotel, Tampa, Fla.

By a vote of ninety-nine per cent the Remington-Rand strikers rejected proposal by the company acceptance of which would allow them to return to work without an agreement and without collective bargaining. This means further sacrifice for those already in dire need and is willingly made to uphold the principles of organization. Therefore I request you to read this before the Convention and appeal to the delegates assembled to render what financial assistance possible to the strikers. There is great need of assistance immediately.

ARTHUR L. GILES, Secretary,
District Council Office
Equipment Workers.

Delegate Crofoot, Syracuse Central Trades and Labor Assembly: I am very pleased to hear the report of the Metal Trades Department in this controversy between the employees of Remington-Rand and the company. I had intended to relate the intimate details of the conduct of this strike; in other words, the efforts of the company to break down the morale of the strikers and the manner in which the strike has been conducted. But after hearing the report of the Metal Trades Department and the reading of the telegram from the district secretary of the Office Equipment Workers, you will see what those men who have been on strike since May have gone through, and the despicable conduct of the Remington-Rand Company.

These strikers are deserving of all the help that can be given them. There are still 4,500 of the original 6,000 strikers out. You people know what they are facing. In Syracuse the temperature is down to 15 degrees above zero, and the strikers there must be supplied with

fuel and clothing. These people have fought loyally for this cause. They are all loyal members of the American Federation of Labor, and although the Remington-Rand Company have branded us as Reds and Communists, we defy them to prove we have such people in our ranks. There is no place for such people in our ranks.

If you have a dollar, we will be pleased to receive it. If you haven't the dollar, at least you can use your efforts to direct the business of office equipment to other companies that are fair to organized labor. Every effort has been made by the organizations with headquarters in Washington to do that, and it has been a success. Thirteen million dollars' worth of common stock of the Remington-Rand Company has been kept off the market by the International unions. They blocked that by proving to the Commission that statements made by the company were not true with regard to labor relations. They wanted to re-finance in order to get money to break the strike. Three hundred and fifty thousand dollars have already been given into the hands of strike breaking agencies, such as the Burns Agency, Hal Crim, Railway Audit and Inspection Company, Foster, and so on. At no time have they employed less than two of these agencies. In Syracuse they employed the Berghof Agency, together with the Burns Agency. I personally have been followed by at least four convicted killers in an effort to put me out of the strike. The famous Chowder Face Cohen was among the people employed. On May 26, I was in Middletown, Connecticut, and I saw 25 or 30 Berghof men driven from the town by the picket line. Chowder Face Cohen testified that he himself had been employed by Mr. Rand. They are determined to break the strike, and we are determined to stand up and fight back. It has been six months now, and we are still fighting. With your help, we will lick them, and that will be the end of such efforts on the part of Remington-Rand.

Delegate Egan, Connecticut State

Federation of Labor: I have just received word this morning from President Shea, of the State Federation, in Middletown, that the meeting the other day decided as to whether to accept the proposition of the Remington-Rand Company in conference, and by a vote of 597 to 8 refused to accept the proposition of the Remington-Rand Company.

I want to say a word in reference to this situation. We have been faced with tear gas in Middletown, Connecticut. We have been faced with state police and every force possible to impose upon the workers. Our people have refused to go back to work and there have been but few desertions in Middletown, Connecticut.

When the strike took place, our people were confronted, even in the face of taking a strike vote, with being out of work for a month or five weeks because of the floods that occurred in that section in the early spring. They voted unanimously to go on strike, and they have remained loyal ever since the strike took place.

I am asking you to see to it that you not only render financial assistance, but that your municipalities and your state governments refuse to patronize Remington-Rand. There has never been in our state a finer spirit of unionism than that which has been displayed by the workers of the Remington-Rand Company. We have retained our organization in that 98½ per cent, from the day the plant was organized in 1933, right up to this present moment, and I think that is a fine spirit as far as the workers are concerned. They have been determined and they are determined.

The previous speaker told you about the Berghof Detective Agency. I was there when they were driven from Middletown, Connecticut. I was there when tear gas was used to drive the people off the main streets of Middletown. But even that would not discourage the people.

Without taking any further time, I ask you to render every possible moral and financial assistance to this splen-

did group of people who are fighting for the cause of unionism in our state. It is impossible for them to get a job in any of the factories of the state of Connecticut, because the employers do not want to employ them.

You must understand that the president of the Manufacturers' Association is one of the leading citizens of Middletown, Connecticut, so you can see how utterly impossible it is for any of these strikers to get a job in any of the plants in Middletown, Connecticut.

For that particular reason I say we should render every possible moral and financial assistance to enable them to carry this fight through to a successful victory.

President Green: The Chair desires to supplement what these other speakers have said regarding this strike by pointing to its significance and its importance. These splendid men and women involved in this strike have been standing devotedly and courageously together for many, many weeks. The American Federation of Labor has extended to these workers a full measure of support. The records in our office show that the members of these Federal labor unions, directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, have been paid out of our treasury more than \$200,000. The American Federation of Labor gave to these workers this degree of financial support.

Now, that activity and the support given by the central labor unions, state federations of labor, and national organizations can be further supplemented by the officers and members of central bodies, state federations of labor, national and international organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor. It is of more importance that you give to these workers your economic support than perhaps your financial support, although each kind of support at this time is badly needed. But the members of central bodies, state federations of la-

bor, and particularly national and international unions who buy office equipment and office supplies can render to these workers an unusual degree of support by refusing to buy Remington-Rand products, office equipment and office supplies. Will you please bear that in mind?

Then we can supplement that further by prevailing upon state and municipal governments, through their purchasing agents, to discriminate when they buy office equipment and office supplies against the products manufactured by this company that is resisting in such an unreasonable and indefensible way the exercise of the right of these workers to organize and bargain collectively. I urge central bodies, state federations of labor, national and international unions to especially discriminate in the purchase of office equipment and office supplies, and I ask you in your respective localities to go to the purchasing agents and the proper authorities of municipal, state, and Federal governments, and ask them to assist us by discriminating in the purchase of office equipment and office supplies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Application to Place A. J. Lindemann-Hoverson Company, Milwaukee, Wis.,
On Unfair List**

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate J. F. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, More than six hundred employees of the A. J. Lindemann and Hoverson Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, manufacturers of Alcazar, Lindemann and Hoverson Kerogas and other brands of electric, gas, kerosene and gasoline stoves, were forced to go on strike August 20, 1935, because this firm, in violation of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, discharged workers who had started a movement to organize the employees of this company; and

WHEREAS, This company has turned down every effort to settle this strike on a reasonable basis and has rebuffed government conciliators, local judges and other parties who have sought to bring about an adjustment of this controversy; and

WHEREAS, Members of the International Association of Machinists, International Molders Union, International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and the Metal Polishers International Union are involved in this strike which is still in progress with an active picket line; and

WHEREAS, The Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee has placed this firm on its "We Do Not Patronize" list; and

WHEREAS, The 55th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor by unanimous vote adopted a recommendation of its Committee on Industrial Relations providing that this matter be referred to the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor "to be taken up with the National Labor Relations Board and that every effort be made to adjust this dispute in such manner that the right of the employees to organize is guaranteed and maintained and that in the event of failure in accomplishing this that the Executive Council and officers be instructed to take such further action as may be necessary;" and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council and officers have been unable to bring about an adjustment as outlined in the recommendation of the committee; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to inform all units of the Federation of the anti-labor attitude of the Lindemann-Hoverson Company, and to urge all members of organized labor and their friends and sympathizers not to purchase products manufactured by this company.

(Adopted at regular meeting of the Federated Trades Council November 4, 1936.)

This resolution deals with the A. J. Lindemann and Hoverson Company of Milwaukee, Wis., which has refused to recognize the right of its employees to organize and bargain collectively.

The subject of this resolution was also considered by the 1935 American Federation of Labor Convention as Resolution No. 52, pages 187, 405 and 406, of the 1935 proceedings.

The 1935 convention took action referring the dispute to the Officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take up with the National Labor Relations Board to secure the right of employees to organize

and in the event of failure to secure this to take such steps in further action as they deemed necessary.

The Officers and Executive Council have been unable in their efforts to secure recognition and collective bargaining for the employees of this corporation. Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution and that the Officers and Executive Council stand instructed to carry out the intent of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Friedrich, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, there are only a few words I want to say about this matter. This is one of those unfortunate situations in which workers are forced on strike before they have had the opportunity to organize thoroughly. We started an organizing campaign in this plant some 18 months ago, and as soon as organization was started the company started to fire those who joined the organization. Of course, there was nothing else to do except for those who had joined the organization or were willing to join, to make a battle of it. This they have done, and for 16 months this strike has been going on.

We have endeavored in every possible way to seek an adjustment, but the company, dominated by an autocratic employer, has refused to meet with representatives of these employees in any shape or manner. We have endeavored through the United States Conciliation Department, through the National Labor Relations Board, through local judges, through state and city officials, to get an adjustment, but have been unable even to get a meeting.

When a hearing was ordered by the National Labor Relations Board, the company went into the Federal District Court and secured an injunction. We are determined that we must continue this fight in Milwaukee. We are not here asking for any financial support. We are taking care of that through the local unions in Milwaukee who have been

most generous in their contributions and in aiding those workers who are not entitled to strike benefits under the laws of the international unions to which they belong. They belong to the Molders, the Machinists, the Metal Polishers, and the Foundry Employes' Union, and the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee has sent out circulars to all of the central labor unions in the country about this matter, and we have received splendid support. We received answers all the way from Florida clear up to the North Coast of the Pacific, and from Canada, telling us of the action these central labor unions have taken in visiting their local dealers and prevailing upon them not to patronize these companies.

We are thankful for that, and we know it has had its effect, for in spite of the fact that the company was able to man its plant with quite a number of strike breakers, its business has been reduced to such an extent that they are now only working two or three days out of the week at a time which should be their busy season. We ask the delegates of this convention to continue with that support. When you go back to your localities and receive the communication which we think the American Federation of Labor will send out, in conformity with this resolution, we ask you to again visit your local dealers who deal in the products of this company, which are gas, gasoline, and electric stoves and ranges, and make plain to these dealers that this firm is absolutely antagonistic to the organized labor movement, and that you expect them not to patronize the products of this firm. When you do that, we are quite sure that by the next time we have a convention we will be able to tell you that we have either settled the strike or that we have put this company out of business.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Henning: Mr. President and Delegates, this completes the report of

the Committee on Industrial Relations.

JOHN COEFIELD, Chairman
R. A. HENNING, Secretary
CHARLES D. DUFFY
JOSEPH S. FAY
CHARLES J. CASE
HARRY MILTON
JOHN F. BOWEN
JOHN O'ROURKE
JOSEPH J. KEHOE
CHAS. N. PAULSON
JAMES J. DOYLE
JAMES CLOSE
WALTER C. BROOKS
J. V. GUERRA
W. W. BRITTON
ALLIE B. MANN
JOHN LUNDERGAN
Committee on Industrial
Relations.

Secretary Henning: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair thanks the committee for the service rendered to this convention.

The Chair now recognizes the Committee on Legislation for its report. The Chair presents Chairman Ornburn, of the Committee on Legislation.

Chairman Ornburn: Mr. Chairman and delegates, in submitting the report of the Committee on Legislation to the convention, the Secretary will read the caption of the proposal and our report thereon, unless there be objections. The Secretary of the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Hyatt, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

National Legislation

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, Page 122, the committee reported as follows:

The first subject in the Executive Council's report referred to the committee is that under the caption, "National Legislation."

This is a recital of progress with respect to national legislation. The committee recommends that the Ex-

ecutive Council and the various unions concerned in the events of this record be congratulated upon the progress made.

The committee wishes to call particular and emphatic attention to one paragraph of this section, that dealing with the La Follette resolution to investigate invasions of free speech and assembly, and of interference with rights of organization.

There is no more important subject before this convention. The reality of the situation was graphically revealed when, on Friday last, Edwin S. Smith representing the National Labor Relations Board, devoted a considerable portion of his address to a denunciation of the facts which this board has already encountered.

Among other indictments he charged the following:

"The miserable story of the use of hired labor spies, armed thugs, machine guns, gas and terrorism generally to break up successful organization of workers," he added, "already has been spread on the senate records. Much more such testimony will be forthcoming when the senate committee meets in December."

"I think it is difficult to exaggerate the potential menace of the organized lawlessness which many employing groups are practicing against labor."

"The labor movemet," he said, "could make no better investment than to insist that the full story of the invasion of workers' civil rights in all sections of the country be told, no matter how long it takes or what it costs."

"Even opponents of organized labor, may, as a result of these hearings, come to the conclusion that peaceful adaption to the growing labor movement is to be preferred to the use of deceit, hatred and violence in order to thwart it."

This is an official of the government speaking. Testimony of numerous delegates confirms its accuracy.

But the committee submits the solemn warning to this convention that, unless it takes strong action which will mobilize the strength of labor behind the La Follette committee and the resolution, the investigation will be drugged, poisoned or starved

to death by one of the most powerful lobbies ever put into motion.

In addition to the portion of the council's report referred to us, there are three resolutions before another committee. The issue presented is this:

Shall employers, organized in great corporations chartered by the state, be allowed to arm in secret, without accounting, without record, preparing for what obviously they conceive to be a pitched battle with labor? That is the question. It is not our question. It is their question, for they are buying the arms and ammunition and the gas and electric wiring.

The Senate investigation headed by Senator La Follette has done its best to discover the extent to which employers have built up private arsenals, to what extent they have introduced armies of spies, provocators and corruptionists.

We learn that one great corporation expended \$160,000 for this hideous type of operation, without a word of record in its books to show how or why or for what the money had been expended. Yet, that corporation accounts rigidly for every penny spent for pins and pens and paper clips. Nor had the detective agency any record of the transaction, except a ledger entry showing that it got the cash.

There has been crime, undoubtedly, in the destruction of corporate records. There has been and will be every possible evasion to hide the truth about these great armies of mercenaries and spies.

But worse than all of this, is the conspiracy now being developed to descend upon Washington in January to deceive Congress into starving the La Follette investigation.

We know the La Follette committee is about at the end of its resources, unless it is provided with more money. It may be able to hold another two or three hearings. But it never can go to the heart of this tremendously dangerous situation unless it is re-financed

and amply re-financed. It is not only the welfare of labor that is at stake. It is the welfare of industry. No good for industry can come in any but the most selfish and greedy form from the shooting of workers, the torturing of them with gas, the slaying of them with charged wires and the deception of their leaders through the operations of an employers' Cheka which endeavors to rob every man of confidence in his fellow workers.

The United States is being driven toward actual internal combat with arms. Employers are not buying guns to store away as curiosities or to have as toys. They are buying them, just as they have done for some time, to use for the sinister purpose of shooting to kill.

We know that there are armed and drilled battle units, waiting for service in labor disputes. What fills the situation with double danger is the fact that, in some cases workers, resolved not to die without defense in kind, are themselves preparing for the day which they believe their employers are forcing upon them.

That is not a nice picture to have before us, but we wonder what employers expect free Americans to do, especially in states where there is no protection by the authorities from a contemplated mass murder.

Labor is determined to exercise its right under the law to organize. It organizes for the purpose of improving its conditions of life and labor. It is clear that certain great employing interests are determined to prevent this at any cost—even though that cost be hundreds of human lives. They would rather shoot than bargain. Labor is determined to bargain—and our only refuge from shooting is in the completion of the La Follette investigation and in subsequent legislation. The maintenance of private armies must be made forever impossible in the United States.

Millions of dollars will be available to defeat the La Follette investigation.

If our reports are as accurate as we believe them to be, then the greatest and most adroit lobby that has ever operated in Washington is being organized to kill this astounding expose of the raising, financing and directing of private armies.

The importance, to labor, of the La Follette investigation can be gauged by the size of the effort being made to defeat it. All the lobbies of the great anti-union financial forces and all their secret pressures are being mobilized to prevent the Senate granting an appropriation to carry on the investigation.

The La Follette Committee has made only a beginning, but what a beginning. It has dragged into the light the underworld that serves the biggest businesses—the spies and thugs whose profession is wrecking unions, or even murdering workers.

Espionage and thuggery are shown to be businesses organized on a nation-wide scale, to which great corporations pay tens of millions annually. strike-breaking munitions, gas grenades and machine guns, are proved to be stocked by plants in every line of industry.

Criminals, paid by business, march out of plants badged as deputy sheriffs, free to frame union men to prison. Big employers are shown personally instructing gangsters in the arts and tricks of destroying unions. Local public officials have been revealed as selling tear gas by night and, by day, drilling vigilantes as "law and order leaguers" to crush unions.

Subtle forms of wrecking, which old established unions have fought for years years—such as 'company unions,' and cleverly instigated so-called independent brotherhoods, have been exposed as manufactured by detective agencies and protected by high power corporation lawyers. These same corporation lawyers one day sway the Supreme Court, the next day they defend indicted strikebreakers and now they have been shown dogging every

step of the La Follette investigation, maneuvering to hamstring the revelation of a stench, by obstructing the Senate in the Courts.

This type of business has shown that it cannot stand the exposure of the details and costs of its anti-union machinery. The Senate Committee's preliminary report approved the finding of the National Labor Relations Board—that the benefits of no labor legislation protecting collective bargaining can ever fully reach the workingman while this organized system of labor wrecking persists.

The nub of the matter is that the Senate must grant the La Follette Committee adequate financing for lack of which its work is being stalled. Labor needs the Committee, which has full power but no funds, to continue as an aggressive weapon ready for use when labor calls upon it, and as a continuous curb on the indefensible, but so far unregulated, practices of industrial corporations.

The La Follette committee stands ready, we believe, to call to an accounting the anti-union industrialists. The latter are fearful, and labor's legislative representatives are alert to the battle that impends over having the La Follette Committee dig deep into the subject assigned to it by the United States Senate.

We call upon all labor and all the friends of labor to rally to the support of the La Follette investigation and the proper financing of that investigation by the Congress which will meet in January. Senator La Follette and his associates have done an astonishingly effective job with limited funds and limited time. The truth has been so hidden that it is not easy to uncover.

The conspiracy at which this investigation is aimed is a conspiracy against the peace of the nation, as truly as though the mercenary troops and spies were under orders to march on the state capitals and on Washington. It is a patriotic service of the highest order to

smash this un-American conspiracy of corporate wealth and greed and, further, to bring that wealth and greed under a decent public control in the interest of public safety and good public order.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: If there are no remarks, the Chair desires to make just this brief observation. The American Federation of Labor played a very large part in bringing about the creation of the LaFollette Investigating Committee, clothed with authority by Congress to investigate the interference with the exercise of civil rights by the working people of the country. We prevailed upon the Appropriations Committee to appropriate \$15,000 to be used for the purpose of defraying expenses of the LaFollette Investigating Committee. We realized at the time that the amount appropriated was totally inadequate, but we were sure and certain that an investigation made possible through the expenditure of such a limited sum would develop such startling facts as to create public sentiment in favor of a more comprehensive investigation.

The case has been made. The public mind was shocked at the revelations brought out through the persistent inquiry made into the activities of those who interfere with the exercise of labor's civil rights when the hearing was being held. We have but touched the surface. We are certain that the employment of agencies operating for the specific purpose of interfering with the exercise of the right of the workers to organize and bargain collectively will continue, and it is the duty of the American Federation of Labor and those connected with it to endeavor to bring about a termination of those activities.

We are supplementing that action by another action. The American Federation of Labor is preparing standard legislation to be introduced in the different state legislatures designed to outlaw these detective agencies, these so-called audit companies, these organ-

izations set up in different states for the purpose of serving corporations who desire, through the exercise of brutal activities and terrorizing the workers, to prevent them from organizing.

A copy of this Act will be sent to the officers of state federations of labor, and we will appeal to those state federations of labor to introduce this measure in the different state legislatures.

The labor movement of Wisconsin has outlawed these agencies in that great commonwealth. These reprehensible agencies cannot function there. Well, if they did a splendid job there, labor and its friends in every other commonwealth of the nation ought to do the same kind of a job.

I want to make this announcement in connection with this report. This is a part of our special legislative program. I can conceive at this time of no legislation that will be more serviceable to the workers than the enactment of state legislation that has for its purpose the prevention of the continuation of these reprehensible, brutal un-American agencies. Don't forget this, and during the coming winter centralize upon it while the case is fresh in the minds of the people, and I am certain that in most of the states we can secure the enactment of this legislation.

Even people who are indifferent to the cause of labor never assumed or realized the opposition that labor has been forced to encounter through the employment of these detective agencies. The La Follette Committee has rendered a great public service, and we are under obligations to them. We are going to Congress when it convenes this winter and we are going to appeal to them immediately to make an additional appropriation for the LaFollette Committee, so that it may continue its investigations unto the bitter end. That is a part of the legislative program of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Yagoda, Pottsville, Pennsylvania, Central Labor Union: I did not hear in the committee's report any men-

tion of a piece of work that I think deserves the appreciation of the American Federation of Labor in focussing public and national attention on strike-breaking agencies. I refer to the book by Mr. Edward Levinson, Labor Editor of the New York Post, called "I Break Strikes." I think this convention should show its appreciation of the popularizing and dramatizing of the strike breaking agencies which this work employs.

President Green: He is not a member of the committee, is he?

Delegate Sams, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, it is the duty of the delegate of the Indiana Central Labor Union, Indiana, Pennsylvania, to call to your attention the following: The fact that we have an investigating committee headed by Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin, working in the United States Senate for the purpose of calling to the attention of the American people the fact that these strike breaking agencies are in existence in this country; the fact that sandbags are being piled up at some of the largest industries in the United States for the purpose of defeating the workers in their endeavors to organize; the fact that machine gun nests are being placed in these sandbags for the purpose of further intimidating these workers in their endeavor to organize, in the face of the fact that there has never been a better opportunity for the working class in all history to improve their conditions than in this day and hour.

It is of paramount importance that we bring to the attention of all the people of these United States of America these facts, these conditions that are actually in existence. It is of paramount importance that we read the newspapers that will bring to our attention and to the attention of those masses which we represent the fact that these conditions do exist.

It is our duty to call to the attention of the people that the United States Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel

Corporation, the Cudahy Packing Company, and many of the other large corporations in this country are endeavoring to ensnare the masses, are endeavoring to prevent these people from going into labor organizations by keeping them divided, by keeping them in ignorance of the true facts.

It is an irrefutable fact that the Hearst newspapers absolutely refused to give the people any information about these facts. It is a fact that the Hearst publications have come out with the announcement repeatedly that because of the overwhelming confidence of the people in support of the President and his administration, Hearst and the Liberty League, and those back of those publications have stopped, they have ceased to offer any constructive opposition to the forces of liberality in this nation. These are not the facts, these statements are merely made to lull the people to sleep. These statements are merely made for the purpose of causing the people to give up, to cease and desist from the constructive energies and enterprises they are now entering into in order to carry to full fruition the constructive efforts put forth for the liberal people of this nation, for those who love democracy.

From 1932 to 1936, they have endeavored to bring back into power the reactionary forces. We need 45,000,000 people in this movement. We need 45,000,000 people organized, and we must bring to the attention of the people the seriousness of the situation, the seriousness of the condition that permits these large corporations, these large combines and companies, to set up their detective agencies that are composed primarily 75 per cent of common criminals. It is our duty as the American Federation of Labor, assembled here in this convention, to select a committee to cooperate with the LaFollette Investigating Committee so that those facts shall be brought out, that a constructive effort shall be made by the American Federation of Labor to collaborate in the work being done by this investi-

gating committee, and that this investigation shall continue until it is sufficiently brought to the attention of the people of this nation that those things are in existence, and that if we are to continue as a free and democratic nation, those conditions must be removed before any real, constructive effort can be made to bring into the ranks of organized labor those teeming millions that are being intimidated, that are being kept out of the labor movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Employees

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 125, the committee reported as follows:

This section sets forth advances in the conditions of government employes through legislation. Among the items listed are extensions of leave privileges and the inclusions of added classes under the 40-hour week. Inasmuch as measures placing the government on record as favoring and practicing shorter hours for labor is in accord with the program of the American Federation of Labor, the committee recommends that the convention express its gratification and continued support for measures for this purpose.

The delegations of civil service unions in this convention have expressed their gratitude to their brothers in private employment for assistance in the gains made. They have also placed before the convention their desire and need of support for further liberalization of conditions.

Elsewhere the committee recommends that this gratitude be extended to city central bodies and state federations, and that civil service bodies and all others affiliate with and support such bodies.

It is recommended that the convention instruct the Executive Council to continue to aid and support all ob-

jectives of government workers which are in accord with the program and principles of organized labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protection for Government Workers

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption, page 126, the committee reported as follows:

The Committee feels that there should be no question as to the attitude of the convention with respect to the situation set forth. This is that workmen on government projects are subjected to hazards, injury and death by a twilight zone between the jurisdiction of state and Federal safety laws.

The Committee recommends that the Executive Council continue to urge and assist state federations in the enactment of the most advanced safety legislation. It further recommends that the Council be instructed to have introduced and enacted Federal legislation which will establish uniform and adequate safety laws under the national government.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Seamen's Legislation

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 127, the committee reported as follows:

As with the section devoted to Safety at Sea, this section deals with advances made with respect to remedy of the traditionally hard conditions of seafaring men. Among other commendable advances are those in connection with the reduction of cruelly long hours. Another deals with the outlawing of the former scandalous blacklisting system. Adequate manning of vessels, mentioned as included in the Ship Subsidy Bill (H. R. 8555) is at once a protection to the crew and the passengers.

With respect to the Maritime com-

mission of five members mentioned as administering the act, it is strongly recommended that the Executive Council bend efforts to see that the personnel of this board includes proper representation of the workers.

The committee recommends that the convention express its gratification because of the progress made in this field. It further recommends that the Executive Council and the maritime unions pursue efforts to acquaint the public with the fact that, in this type of legislation, as in that with the respect of railroads and other public services, the public interest is even more protected and advanced than is that of the workers directly affected.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Safety at Sea

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, under the above caption, page 127, the committee reported as follows:

This subject has been one of earnest consideration in many past conventions. The American Federation of Labor is to be congratulated upon the enactment of the sprinkler system law set forth in this section.

This legislation was sponsored by the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters, and, at their request endorsed and supported by the American Federation of Labor. The purpose of this legislation is twofold, namely, the safety of the lives of those who travel aboard ships and secondly, to enlarge the employment opportunities of members of that organization. Had this legislation been in force prior to the Morro Castle disaster hundreds of lives of innocent persons would have been saved.

Great credit is due to the Hon. Royal S. Copeland, a true friend of the workers, for his untiring energy and his influence in securing the passage of this legislation in the United States Senate, and, to Hon. Robert Ramspeck of Georgia, one of Labor's staunchest

friends in the House of Representatives, for his skilful and successful handling of this legislation both in the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its policy of support for such measures for the protection of passengers and seamen as are recommended and supported by bona fide unions interested in maritime working conditions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Lobby Legislation

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 130, the committee reported as follows:

The committee feels that the convention will be thoroughly in sympathy with the enactment of legislation for the purpose of ending one of our greatest public evils, that of pernicious and corrupt lobbying. It desires to express the opinion that the section of the Executive Council report reveals one of the dangers encountered in the drafting of such legislation. This is that weasel-worded bills may hamper the publicly valuable efforts of legitimate organizations and groups. At the same time, the difficulty is realized of formulating measures which will operate against anti-social lobbying while not restricting that for worthy causes.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to pursue its efforts to secure the enactment of legislation for the purposes in mind but that it be further instructed to oppose vigorously any measures which will not clearly produce the results aimed at and avoid the danger herein mentioned.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Filipinos' Act

On that section of the report of the

Executive Council under the above caption, page 131, the committee reported as follows:

It is recommended that the Executive Council exercise further effort for legislation returning to their native land Filipinos now in the United States. We recommend the specific objective of extending the time of such legislation beyond December 1, 1937, if necessary for such purpose.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Radio Change

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 131, the committee reported as follows:

The committee recommends that the convention congratulate the Executive Council and active figures in the promotion of labor's access to the air. It is further recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to lend its support to WCFL and to other radio enterprises of bona fide labor organizations in order that labor may further develop this splendid method of educating public opinion.

The committee also recommends to the American Federation of Labor and its component unions the fullest possible use of radio. Attention is called to the benefits derived in the promotion of the union label as an example of the possibilities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Aid for the Blind

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 131, the committee reported as follows:

The committee recommends that the convention express its pleasure at the steps taken for the protection of the blind. The steps taken with respect to the otherwise afflicted are in the direction of making the workmen's compensation laws models in this field. We recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to continue

effort in cooperation with the unions of government employes and state federations for this laudable purpose.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Alaskan Railroad Employes

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 131, the committee reported as follows:

The committee recommends that the convention express gratification because of the extension of retirement legislation covering the Alaskan government employes.

With respect to the exclusion of the Alaskan Railroad employes from the postal employes 40-hour week bill, the committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to aid and support such legislation which may be endorsed by the railroad unions for the purpose of remedying this omission.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Textile Industry

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 132, the committee reported as follows:

This section of the report is simply a statement of fact. Inasmuch as the question raised is with respect to the constitutionality of the legislation, the committee feels that this subject of the constitutionality of remedial laws is one which the organized labor movement will deal with here in broader manner. It does not therefore make any recommendation on the subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Silicosis

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 134, the committee reported as follows:

This section recites a heartrending tragedy resulting from the lack of protection of underground workers

from tuberculosis from inhalation of dust and silica.

The crux of the problem is stated to be the enactment of legislation making this disease an occupational one under state laws. It is recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to vigorously cooperate with state federations for the purpose named. It is further recommended that study and effort be expended in the direction of legislation which will safeguard workers from the contraction of this dread disease by the provision of proper protection.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Might I ask, Mr. Chairman, if the committee has given consideration to Resolution No. 115 of last year's convention which definitely recommended supporting Federal legislation dealing with this problem of silicosis and occupational diseases?

President Green: I am not certain if the committee referred to the resolution. Of course the action taken upon that resolution became the official action of the American Federation of Labor, and the provisions of that resolution must, of necessity, be carried out by the officers of the American Federation of Labor insofar as the convention took action thereon.

Delegate Watt: I rise merely to keep the record straight. I think if we record ourselves on this report, as the committee does, merely in favor of state legislation, we are indulging in a lot of wishful thinking; in other words, how long will it take such states as Maine and Vermont, which are supervised by one of the major political parties, and such states as Arkansas and Mississippi that are supervised by the other major party, to take action unless we have Federal legislation? In other words, if the principle is right for us to enact Federal legislation for old age and assistance, if the principle is sound and correct to go into the 48 states, even in the building of roads, it seems to me it is perfectly sound for us to say to the 48 states, "If you will set up

certain standards for the protection of men and women employed in industries where they are subject to occupational disease, we will enact Federal supporting legislation." I suggest that the Committee on Legislation include in their report some kind of specific language, which will amplify and support the action of the last convention on Resolution 115.

Secretary Hyatt: The Chairman of the committee instructs me to state that the suggestion of Delegate Watt will be accepted by the committee if there is no objection on the part of other members of the committee. In other words, we will consider that part of our report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Air Mail Pilots

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 135, the committee reported as follows:

The committee recommends that the convention congratulate the air mail pilots upon the outstanding victory set forth. It is further recommended that the Council be instructed to continue its support of legislation for the protection of aviation workers as this industry develops and thus reveals new personnel problems.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Railroad Consolidation

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 135, the committee reported as follows:

This section of the report deals with a striking example of militant and adroit use of both legislative and economic power by the railroad unions. When agreement as to remedy of the hardships resulting from railroad consolidations was found impossible through trade union agreement these unions introduced and advanced legis-

lation for the purpose. When it became evident that this bill would pass, the Railroad managements then offered concessions granting practically all that the legislation would have provided. This situation is further discussed under a section of the report in the hands of another committee. This committee therefore feels that no further comment is necessary except to congratulate the railroad unions upon this splendid demonstration of alert and resourceful procedure.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Convict Labor Legislation

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 135, the committee reported as follows:

The problem of protecting free labor from competition with that of convicts is a traditional one with organized labor. The report declares the intention of the Council to continue scrutiny of all proposed legislation and effort for the enactment of further legislation protection.

The Council recommends that the state-use principle be extended and that such legislation be supplemented as completely as possible with the Hawes-Cooper law forbidding the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

The Council further recites cooperation with the state federations for the extension and perfection of these legislative objectives.

The committee recommends that the Council be instructed to continue these laudable and progressively successful efforts.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Minimum Wage Law

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 138, the committee reported as follows:

This section of the report sets

forth in some details the fate of minimum wage laws under rulings of the Supreme Court. In view of the position of the Supreme Court it appears plain that all future cases of this character will result in similar decisions. This is in spite of the growing and very decided favorable attitude of states toward such legislation. This is manifested by the fact, set forth in the report, that 15 states have such laws.

As with the situation confronting other legislation, mentioned elsewhere in the report, the question appears to be broader than even legislation of such importance as minimum wage laws. It has to do with the question of the power of the Supreme Court.

The committee feels that this subject of Supreme Court authority will probably be considered by the convention in its broader aspects and does not therefore recommend any action with respect to the specific problem of minimum wage laws.

It does venture to express the opinion that this whole subject is one having the most vital implications for wage earners and our whole people.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 6

Condemning Action of City Council of Marion, Ohio, in Abolishing Fire Fighters' Pensions

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The City Council of Marion, Ohio, has seen fit to adopt an ordinance repealing the Firemen's Pension Ordinance established many years ago; and

WHEREAS, Such action has deprived widows, children and retired brothers, some of whom are sick and infirm, and unable to provide any means of livelihood; and

WHEREAS, Their action may be the means of undermining the pension systems in many cities in the state of Ohio, and elsewhere; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters has seen fit to initiate and sponsor litigation which

will test the legality of the action of the Marion City Council; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its fifty-sixth convention in the city of Tampa, Florida, does hereby place itself on record as vigorously condemning the action of the City Council of Marion, Ohio, in taking the above-mentioned action; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Mayor and City Council of Marion, Ohio, be notified of the adoption of this resolution by the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The resolution recites that a pension fund for firefighters has been arbitrarily abolished after being in force for many years in the City of Marion, Ohio. There does not appear to be any question as to the injustice of this situation. The committee therefore recommends that the request of the Firefighters be endorsed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning Order of City Manager and City Council of Saginaw, Michigan, Against Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 7—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is an organization formed for the purpose of placing its members on a higher plane of skill and efficiency; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire departments of cities in which there are locals affiliated with said International Association of Fire Fighters has been recognized and attested to by the chiefs of fire departments of such cities, as evidenced by letters to this effect written by such chiefs to the International Association of Fire Fighters; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire service of the United States and Canada, as a whole, is recognized and acknowledged by such authorities as the Department of Agriculture of the United States, National Fire Protection Association, the National Board of Fire Underwriters, the National Fire Waste Council and the Mayors of a great many cities of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Despite these indisputable facts, the City Manager and City Council in the city of Saginaw, Michigan, have seen fit to order the disbanding of Saginaw Fire Fighters Local No. 422, thereby prohibiting the members of the Saginaw Fire Department from continuing their membership in organized labor; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled, at this, the fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor, in the city of Tampa, do hereby place themselves on record as vigorously condemning the action of the City Manager and City Council of Saginaw, Michigan, in causing such an order to be issued; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled do instruct the Executive Officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use every reasonable means to have the above-mentioned order rescinded or withdrawn, in order that the Saginaw fire fighters may affiliate with the International Association of Fire Fighters, without fear of jeopardizing their jobs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the City Manager and City Council of Saginaw, Michigan, be notified of the adoption of this resolution by the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

This resolution, introduced by the delegates of the International Association of Fire Fighters, calls attention to and condemns unjustifiable action by the city authorities of Saginaw, Michigan, restraining the city firemen from the exercise of their right of organization. Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have taken action condemning such attitudes on the part of city governments with gratifying results. The committee recommends that the convention endorse the resolution and instruct the Executive Council as indicated in it.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Tax for Fire Fighters' Pensions

Resolution No. 8.—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, A majority of the states levy a tax on foreign insurance companies; and

WHEREAS, The original intent and purposes of these taxes were to assist in the cost of maintaining Firemen's Pension Funds; and

WHEREAS, Only 19 states are now allocating a part of this tax towards the maintenance of Firemen's Pension Funds; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters is endeavoring to secure the passage of state legislation that will provide a uniform state law, which will levy a tax of 2 per cent on all premiums paid to foreign fire insurance companies, the funds derived from this tax to be allocated to assist in maintaining the various pension funds for fire fighters; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of self-insurers not incorporated within a state, who carry their own fire insurance, such as chain stores, oil companies and corporations, and who in doing so evade this tax; and

WHEREAS, If these companies and corporations were classified in the same category as foreign fire insurance companies the fire fighters Pension Fund would secure additional revenue; and

WHEREAS, Legislation has been passed in one state and is contemplated in other states which would provide that a 2 per cent tax be placed on all corporations, chain stores and self-insurers not incorporated in the state, thereby placing them in the same category as foreign fire insurance companies. This tax would be on a premium covering the amount of fire insurance that would normally be carried on such property, the funds to be collected by the state and distributed in such manner as to assist the Pension Funds in each city in the state in equitable manner; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its fifty-sixth convention, approves of such legislation for fire fighters' pensions, and that the affiliated State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Councils be instructed to assist the International Association of Fire Fighters and its affiliated locals in their efforts to secure the passage of such legislation.

This resolution, introduced by the Fire Fighters' delegation, requests that the convention take action concerning a procedure by which various self-insurers, such as oil companies, chain stores and other corporations evade their share of the tax on fire insurance premiums charged to insurance companies foreign to the commu-

nity: This tax, usually of two per cent on all premiums paid, is allocated to assistance for fire fighters' pension funds. The resolution requests that a similar tax be levied on the corporations now evading the tax. The committee recommends the endorsement of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Eight-Hour Day for Fire-Fighters

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The fire fighters in practically all the cities of the United States and Canada still work the two platoon system, or an average of 12 hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The fire fighting profession has, the same as modern industry, adopted speed-up methods, labor-saving apparatus and appliances, which have steadily reduced the man power; and

WHEREAS, In addition many cities have still further reduced their fire fighting forces to the extent that it has become necessary to inaugurate and maintain a call-back system that forces attendance of the off shift at fires of only ordinary proportions; and

WHEREAS, If the growth of this practice is permitted to continue the single platoon system will, in effect, again be established; and

WHEREAS, The fire fighters, by their failure to strive for a shorter work day and their non-insistence on a sufficiently large fire fighting force to obviate the need of call-backs, except in extraordinary emergencies, have impeded economic recovery; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, in convention assembled at Asbury Park, N. J., has gone on record as favoring a renewed, intensive and determined effort to secure the eight-hour day with one day of rest in seven for all fire fighters in the United States and Canada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its Fifty-sixth Convention, in the city of Tampa, does hereby endorse the program of the International Association of Fire Fighters in its endeavor to secure shorter working hours for all fire fighters in the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this program of shorter working hours is in conformity with the ideals of organized labor, and that every member Local of the American Federation of Labor is hereby

urged to give its whole-hearted support to the movement for an eight-hour day with one day off in seven for all fire fighters in the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the different State Federations of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Councils be hereby instructed to actively assist the International Association of Fire Fighters in their states and cities when a campaign is made for the eight-hour day for fire fighters, and that all trades unionists are hereby called upon to urge the adoption of such eight-hour day for fire fighters as in keeping with Labor's deals and as a means of reducing the present number of unemployed.

This resolution recites the fact that many fire fighters throughout the United States and Canada are still working the archaic two-platoon system, requiring a 12-hour day. It requests that the convention go on record as urging the Council to support a movement for an eight-hour day for fire fighters. It further urges that the convention urge city councils and state federations of labor to assist in this meritorious reform. The committee recommends that the resolution be endorsed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Federal Legislation to Penalize Unfair Practices of Employment Agencies

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The large cities as well as the small towns are infested with sharks that call themselves employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, These so-called employment agencies undermine the wage standards and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, In practice these so-called agencies are nothing more than strike-breaking units, supplying "scabs" to employers engaged in fighting organized labor; and

WHEREAS, By trick and device they exact fees from the distressed unemployed on the pretext of obtaining work by them fail to do so; and

WHEREAS, By conniving with em-

ployers they cause employees to be fired without justification on the promise to keep furnishing the employers with new help at lower wages; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring some type of Federal legislation to punish employment agencies indulging in the aforementioned practices.

This resolution introduced by the Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union refers to an evil concerning which the A. F. of L. has long looked with anxiety. One of the crying evils of industry has been the exploitation of the unemployed by parasites posing as employment agencies. It is not considered necessary to recite in detail conditions repeatedly exposed in connection with this racket. The resolution recommends that the convention support national legislation which will solve the problem.

The committee recommends adoption of the resolution with the further recommendation that the Executive Council be instructed to cooperate vigorously with state federations for the purpose of inaugurating rigid state regulation of employment agencies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

25 Year Optional Retirement Legislation for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 37 — By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative as an employee grows older and his resistance is undermined; and

WHEREAS, Congress during a recent session passed a bill reducing the period of service in the Canal Zone for military personnel from three to two years because of these climatic conditions; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are all of such an age as will require them

to work more than thirty years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 60 or 62; and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when computing retirement; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act but have a separate retirement law approved March 1, 1931, and incorporated into the Canal Zone Code, approved June 19, 1934; and

WHEREAS, An retirement legislation sponsored by the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, 25 years of service, with full annuity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled be instructed to make an attempt to secure for the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad 25-year optional retirement at 55 years of age, with full annuity, in the next session of Congress.

This resolution recites the claims of employees of the government in the Canal Zone for special consideration. It refers especially to the fact that employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are not included in the Civil Service Retirement Act as are the other civilian employees of the Government in the Canal Zone. It also recites that the Metal Trades Department of the Canal Zone has supported legislation to include these employees in the Civil Service Retirement Act. It is requested that the convention support legislation which will enable these employees of the railroad and Canal to retire after 25 years of service at 55 years of age. The committee recommends endorsement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pension Legislation for Widows of Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Many bills have been introduced in past sessions of Con-

gress to extend retirement benefits to widows of annuitants of Government employees; and

WHEREAS, The women of the Canal Zone, after long periods in the tropics, with the possibility of being left widows shortly after their husbands' retirement, must certainly become objects of charity or else try to compete in the open markets for unsuitable work; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of the employees involved are not sufficient to leave any surplus to make these widows independent of the necessity of asking employment or seeking aid from others; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal employees have a special retirement act because of the unusual climatic and adverse living conditions in the tropics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, support legislation or amendments to legislation which will extend to widows of United States citizens, annuitants, of the Canal Zone Retirement Act, benefits of 2-3 of the annuities received by the employee before his death.

This resolution recites the disadvantages with respect to health, suffered by employees in the Tropics. It refers especially to the effect on the health of the women members of the families of employees incurred by residence in the Tropics. It urges support of the efforts of these employees for amendment of their exclusive retirement act which will include an annuity for the widows of deceased employees.

In other resolutions before the convention, the desire of employees in the Civil Service of the continental United States for an amendment of their retirement act establishing widows annuities is set forth.

The committee recommends that the request of the Canal Zone employees be endorsed as in conformity with the present growing enlightenment toward old age security.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Cleared Channel for WCFL, "The Voice of Labor"

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates D. W.

Tracy, G. M. Bugnizet, Chas. M. Paulsen, E. D. Bleretz, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Frank E. Doyle, Trades and Labor Assembly, So. Chicago, Ill.; A. I. Wegener, Trades and Labor Union, E. St. Louis, Ill.; Louis P. Marclante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor; John A. Schoonover, Federation of Labor, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, In the closing days of its session in 1931 the Senate of the United States plainly indicated its unqualified endorsement and support of Labor's long and bitter fight for adequate radio facilities for the working men and women of America by the unanimous passage of the following resolution:

"The Federal Radio Commission shall assign one cleared channel frequency with the broadcasting station in the United States to the owner or owners of the broadcasting station or stations approved by the recognized labor organizations, which, in the opinion of the commission, are the most representative of the labor interests of the United States, and shall issue no license or licenses for the use of said frequency, except with the written consent of such so recognized labor organizations, to any person, association, corporation, organization or co-partnership," and

WHEREAS, Pursuant thereto the American Federation of Labor at its conventions in 1931 and 1934 by unanimous action went on record that Labor should be assigned, by act of Congress and/or by action of the Federal Communications Commission, a cleared national channel with unlimited time and with power equal to the maximum power assigned to any channel in the United States, and

WHEREAS, Pursuant thereto the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and Legislative Committee, has made an intelligent and gallant fight but has not been successful in procuring such a cleared national channel for its one and only Labor station, WCFL, located in Chicago on 970 kilocycles, through the Federal Communications Commission, and

WHEREAS, The efforts of Labor to procure such a cleared national channel have been consistently and aggressively opposed by the monopolistic interests which have already secured a strangle-hold upon a huge and dangerous preponderance of the radio facilities of the country, and

WHEREAS, unless this last remaining cleared national channel frequency, which rightfully belongs to Labor, is

accorded to it, it must be obvious to all that in times of national emergency, controversy, strikes, lockouts and disagreements between capital and labor these interests will take advantage of their usurped power and disseminate propaganda the like of which this country has never experienced, menacing the intellectual and economic soul of our nation and

WHEREAS, realizing the importance of radio and the tremendous influence it has already had in removing mental shackles from the people, the organized trusts and monopolies of the nation are making a desperate effort to secure the last section of the public domain of the air, excluding the Voice of Labor and reducing this powerful medium of communication to the point of absolute subjection.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby reaffirms its position heretofore taken in its Conventions of 1931 and 1934 pursuant to the Act of the Senate of 1931;

RESOLVED FURTHER, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby petition the Congress of the United States to pass the necessary legislation to assign or to have assigned the channel of 970 kilocycles as a cleared national channel, with unlimited time and with power equal to the maximum power assigned to any channel in the United States, to the owner or owners of the broadcasting station or stations approved by the recognized labor organizations, which, in the opinion of the Commission are most representative of Labor interests of the United States, and not to issue any license or licenses for the use of such frequency except with the written consent of such so recognized labor organizations to any other person, association, corporation, organization or co-partnership;

RESOLVED FURTHER, That the Executive Council be and they are hereby authorized and directed to take any and all steps necessary or advisable to effectuate the intent of this resolution and the action by this Convention recommended in furtherance thereof.

For action on this resolution see pages 489 and 490.

O'Mahoney Bill for Federal Licensing of Corporations

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. in convention introduced a resolution requesting the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have prepared

a bill providing for the Federal licensing of individuals, partnerships and corporations engaged in interstate business at the Vancouver Convention, 1931; and

WHEREAS, The Cincinnati Convention 1932 reaffirmed the action taken by the previous convention of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The O'Mahoney Bill does not contain some of the essential features presented to the Vancouver and Cincinnati Conventions; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Executive Council to have incorporated in the O'Mahoney Bill, or in any other bill providing for the Federal licensing of corporations approved by the American Federation of Labor, the provisions called for by the resolutions introduced by the Metal Trades Department and approved by the Vancouver and Cincinnati Conventions.

This resolution points to the fact that the bill indicated by the title carries forward some of the ideas and policies of the American Federation of Labor as set forth at the Vancouver and Cincinnati conventions. It states that certain provisions contained in Resolution No. 47 passed at Cincinnati are not included in the O'Mahoney Bill.

The Committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its cooperation with Senator O'Mahoney and others interested in this type of legislation. It further recommends that the council be instructed to consult with these members of Congress with a view of bringing the resulting legislation as nearly as possible in accord with previous convention action. Resolution No. 47 of the Cincinnati convention is included in the committee report.

Federal License Law for Business Firms and Corporations

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. through its delegates introduced a resolution at the Vancouver Convention, 1931, calling attention to the necessity of a Federal License Law; and

WHEREAS, The Convention referred

this resolution to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, It is advisable to summarize the conditions which make a Federal License Law necessary, and to outline some of the provisions which such a law should contain;

The great bulk of our manufacturing and our commerce is carried on by corporations, many of whom, several years ago, graduated from million to billion-dollar institutions. These corporations secured their charters from those states whose laws were most liberal in the issuing of corporation charters.

There are several states notorious for the liberality of their incorporation laws, these states having greatly liberalized their statutes so that corporations would be induced to secure charters from them. As a result, there are a number of corporations whose main business and whose industrial plants are situated at a distance from the state from which they secured their charter.

Charters of incorporation convey certain specific privileges and exemptions, which make it easier and more safe for men to carry on their business than through partnerships or by individual activity and responsibility.

The individual business man is liable for all of his property for any debt he may owe. The owners of a corporation are only responsible for the debts the corporation may owe to the extent of their individual investment. The individual owner of a business is forced to lose all of his property to satisfy his debts, while the corporation stockholder is only responsible for the amount of his actual investment in the corporation.

The corporation is a collective form of doing business as contrasted to the individual's business activities and the charter of incorporation is a state grant establishing the right to organize for the purpose of carrying on business. It is also a guarantee that this right to organize carries with it privileges, an exemption from certain liabilities, which the individual business man or a partnership can not enjoy.

Our experience as wage earners has been that it is these corporations with their charter right to organize, and their exemption from a number of liabilities which rests upon the individual which have been the most active and aggressive factors in the program to prevent any organization, among wage earners. The corporations, enjoying their specific rights to organize and their exemptions from certain liabilities granted them by their charter,

have used their privileged position to place added liabilities upon wage earners when they organize into trade unions.

Corporations and others holding a Federal license without which they could not carry on an interstate business, would be called upon to submit at frequent intervals, not less than twice a year, a statement of the number of their employees, the number of man-hours worked, the total amount of their payroll for wage earners and executives, and the total amount of their sales. This information would enable the Federal Government to possess data which would, in addition to giving statistics on unemployment, give the data which would indicate the changes taking place in the volume of business and the volume of wages. This would give the Federal Government the data now being collected by the Census of Manufacturers, but instead of waiting for two years for the Census of Manufacturers to be taken, and many months afterwards before the results could be known, it would make it possible to have up-to-date information which would be as valuable a guide to the manufacturer and the business man as it would be to labor.

A provision should be incorporated providing for uniform accounting. It was not until the Interstate Commerce Commission was able to compel the railroads to adopt a uniform system of bookkeeping that it was possible for the Commission to have any definite or any comparable knowledge of the railroads' actual business transactions and experience. It would by no means be an insuperable task to devise uniform systems of accounting for the various industrial and business organizations so that the textile, the iron and steel, the machine-tool, the building and other industries, could have a uniform system of bookkeeping which was best adapted for their industry or business activity.

The Federal License Law should provide for reports from the licensees whenever the capital stocks were to be increased or bonds issued.

Another general section of such a law should include what has been established by the Federal Courts or by Congress as fair and unfair trade practices. This provision would cover all the present activities of the Federal Trade Commission, and should go further.

Another general section of such a law should contain the public policy of the United States as enacted by Congress, or established by decisions of the United States Supreme Court as they affect labor and business. It

should include the substance and provisions of Section 2 of the present injunction law, which establishes the right of labor to organize into trade unions and choose its representatives free from any interference, intimidation, or coercion on the part of the employer.

We have been informed by some individuals that such a Federal License Law is revolutionary, that it is so radical it would not receive popular support. We have also been told that there was a question as to the constitutionality of some of the provisions as are being outlined.

The question of constitutionality was raised against the Ohio "Yellow Dog" Contract Law. We were informed when that measure was first given publicity, that the purpose of the law was praiseworthy but that it could not be enacted because of constitutional obstacles. The answer is that it is now the law of the United States.

As to a Federal License Law being a radical step, it will be quickly admitted that it is a most distinct departure, but as to its being radical we suggest that the radical change has already occurred. The far-reaching revolutionary methods of doing business through corporations instead of through partnerships or individual responsibility, has become the general practice.

The radical change is in the methods by which the great bulk of our business is now being transacted by corporations who could not exist except for the special privilege granted to them by states having the most liberal laws covering incorporations. The most radical change of all is the control which these corporations have established over labor's opportunities to have a voice in determining their terms of employment and conditions of labor.

The individual's opportunities of earning a living, the standard of living he can enjoy in many instances are as fully dominated by the industrial policies applied by corporations as they are by the law of the land.

Federal laws to control the monopolistic trend of corporations to regulate their activities through anti-trust laws, have been as ineffective as the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. It has become a growing opinion that the anti-trust law should be repealed. There must be a more adequate law to take their place.

We are convinced that the most wise, the most practical and the most effective method of establishing necessary control and regulation, is through the enactment of a law which provides that all individuals, partnerships

and corporations, doing an interstate business, must secure a Federal license, a license which would be revoked whenever the licensee violates the provisions of his license; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby requested to have a thorough study made of the problems involved, and prepare a bill for introduction in the Congress of the United States.

Your Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 47.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Amendment of Social Security Act to Provide for Workers of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 70.—By Delegate Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico, and Delegate Laura Iglesias, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union No. 18198, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Social Security Act are not applicable to Puerto Rico according to a ruling of the Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives as communicated to the President of the A. F. of L. under date of April 19, 1935;

WHEREAS, It would be of great help for the uplifting of the working classes of Puerto Rico and for the people in general of the island to make applicable to the island of Puerto Rico the benefits of the Social Security Act, the main objection being that Puerto Rico has its own tax law and does not pay any taxes into the Treasury of the United States;

WHEREAS, Some special form might be worked out by which the peculiar conditions of the island might be met through a proper amendment to the Social Security Act making it applicable to Puerto Rico and through specific authorization to the Insular Legislature to deal with the specific case of the taxes,

WHEREAS, It has been requested by the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico that the benefits of the Social Security Act be extended to the workers of the island,

WHEREAS, The Committee on Unemployment Compensation of the Third National Conference on Labor Legislation held in Washington, D. C., November 9, 10 and 11, 1936, made the following recommendation, which was

unanimously approved by the conference:

"We urge that the proper authorities undertake to secure an amendment to the Social Security Act by the Congress to provide the benefits of the Social Security Act to the workers of Puerto Rico and all other territory comprising the United States of America," therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, By the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take the necessary steps before Congress so as to secure that the Social Security Act be amended so that Puerto Rican workers may enjoy the benefits of this act.

Through this resolution, the Puerto Rican workers request that they be included in the Social Security Law. They are now excluded from this by a ruling of the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. A special amendment is recommended which will remedy this disability and which will take cognizance of the peculiar industrial and social conditions of the Island.

Attention is called to the fact that the Third National Convention on Labor Legislation recommended such action. The committee recommended favorable consideration in connection with the whole subject of social security legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Food and Drugs Act

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-fourth Annual Convention, assembled in San Francisco October 1, 1934, unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing Senate Bill 1944, the proposed revision of the Federal Food and Drugs Act then pending in Congress;

WHEREAS, The type of exploitation represented by abuses in the food, drug and cosmetic industries are particularly burdensome to American Labor;

WHEREAS, The public is now inadequately protected against such abuses under the existing Federal statute.

WHEREAS, Protecting the consumer's health and pocketbook is of spe-

cial importance to the millions of workers whose purchasing power is depended upon to furnish the profits to industries producing dangerous and fraudulent products;

WHEREAS, The lobbyists for commercial interests have thus far prevented the enactment of this much needed legislation; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor devote every effort to securing the early enactment of a new food, drug and cosmetic act, provided that such legislation in no way restricts the Government's power to seize and remove from the market any deceptive or dangerous products; provided further that it does not hamper the adjudication of such seizures by requiring their trial in jurisdictions prejudicial to the consumer's interest; and provided further that such legislation grant to the Department of Agriculture full punitive power to regulate food, drug and cosmetic advertising; and be it further

RESOLVED, That labor's representatives in Congress be instructed to support such legislation with said provisos; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Hon. Sam Rayburn, Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and to the Hon. Virgil Chapman, sponsor of said legislation in the House of Representatives, and to the Hon. Royal S. Copeland, its sponsor in the Senate.

This resolution requests support for perfection of the Federal legislation protecting the public from fraudulent drugs and medicines. It sets forth the situation resulting from defects in the present legislation and in Federal authority.

The committee recommends that the resolution be endorsed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Amendment of Social Security Act to Include Employees of Non-Profit Institutions

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professions, No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The benefits accruing to employees from the present Social Security Act are denied to employees of

charitable, religious and non-profit institutions who receive low wages and in particular to the nurses and other hospital workers who perform tasks injurious to health; and

WHEREAS, This group is in need of old-age and unemployment benefit, so therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Title 2, Title 8, Title 9 and all other Titles of the Social Security Act which excludes by definition of "employment" all employees of non-profit institutions be amended to include employees of non-profit institutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor supports and approves this amendment to the Social Security Act.

This resolution points to the fact that employees of charitable, religious and non-profit institutions are excluded from the Social Security Act. It recites the fact that working conditions among nurses, hospital attendants and other excluded classes are undesirable and that they need the protection of the Law.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council take favorable notice of the desire of these classes of workers with a view to the remedy of any inequalities suffered by them and other groups with respect to the Social Security Act.

Delegate Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals No. 20094, New York City: The Social Security Act is now being enacted. It is a step forward, but it is not all-inclusive, and we who are a large section of working women are being forgotten.

The girls in white who consider themselves professionals, but who still labor away 12 hours a day six days a week, are the "forgotten men." They have always been omitted when laws governing where shorter hours were concerned or when increases in wages were considered. They were not included in the NRA. They serve humanity, therefore they are not considered as human beings. They care for the sick and the helpless, but there are no laws passed to care for the

nurses, laboratory technicians, and the other hospital professionals.

The reason may be that they did not know of the old age edict that in organization there is strength, and the men and women in the labor movement probably forgot to include them when they were busy organizing the 3,400,000 men and women in industry. Today, however, I am happy to inform you that the American Federation of Labor has recognized nurses and hospital professionals as part of the labor movement, and I am here representing our local which is the Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals, and that is why I am going to ask that today when the United States Government enacts the social security law, which is a great advancement toward social legislation, we are not again omitted and forgotten. We who, by the very nature of our work become ill, grow old prematurely and suffer a great deal of unemployment, are left out of the benefits accorded others. We are also among the poorly paid workers in industry. The Social Security Act, as it is today, is certainly not all-inclusive; therefore Title II, Title VIII, and Title IX, and all other Titles of the Social Security Act which exclude by definition of "employment" all employees of non-profit institutions, be amended to include employees of non-profit making institutions, and to also be amended to embody that all the unemployed should benefit by this law and these amendments should be made by the incoming session of Congress.

This is only the beginning of our asking to be included when general conditions are improved. We will let ourselves be heard when we are omitted from enjoying the benefits derived to make one's life a happier one. We are raising our voice in New York for the eight consecutive hour day, and we have gone pretty far with the bill that we introduced in our municipal assembly for the eight hour day, which has passed to the Board of Aldermen and is now in the Committee on Local Laws

in the Board of Estimates. We are told that the only thing standing in our way is one million and a half dollars, and we know that if we keep up the work of calling it to the attention of the public, that they are getting insufficient nursing care because of the long hours and heavy case loads, that small sum of money will be found.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Policy of Bureau of Federal Prisons in Employing Prison Labor

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate J. W. Williams, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Federal Prisons is constructing new buildings with prison labor and is requesting Building Trades Mechanics to work with prison labor and asking they teach prisoners the trade and

WHEREAS, The Federal Officials in Washington insist the Act covering prison extension work, applies to new construction and

WHEREAS, In Chillicothe, Ohio, and other United States Industrial Reformatories, they have a large building program under way and are attempting to erect new buildings, with prison labor, seeking Building Trades Mechanics to teach prisoners the Building Tradesmen's Art; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record protesting against prison labor performing this work and protesting against Government Officials asking Building Craftsmen to work with and teach prisoners the Building Craftsmen's Art; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record asking that the present law be repealed or amended, so that all new construction work be let by contract or performed by free labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand of Congress a correction of these vicious practices.

This resolution cites the construction by the Bureau of Federal Prisons of buildings with convict labor. It is further stated that building tradesmen are requested to work with prison labor and to train them. It asks that

these abuses be discontinued and that legislation allowing such practices be repealed.

The committee recommends that the resolution be endorsed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislative Program of International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions

Resolution No. 147—By C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the I. F. T. E. A. & D. Unions endorsed the following legislative measures—to wit:

1. A minimum wage of \$1800 per annum for all time engineering employes with statutory provisions for automatic increases in salary.

2. A reduction of hours of the present work week without reduction in salaries.

3. Extension of the merit system in the classified civil service.

4. Thirty years optional retirement with widows' annuities and a reduction of the age limit requirements.

5. Creation of a Board of Appeals with provision for employes' representation for Civil Service employes.

6. Transfer of Classifying Authority to the Civil Service Commission for the allocation of all Field Service positions under the Classification Act.

7. Changes in the present system of efficiency markings to remove present opportunity of discrimination.

8. Changes in present leave law regulations so as to restore previous retroactive privileges for the field service.

9. The preparation of plans for all Government built naval vessels by the drafting personnel of the Naval Establishment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render its support in the achievement of the above mentioned program with every possible means at its disposal.

This and the next resolution to be considered refer to the legislative programs of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftmen's Unions; and of the Amer-

ican Federation of Government Employees.

The committee calls attention to the fact that other resolutions request support of the objectives of government workers. It further calls attention to the resolution of thanks by these unions for past support.

The committee expresses confidence that the Executive Council will continue to aid government workers in fulfillment of the traditional policy of organized labor that the government shall be a model employer.

The committee therefore recommends the resolution to the Executive Council for favorable consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislative Program—American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 150—By Delegates Charles I. Stengle, C. L. Edwards, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees, at its convention, held in the City of Detroit, Michigan, September 14-17, 1936, adopted the following legislative program:

1. A minimum wage of \$1,500 per annum for all full time employees with statutory automatic increases in salary.

2. A five day week of 35 hours with no decreases in pay to be applied throughout the Government Service.

3. Extensions of the merit system to include all branches of the civil Government.

4. The extension of the Classification Act to the field services.

5. Thirty-year optional retirement with the additional provisions that employees retired on account of disability who recover, be given the same status as an employee not voluntarily separated after 15 years of service and having reached the age of 55 years, until such time as his reemployment can be effected.

6. Optional Q. S. & L. — the cost to be applied uniformly to all positions wherein the furnishing of such services is involved.

7. Application of the night differential to all positions requiring night shifts.

8. Payment of not less than the prevailing wage to craft employees in agencies not affected by wage boards or other machinery for fixing adequate wages.

9. Repeal of Section 213 which is a discriminatory measure.

10. Provisions of opportunity for promotion of qualified employees prior to the development of Civil Service eligible lists so that the higher positions will be filled by promotion thereby establishing the Civil Service as a career service.

11. Creation of a Civil Service Board of Appeals so organized as to fully protect the rights of employees.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the City of Tampa, Florida, this 17th day of November, A. D., 1936, does hereby endorse the aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this forward looking program to a successful conclusion.

This resolution is a recital of the legislative objectives of the American Federation of Government Employees.

The committee recommends the resolution to the Executive Council for the same favorable consideration as with Resolution No. 147.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing the Extension of the Housing Bill to Puerto Rico

RESOLUTION No. 157—Introduced by Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Delegate of the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico; Laura Iglesias, Delegate, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, The immense majority of the workmen's homes in Puerto Rico are inadequate and with bad structural conditions, lacking in many instances sanitary facilities.

WHEREAS, Long term public housing policy combined with local legislation of the Island which now is enforced is of absolute necessity in order that a suitable program of housing, duly financed, can be guaranteed to the community, as embodied in the Wagner-Elleborge Bill which passed the Senate in the 74th Congress but failed to pass in the House;

WHEREAS, There is a serious shortage of decent family dwellings in Puerto Rico which has become more acute on account of the various hurricanes which destroyed thousands of workers' homes;

WHEREAS, The crowded districts with unhealthy surroundings and without adequate recreational facilities in which many workmen live at present is detrimental to health and to moral and physical conditions;

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Wagner-Elleborge Bill failing to pass the 74th Congress, contains a good number of the measures as suggested by organized labor in Puerto Rico in that the Government should assist in the program of slum clearance and low cost of housing;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED BY THE 56TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE A. F. OF L., that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to put forth again his best efforts to secure the passing of the Wagner-Elleborge Bill at the next coming session of Congress.

And be it FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Congressional authorities be earnestly urged by the President of the American Federation of Labor to have Puerto Rico included in this measure as provided in the bill failing to pass in the 74th Congress.

This resolution is a plea of the Puerto Rican workers for support for legislation which will include the Island in Federal housing programs. It recites deplorable housing conditions now prevailing. It requests that the convention instruct the President of the A. F. of L. to lend vigorous support to this objective. The Committee recommends endorsement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 160—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Galnor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece Heff-

ner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in repealing adverse legislation, these victories including repeal of wage cuts, restoration of promotions, vacations, differentials for night work, and numerous other hard-won and deeply-cherished rights and privileges; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the postal service, have gained through legislation the five (5) day week and other benefits, thus not only benefitting themselves but more firmly establishing the principle of shorter hours in industry; and

WHEREAS, These very notable victories would have been impossible without the energetic influence and backing of organized labor and the continuous cooperation and assistance of its officers; be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing Government Workers in this Fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby express the deepest gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its allies.

This resolution expresses the thanks of the civil service unions for the support received by them from their organized brothers in private industry. Such a resolution has been introduced by them in a number of past conventions.

While the resolution mentions specifically the American Federation of Labor, the committee feels that such expressions should be extended most heartily to city central bodies and state federations of labor. It is sure that it is thus expressing sentiments with which the civil service unions will gladly join.

The committee recommends that the

civil service organizations be instructed to take energetic steps that all their local organizations which have not done so shall affiliate with city central bodies and state federations of labor.

It is recommended that such instruction be made a part of the convention acceptance of the resolution of thanks.

Delegate Martel, International Typographical Union: I want to thank the committee for its observation and recommendation in connection with this resolution, emanating from the representatives of the Civil Service organizations. There were several meetings of delegates in this convention representing central bodies for the purpose of discussing the non-affiliation of some Civil Service groups with central bodies. We find that a great deal of the work of the Civil Service bodies is getting in contact with the various Congressmen. We find that the central bodies always comply with the requests of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and we are glad to have these fine expressions of appreciation from the Civil Service bodies for the work the central bodies have done and the American Federation of Labor has done; but it is time the central bodies connected with the American Federation of Labor use some of the per capita tax they are entitled to and also use the additional strength that will come to central bodies by the affiliation of Letter Carriers, particularly in my town.

I understand it is usual for Letter Carriers to withhold that support to central bodies. Those of us who are interested have decided to make a survey to see if there is any appreciation on the part of these organizations of the work done by central bodies and the American Federation of Labor, first, in the election of friendly men to Congress that these organizations can approach with some degree of success on those matters they are interested in; secondly, to see whether or not these organizations are going to

affiliate. While I don't want to make any threats, because I don't think it has any place here, I feel sure from the expressions made by representatives of central bodies that their enthusiasm for the services that can be rendered the Civil Service employees will cool off if the Letter Carriers and others do not take their place with the rest of the labor movement; I am afraid the central bodies will find it necessary to do work for other organizations, such as carpenters, bricklayers and others that support them, and not keep on doing errands for the Civil Service bodies. I want to call attention to the failure of certain of these organizations to do their share towards making the labor movement of this country a success.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: Mr. President, in the light of the observations submitted by Delegate Martel of the Typographical Union, wherein he spoke in support of a larger affiliation with State and Central Labor bodies and wherein he particularly designated members of The National Association of Letter Carriers for failing to affiliate in measurable numbers, I feel constrained to say a word in explanation of our status in this case. To do so, I think it is well to direct attention to our specific character of employment. I am president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, an organization that affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in 1917. On the occasion of our affiliation and for many years succeeding there was sharp opposition often in influential quarters and on the floor of Congress against Civil Service Employees affiliating with a Labor Body. That was heightened in view of the fact that a few years later the Organized Policemen in the City of Boston engaged in a strike, with the result that it was given such wide publicity as to be largely responsible finally for bringing Calvin Coolidge to the Presidency.

I am also reminded that in Plat-

form Declarations during these years very sharp strictures were made against Civil Service Employees joining Labor Organizations. We were not stampeded by these objections. We have held our head. We have maintained our poise between two extremes, and our organization has flourished and grown until now, in an open shop where membership is voluntarily, we have approximately 60,000 members of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

In the meantime, let us make a survey of conditions throughout the world where those directing the destinies of Civil Service Organizations have observed a different policy. We find that practically outside of Canada, United States and Australia, the United States is the only country in the world where Civil Service Organizations are allowed to belong to their National Labor Confederation.

Just a few years ago, on the occasion of the universal strike in England the United Postal Workers made friendly gestures in support of that strike, with the result that laws were enacted that denied them membership in the British Trades Union Congress. Although the Labor's party was returned on two subsequent occasions into power, they have never repealed that prohibition.

During the passing years this association, the National Association of Letter Carriers, at every succeeding convention has reaffirmed with enthusiastic approval their devotion to the American Federation of Labor. They are a part of this organization now and their status is not in doubt and readily can it be testified to by A. F. of L. officers that each one of their obligations has been promptly met.

However, I represent a body of men who are under oath and under bond. They meet practically everybody in the United States every day. They serve all sorts of people without respect to their creed, color, or other affiliations. They have managed their

affairs with common sense, and today our organization is in the best shape and holds greater prospects for the future than ever before. No longer is our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor considered objectionable in any quarter.

In the meantime, we have urged a broader and larger affiliation with State and Central Bodies. In increasing numbers our members are affiliated, and in the case of the City of Detroit, I conferred with these men there and strongly urged them to affiliate with the Central Labor Body of Detroit, because this is not the first time I have heard from Brother Martel on this subject.

I am without authority, and it would do the American Federation of Labor nor the Labor movement no good if I were to seek to resort drastic tactics to compel all our local branches to affiliate with the Central and State Bodies. We have thirty-four hundred branches in the National Association of Letter Carriers. One-third of our members are in fifty large cities. Many of them are in cities ranging from three to five carriers, but they are all members of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and day by day they are moving steadily forward in the Labor movement and they are backing everything this American Federation of Labor stands for.

Through the columns of our official publication and otherwise we have before and we will continue again to urge and admonish our branches to become affiliated with Central and State Labor Bodies. But this whole problem is so difficult that the American Federation of Labor at no time has adopted any drastic motion or resolution compelling the membership of other Unions to affiliate with State and Central Labor Bodies, and of course I am unable to anticipate whether they will pass any resolution at this Convention compelling National Organizations to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

I am of the opinion that we will continue in the future as we have in the past to urge our membership to affiliate with State and Central Labor Bodies. We have many affiliated now throughout the Country and we will go as far as we possibly can, in the light of local sentiment in the different cities, to forward such affiliation.

We must not forget that this conservatism extends even farther, because there are 40,000 rural letter carriers who serve the farmers of the country in agriculture environments. They are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor up to this date.

Every one of you have your own particular organization problems, but in the light of careful reflection, I feel we have done the best we could under the circumstances. We have gone as far as the facts of the case and our actual contacts with our special problems would permit, and while we have not gone as far as we would desire—and in that I agree with Brother Martel—nevertheless I predict further progress in the future along the lines of Brother Martel's suggestion.

Delegate Donnelly: Ohio State Federation of Labor: I would like to ask a question of Brother Gainor, if he will be kind enough to answer. I would like to ask Brother Gainor how many locals of Letter Carriers he has in the State of Ohio.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: I will say one hundred and twenty-five.

Delegate Donnelly: Now, Mr. President, I desire the floor when you see fit to recognize me.

Delegate Zander, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees: I have the pleasure of representing here the youngest of our National and International Unions, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in public service, and I advise Brother Martel that in our Constitution just recently

approved, in fact, within the last two weeks, the officers are instructed to advise local unions of this Federation to affiliate with State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: Mr. President and delegates to this convention—I inquired of President Gainor how many locals of Letter Carriers were in the State of Ohio. His answer was that he had a hundred and twenty-five local unions in that State. I want to say to you, Mr. President and delegates, that I have tried as a member of organized labor to absorb the philosophy of my old friend, Samuel Gompers, which was that we should try to work along voluntary lines and to avoid as much as possible compulsion, and never to force people to do things. Well, we have been trying to persuade the letter carriers and the other Governmental Service employees in the State of Ohio for a great many years to affiliate some of their locals with the Ohio State Federation of Labor.

At the present time, in the State of Ohio, which has more cities of twenty-five thousand population and over than any other State in the Union, and which has in almost every one of the cities of any size in the State a chartered Central Labor Union, notwithstanding the assistance we have given year after year to all of these organizations in relation to their legislation, we have at the present time two Letter Carrier's organizations affiliated with the State Federation of Labor.

I have had the most splendid cooperation from the Presidents and Secretaries of all of the affiliated National and International Unions of the American Federation of Labor. I make it a practice once or twice a year to ask the Officers of the National and International organizations to check with me the list of chartered organizations in the State of Ohio, so that I might put into operation this voluntary

proposition. I solicit their cooperation to have their locals in the State of Ohio affiliate with the State Federation of Labor. I have met with some degree of success. I have communicated with the Letter Carriers' organizations and I have asked of them if they would be kind enough to give us a roster of their Ohio locals, so that we might address a letter to them suggesting the advisability of their Local Unions affiliating with the State Federation of Labor. I have been refused access to that roster, so that we have today this discussion on the floor about the Federal Civil Service employees.

You have just heard the report of the Committee on Legislation, and almost every resolution that dealt with that said that the Central Bodies and the State Federations of Labor should do certain things to aid in this legislation.

Now, Mr. President and Delegates, you know that it costs money to belong to labor organizations, that it costs money to conduct labor organizations. These State Federations of Labor, these Central Bodies do not get their money out of thin air. Why should the molder, the miner, the barber, and all the other trades, contribute their money to build an organization and to support an organization, and then spend their money on people who seem to have no interest in building the organizations that they are asking to help get legislation and improve conditions for them?

Delegate George, Post Office Clerks: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I regret exceedingly that this question has come before this Convention in this manner. I believe, however, that in view of the discussion that has taken place it is highly proper that a brief statement come from me in order that there may be no misunderstanding regarding the attitude of the Post Office Clerks and the members of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks towards the labor movement. I happen to have belonged to

Local No. 1 of this national Organization for over thirty years, an organization that was organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in October, 1900. It was the first organization of Civil Service Employees to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, at a time when it was not a popular thing to do, either in the service or in the minds of the public throughout the American nation. That local had as an object to educate the postal service employees and other Civil Service employees to the organized labor philosophy, and to build up an organization in the postal service and in the Government service.

The fact that there are today in the postal service alone over one hundred thousand of the Postal Employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor speaks well for the accomplishments of that organization. That Local No. 1 has been affiliated with the State Federation of Labor and the Chicago Federation of Labor since its organization in 1900. It has taken an active part in labor affairs in its community and in the State. It has given to the Chicago Federation of Labor one of its officers, the first vice president, Oscar Nelson, who served in that capacity for twenty-five years.

As to the affiliation of these employees throughout the country, I venture to say that in the principal cities of the United States where there are active Central Labor Unions there is as large a percentage of the locals of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks affiliated with the Central Labor unions as any organization, with possibly one or two exceptions, in the American Federation of Labor.

I would like to ask Brother Martel if the National Federation of Post Office Clerks' Local in Detroit, Michigan, is affiliated with the Central Labor Union?

Delegate Martel: Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Delegate George: Thank you, and I think you will find that true in the great majority of the principal cities

throughout the country that have Central Labor Unions. In every one of my recommendations to my organization and in every opportunity that I have had in over thirty years of service, I have urged that affiliation with Central Labor bodies and State Federations of Labor, in cooperation with the organized labor movement, as our obligation assumed at the time we came to the American Federation of Labor to secure their support. I intend to continue along that line, and I believe that many of the representatives of State Federations of Labor and City Central bodies will testify to the fact that I have cooperated with them not only in this matter but in other ways to help build up their State and Central Labor bodies. I can assure them, and every member of the American Federation of Labor that the National Federation of Post Office Clerks will continue to urge its members to affiliate and cooperate to the fullest extent.

Delegate Easton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—since the question has been opened, we might as well open it clear up, not only as to the Federal employees, but let us talk for a few moments as to some of the other organizations. I have nothing but the greatest praise for the International officers of all of these organizations. I make a practice of writing occasionally upon this subject. I get copies of the letters they send to their local unions advising, and in many instances strongly advising, affiliation with central bodies and state federations, but it has not produced the desired results. We have too many local unions who are not interested in these local central bodies and state federations of labor. Without attempting in any way to have my remarks construed as chastising any organization, far be it from me to attempt that, I appreciate the weakness of a State Federation's position at all times, but I appeal to all of the organizations at this time to bring this subject mat-

ter before the delegates to their international and national conventions. They are the leaders of their organizations, assembled there as delegates, and through the exchange of ideas with these delegates in these national and international conventions I believe we can get through the persuasive message mentioned by Brother Donnelly, as representing the philosophy of our departed leader, Samuel Gompers, and thus prevail upon a goodly number, if not all of the local unions to affiliate with our central bodies.

I counted the resolutions dealing with national legislation. There are 59 resolutions introduced the first two days, not taking into account recommendations in the report of the Executive Council, practically all of which will eventually call upon the State Federations of Labor and central bodies for support.

We have just passed through an election, and one good friend of mine told me the other day down in my state that "We fellows over in Washington certainly did return Senator Neeley to the United States Senate." I wondered what the 200,000 workers were doing down in West Virginia, whether they had any hand in it. I am not for taking any glory away from anybody. There is glory enough for us all. The fact of the matter is, we won, all of us won by electing such men as Senator Neeley to again represent us in the United States Senate. I care not from what angle you view this question. We must have as strong organization in our cities and states as it is possible to have in order to strengthen the great American labor movement in Washington and elsewhere. So I repeat my appeal to the international officers to carry this question to their international conventions, in the hope of inducing each delegate there to go back home in their several communities and see that these affiliations are made.

Delegate Stengel, American Federation of Government Employees: Mr.

President, I am speaking as a rookie in this convention, only having been elected president in September last, and from experience as a member of Congress in years gone by, I had decided that I would keep quiet my first year. But I am compelled at this time to rise somewhat in defense of my Federation.

I am a member of the Legislative Committee which unanimously recommended the resolution concerning which we are speaking. I wholeheartedly supported that, and further than that the only change along this line ever made against my Federation has been in two cities, that we had too many of our delegates in the central labor union. All over this country, beginning in the South at Jacksonville, in Augusta, in Atlanta, our members are most active in both state and city federations. In New York City, in the District of Columbia, in Chicago, way out in Seattle, they are active participants in central and state bodies.

I discovered in Detroit, at our last convention, that the closest friend of Brother Martel was our vice president in that section of the country. I want to assure my fellow delegates here, whether I have a microphone to make it loud enough or not, that we believe in this cause. Our constitution directs our Executive Council not to request, but to instruct our unions, to participate actively in the Central Bodies and in the State Federations, and I think the secretary of the Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation who sits here at this table will confirm my statement that it was our delegation in that state convention that preserved the esprit d'corps in that great gathering last year and protected the good name of the Federation of Labor.

That is all I have to say. I am for the resolution, but please don't blackball us. We are on the right side.

Delegate Reid, Lansing, Michigan, Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I happen to be secretary of the Michi-

gan State Federation of Labor, and I am confronted with the same situation as confronts Brother Donnelly, only he is a little better off than I am. In checking over the records the other day I find we have one local of letter carriers affiliated with the State Federation of Labor and one local union of postal clerks. I was glad to hear Delegate Gainor say that he was in favor of the resolution and that he would instruct his locals to affiliate with Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor, and I hope and trust that he will make much greater progress in the next few years than he has in the last 19 years along that line.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the secretary of the committee.

Delegate Hyatt, Post Office Clerks: I don't want to add anything to the rather abundant discussion that has already occurred, but I want to say a word or two, not as secretary of the committee, but as one of the delegates of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks. Our president, who spoke to you called attention to the fact that we were the first union who dared to take what at that time was an extremely hazardous step. I want to say that I have never found this organization at any time to make any reservations whatsoever upon its genuine, fundamental, earnest and enthusiastic trade unionism. The only reservations upon which we act are the reservations placed upon us by the rather rigid regulations of the Civil Service. With those exceptions we go the whole road in our affiliation and in our gratitude to the organized labor movement. Not only do we support and urge the affiliation of our local bodies with the local bodies of the American Federation of Labor, but I think the Secretary of the Union Label Trade Department of the American Federation of Labor, who happens to be chairman of the committee for which I am speaking, will testify that we have conducted an earnest, persistent and successful attempt to

promote the use of the union label among our members. We are doing everything we can to pay the debt of gratitude that we owe to the organized labor movement, and I think the record will show that our local unions are very largely so affiliated.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman, I asked for the floor a few minutes before my colleague, Brother Stengel, of the Government Employees. He has covered so fully what I desire to say as to the general attitude of all of the affiliated Federal employees that I have but little to add. Brother Stengel and I worked together for legislative successes when we were both fair haired youths. We have come into this organization clean handed. We have given to it every support within our power.

I was pleased indeed with the statement made by the delegate who spoke as the representative of the newest international organization of the State, County and Municipal Employees, when he said that it was a part of their newly adopted constitution to advise all their locals to affiliate with Central and State Bodies. That is exactly the attitude of the National Association of Letter Carriers and has been.

As Brother Hyatt, secretary of the committee, has so well pointed out, we in Government employ have certain restrictions—and properly so—and yet those restrictions do not operate to prevent us from taking our proper place in the labor movement.

And yet might I ask this in all seriousness, in case of a strike, would you have the letter carriers walk past the picket lines and make delivery of mail into the struck plant? Answer that question—answer it yes or answer it no. Nevertheless, throughout the length and breadth of this land a great many of our local unions are affiliated with state bodies or with central labor bodies. But as one speaker has referred to the theory of voluntarism so well exemplified and con-

stantly preached by the great founder of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, he expanded that, he elaborated that by saying that you can't bludgeon men into cooperation.

We stand ready and willing to do our whole part to the extent of advising and insisting upon our members taking up these various affiliations, but it is purely a matter for each and every one of them themselves to decide, in the light of local conditions. We have our own state associations in nearly every state in the Union, and yet so well do we adhere to this principle of voluntarism that hundreds of our own local unions do not belong to our own state association. Are we, because of that, to say that they are disloyal to the National Association of Letter Carriers? We do not. We urge them to join our own state associations, we try to point out to them the value of such associations. If they want to go along with the state association, all right. The big ones all do. The smaller ones very often do not, and so by the same token we advise them to join these other organizations, state and city. We hope they do. If they don't, we don't impugn their loyalty to the labor movement.

Just another word, and I will sit down. We are strictly forbidden to take part in political campaigns in any active way, and yet while we are so properly prohibited, we are granted the right of speaking privately to our friends—and I think we have plenty of friends throughout the United States, and we have plenty of opportunity to speak to them privately, and we exercise that opportunity. We support those in Congress who are for us, and in many cases we have opposed those who are against us.

To extend that to our attitude toward the American Federation of Labor, we are in the strategic position to popularize the American Federation of Labor among a great many whose very surroundings, whose education, whose manner of life has not been

friendly to the American Federation of Labor. We are in a position to carry the gospel of the American Federation of Labor to that great class who are fair minded but misinformed by the propaganda of the press. We are in a position to tell them what the American Federation of Labor really stands for, and in spite of the attacks made upon us by some of those whom we could answer by directing attention to certain things in their own organization which we will not do, in spite of that, I can pledge the American Federation of Labor here and ever the constant, whole hearted support for its general program, and so far as affiliation to these various bodies below the top, just as much of it as we can possibly secure.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Special Order

Vice President Woll: The Committee

on Resolutions has completed its work and is ready to report. In view of the importance of the matters before it, I move that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be made a special order commencing at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Vice President Woll: In view of the special order having been set for 2:30 o'clock, and so that every delegate may be apprised as to when the committee is going to report on the CIO resolutions and Council matters pertaining thereto, the committee will endeavor to report at 3:00 o'clock on that subject and on all resolutions involved.

At 12:40 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Sixth Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Kindred, Hefferly, Heaton, Rosqvist, Mullen, Kane (J. C.), Williams (E. H.), Graham, Phillips (J. A.), Paterson (D. E.), Turnblazer, Egan (B. M.), Cahill, Minton, Key, Mundell, McDonald (S. S.), Tracy (Wm.), O'Neill (John J.), Mayer (Richard), McClellan (T.), Johnson (E. A.), Yablensky, Jenkins (E. R.), Dobbs, Jones (John T.), Breidenbach, Nischwitz, Van Patten, Will, Stackweather, Drake (Glen), Owens (John), Fenton (Frank P.), Egan (Frances G.), Patton (Fred), Farrell (Charles), German, Marchesi, Preston (E. J.), Hoyt, Powers (George), Hanson, Hanly, Majors, Soule, Shave, Stofels, Draper, Haywood, Klarish, Lisse, Kane (John J.), Hill, Cahir, Legler, Burton (E. L.), Harrison (J. W.), Gatelee, Wood (R. T.), Glasgow, Crofoot, Hudak, Haffa, Edmundson, Hunter (Thomas), Reed (George), Saltus, Bender (Frank J.), Moulin, Markva, Johnson (C. W.), Schreier, Vigil, Kocher, Williamson, Cairns, Reynolds (Robert), Clinedinst, Bellows, Marek, Finnegan (Thomas), Knopka, Alfred, Merritt (F. W.), Gerhardt, Gates, Lee, Gerhart, Williams (Clemson S.), Matlin, Prior, Duldner, Meyers (Irving), Luftrona, Kirby (Thomas J.).

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gordon, for the committee, reported as follows:

W. D. Mahon, Street Car Railway Employees, with 127 votes.

In accordance with communication received from President Daniel J. Tobin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, we recommended the seating of Dave Beck in place of Claude Reilly who has been called away from the city, to represent the Central Labor Union of Seattle, Washington, with one vote.

The committee recommended the seating of these delegates.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

San Francisco, California
November 21, 1936.

Wm. Green,
Municipal Auditorium,
Tampa, Florida.

Officers and delegates to the American Federation of Labor in convention

assembled at Tampa, Florida. Greetings. The California State Federation of Labor sends you hearty greetings and warmest fraternal well wishes for a progressive and successful convention.

EDW. VANDELEUR.

Weston, Virginia,
November 20, 1936.

Hon. William Green,
Amn. Federation of Labor Convention.

Please extend my greetings to those in attendance at the American Federation of Labor convention. The laborers of America have profited through your organization. I offer my assistance to the A. F. of L. in carrying out your progressive program.

RUSH D. HOLT.
Birmingham, Ala.,
November 20, 1936

W. Green,
President of the American Federation of Labor now in convention at Tampa, Florida.

Dear Sir and Brother. This is to let you know that the Birmingham Trades Council is 100 per cent with your Executive Council and backing you up to the limit.

ROY COPELAND,
Secretary, Birmingham
Building Trades Council.

Washington, D. C.
November 18, 1936.

William Green,
A. F. of L. Convention,
Tampa, Florida.

It is the sense of the undersigned members of the United States Conference of Mayors in session here in Washington that both sides engaged in the controversy at Tampa should adjust their differences in the interests of the economic welfare of the citizens of our country. We represent roughly about thirty million people who have duly elected us as municipal heads of our respective city governments. We represent industrial centers, merchandising markets and maritime ports. We are anxious that the economic welfare of our citizens should not suffer from any dissension within the ranks of organized labor and forcefully urge that both sides sit down and adjust differences. Many times each of us has settled difficult disputes between employers and employees. Surely Labor can adjust a dispute within its own ranks. With the best of interests of labor and industry in mind just imagine a system of dual unions in our cities. The very idea is unthinkable. We as mayors will have an intolerable situation on our hands. The friends of labor are urging an adjustment while

the sweat shops and exploiters of labor are hoping for a split in the ranks of labor. In a spirit of helpfulness and with the common good of all in mind we offer our good offices in any way desired to aid in bringing your differences to a satisfactory and peaceful conclusion.

(Signed)

MAYOR F. H. LAGUARDIA
of New York.
S. DAVIS WILSON,
Mayor of Philadelphia.
EDWARD J. KELLY,
Mayor of Chicago.
JOHN W. SMITH,
President, City Council,
Detroit.
HAROLD H. BURTON,
Mayor of Cleveland.
FRANK L. SHAW,
Mayor of Los Angeles.
DANIEL W. HOAN,
Mayor of Milwaukee.
JOSEPH K. CARSON,
Mayor of Portland, Oregon.
CORNELIUS D. SCULLY,
Mayor of Pittsburgh.
W. J. McCRACKEN,
Mayor of Oakland.
NEVILLE MILLER,
Mayor of Louisville.
MEYER C. ELLENSTEIN,
Mayor of Newark.
CHARLES STANTON,
Mayor of Rochester.
W. B. ERWIN,
Mayor of Salt Lake City.
HARRY D. DURST,
Mayor of Springfield, Mo.
A. C. MAHER,
Mayor of Joplin, Mo.
PAUL H. TODD,
Mayor of Kalamazoo.
FREDERICK W. MANSFIELD,
Mayor of Boston.
ANGELO J. ROSSI,
Mayor of San Francisco.
ROGER W. HARRISON,
Mayor of Greensboro.
M. N. CHAPMAN,
Mayor of Huntington.
T. A. PENNEY,
Mayor of Tulsa.
HENRY MARTENS,
Mayor of Springfield, Mass.

JAMES R. LAW,
Mayor of Madison.
W. I. KAUFFMAN,
Mayor of Lakewood, Ohio.
CHARLES LOVELAND,
Mayor of Wilkes-Barre.
J. FRED MANNING,
Mayor of Lynn, Mass.
THOMAS GAMBLE,
Mayor of Savannah.
WM. J. SWOBODA,
Mayor of Racine.
J. W. ELMORE,
Mayor of Knoxville.
MYRON B. GESSAMAN,
Mayor of Columbus.
C. K. QUIN,
Mayor San Antonio.
W. J. BRYAN,
Vice-Mayor of Chattanooga.
JOSEPH A. BROPHY,
Mayor of Elizabeth, N. J.

U. S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of a committee to meet the Commander of the American Legion, Mr. Colmery, upon his arrival in this city tomorrow morning for the purpose of addressing the convention at 11:00 o'clock. We have always welcomed the Commanders of the American Legion at our American Federation of Labor conventions, and the American Legion has welcomed representatives of the American Federation of Labor at the American Legion conventions. I understand the Commander will arrive in the city in the morning. I ask that the following delegates serve on the committee: President Berry, of the Printing Pressmen; David Beck, of the Teamsters International Union; and Joseph A. Franklin, President of the Boiler Makers.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Your Committee on Resolutions desires to make a preliminary statement before submitting its report. There were referred to it 186 resolu-

tions and approximately 25 portions of the Executive Council's report. Additional matters were referred to it by this convention, and the committee itself desires to bring in a recommendation of its own upon a certain question. It was impossible for the committee to prepare a full report and comment upon 186 resolutions and the many portions of the Executive Council's report in the time allotted to it by the convention.

The members of your committee have been absent from this convention since its opening hour. The committee has been in session twice a day. A subcommittee has worked nights after the committee completed its labors. They not only worked nights, but they worked Saturday and they worked Sunday.

For these valid reasons the committee has not brought in a detailed statement of its own on every resolution. Those it has concurred in it will report merely concurrence of the committee. If the committee is to read in their entirety the 186 resolutions, many of which take a full page or more, it would consume many hours of your time. There is a question in connection with each resolution. If there is no objection, from the convention the secretary, in presenting the report on resolutions will give the number of the resolution, the pages in the proceedings where it can be found, and the caption of the resolutions and the committee's report thereon. If there is a special desire that the resolution be read in its entirety, or that the Resolve be read, the request will come from the floor.

**National Cleared Channel for WCFL,
"The Voice of Labor"**

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, G. M. Bugnizet, Chas. M. Paulsen, E. D. Bieretz, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Frank E. Doyle, Trades and Labor Assembly, So. Chicago, Ill.; A. L. Wegener, Trades and Labor Union, E.

St. Louis Ill.; Louis P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor; John A. Schoonover, Federation of Labor, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, In the closing days of its session in 1931 the Senate of the United States plainly indicated its unqualified endorsement and support of Labor's long and bitter fight for adequate radio facilities for the working men and women of America by the unanimous passage of the following resolution:

"The Federal Radio Commission shall assign one cleared channel frequency with the broadcasting station in the United States to the owner or owners of the broadcasting station or stations approved by the recognized labor organizations, which, in the opinion of the commission, are the most representative of the labor interests of the United States, and shall issue no license or licenses for the use of said frequency, except with the written consent of such so recognized labor organizations, to any person, association, corporation, organization or co-partnership," and

WHEREAS, Pursuant thereto the American Federation of Labor at its conventions in 1931 and 1934 by unanimous action went on record that Labor should be assigned, by act of Congress and/or by action of the Federal Communications Commission, a cleared national channel with unlimited time and with power equal to the maximum power assigned to any channel in the United States, and

WHEREAS, Pursuant thereto the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and Legislative Committee, has made an intelligent and gallant fight but has not been successful in procuring such a cleared national channel for its one and only Labor station, WCFL, located in Chicago on 970 kilocycles, through the Federal Communications Commission, and

WHEREAS, The efforts of Labor to procure such a cleared national channel have been persistently and aggressively opposed by the monopolistic interests which have already secured a strangle-hold upon a huge and dangerous preponderance of the radio facilities of the country, and

WHEREAS, Unless this last remaining cleared national channel frequency, which rightfully belongs to Labor, is accorded to it, it must be obvious to all that in times of national emergency, controversy, strikes, lockouts and disagreements between capital and labor these interests will take advantage of their usurped power and disseminate propaganda the like of which this country has never experienced, menacing the intellectual and economic soul of our nation, and

WHEREAS, Realizing the importance of radio and the tremendous influence it has already had in removing mental shackles from the people, the organized trusts and monopolies of the nation are making a desperate effort to secure the last section of the public domain of the air, excluding the Voice of Labor and reducing this powerful medium of communication to the point of absolute subjection.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby reaffirms its position heretofore taken in its Conventions of 1931 and 1934 pursuant to the Act of the Senate of 1931;

RESOLVED FURTHER, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby petition the Congress of the United States to pass the necessary legislation to assign or to have assigned the channel of 970 kilocycles as a cleared national channel, with unlimited time and with power equal to the maximum power assigned to any channel in the United States, to the owner or owners of the broadcasting station or stations approved by the recognized labor organizations, which, in the opinion of the Commission are most representative of Labor interests of the United States, and not to issue any license or licenses for the use of such frequency except with the written consent of such so recognized labor organizations to any other person, association, corporation, organization or co-partnership;

RESOLVED FURTHER, That the Executive Council be and they are hereby authorized and directed to take any and all steps necessary or advisable to effectuate the intent of this resolution and the action by this Convention recommended in furtherance thereof.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Committee On Apprentice Training

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Federal Committee on Apprentice Training has been set up by the United States Government to foster and promote indentured apprenticeship in the skilled trades throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, Labor and management are equally represented on this committee and on State committees appointed in the various States to develop indentured apprenticeship in coopera-

tion with the Federal Committee; and

WHEREAS, Acceptable standards for the protection of apprentices have been developed by the Federal Committee and adopted by the various State agencies; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Committee has advanced the indenture principle of apprenticeship by securing the adoption of national standards through whole industries, such as plumbing in which the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada and the National Association of Master Plumbers have each officially endorsed a detailed plan outlining standards, methods, and procedures, and a similar plan has been developed for the painting and decorating industry; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Committee has strengthened apprenticeship by getting recommended standards adopted by national trade associations, International Unions, and State and local public agencies, and this has resulted in improved working conditions and training of youth for entrance into the skilled trades; and

WHEREAS, State and local trade advisory committees upon which labor and management are equally represented have been established to determine the rules and regulations under which apprenticeship shall be conducted, such as wages, hours, quotas, length of apprenticeship, content of schedule of processes, and amount of related instructions; and

WHEREAS, Representatives of organized labor have actively participated in every phase of the program, and several State Federations of Labor and International Unions have already officially endorsed it; and

WHEREAS, One of the objectives of the American Federation of Labor has been to develop indentured apprenticeship in the organized trades based on the assumption that fair wage levels and working conditions can be maintained only by preventing the over supply of untrained mechanics and the development of a reasonable supply of skilled mechanics; therefore, in view of the fact that this program is based on sound American policies; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the policy and program of the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training and recommend that the program be expanded; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the United States be urged to appropriate sufficient funds to the U. S. Labor Department to carry on the activities of the Federal Committee; and be it further

RESOLVED, That State Federations of labor be urged to take an active interest in the passage of State apprentice laws to safeguard the standards of apprentice training laid down in the Federal program.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Defense

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, National Defense requires the maintenance of navy yards and arsenals equipped to produce efficiently and manned by competent mechanics; and

WHEREAS, The subject of National Defense is injured alike by the propaganda of extreme Pacifists and that of extreme Militarists and those private interests whose principle purpose is to make profit from the manufacture of war munitions; and

WHEREAS, The American Trade Union Movement is opposed to all forms of propaganda which interferes with a sane well-balanced policy for National Defense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself as favoring the full development and upkeep of all Navy yards and arsenals and adequate remuneration of all civilian employees and of all enlisted men and officers in the Army and Navy; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor favors the manufacture of war munitions and naval vessels in our arsenals and navy yards so that the element of private profit will place this branch of National defense beyond the baleful influence of those who seek to create sentiment for the production of war munitions so that they may be able to convert National defense into a medium for private profit.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Enactment of Federal Legislation Against Lynching

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C.

Staggenburg, Walter Cowan — Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Lynching of human beings and violent mob rule are a frequent practice in the United States and

WHEREAS, Despite the protest voiced on all sides by leading organizations against the lynching of negroes, and recently of labor leaders active in strike regions, this outrageous practice still continues, and

WHEREAS, Constituted authority in some parts of the country were either unwilling or unable to bring to justice the perpetrators of such hideous crimes, Be It Therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record favoring the enactment of Federal legislation against mob rule or lynching in any form whatsoever in any part of the United States.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Practices Under So-Called Balanced Work Force of Navy Department

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Navy Department in instructions to Navy Yards and naval stations has stressed the necessity for conserving funds by reducing the number of first class ratings of mechanical employees and establishing a so-called Balanced Work Force, which includes mechanics paid at first, second and third class ratings, and

WHEREAS, These instructions are easily susceptible to interpretations which will result in first class mechanics of all the trades being forced to accept wage rates out of keeping with the qualifications of their trade and at the same time create the opportunity for the employment of competent mechanics in the government service at lower rates of pay under the maximum wage scales authorized in the schedule of wages enforced under the Navy Department; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor record its opposition to the principles and practices of the so-called "Balanced Work Force" which leads to wage reduction practices, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to support the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. in an effort to have the rules of 1921 re-established so that the intermediate and minimum ratings for mechanics may be eliminated.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Displacement of Civil Service Workers by Emergency Workers

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor is opposed to any change in the status or abrogation of the Civil Service rights of civilian employees, classified or unclassified, and known as permanent employees; and

WHEREAS, Maintenance and repair work is being performed by emergency employes on United States Government property endangering the continued employment of permanent employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue its efforts to prevent the displacement of permanent employes by emergency workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Investigation of Alien Situation on the Panama Canal

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There are employed by the United States Government on The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad approximately 10,000 British West Indian Aliens; and

WHEREAS, Three thousand of these Aliens are occupying skilled and semi-skilled positions in the crafts and in office helper positions; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions providing for the replacement of these three thousand skilled and semi-skilled Aliens have been approved by the Metal Trades Department in several conventions; and

WHEREAS, Bills were sponsored by the American Federation of Labor and

introduced in both Houses of Congress during the last session providing for the replacement of these skilled and semi-skilled Aliens by American Citizens; and

WHEREAS, The result of this legislation is that the Senate voted a substantial sum for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of the Alien situation on The Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, A committee of five members of the Senate was appointed to make this important investigation but for various reasons were prevented from making the trip to the Panama Canal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to have the United States Senate follow out its intent to make a full investigation of the Alien situation on The Panama Canal.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Provision for Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employes

Resolution No. 35 — By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees and is fostering the principle of selective representation; and

WHEREAS, The organized employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location a long ways from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes; and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instruction regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Appointments to West Point and Annapolis Military Academies from Among Sons of Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad

Resolution No. 36 — By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, In 1934 the Congress of the United States approved an amendment to then pending legislation providing for an appointment by the Governor of the Panama Canal to the Military Academy at West Point from among the sons of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and

WHEREAS, Before this time no such appointment has been allowed the employee residents of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Delegates and Resident Commissioners from outlying possessions of the United States, such as Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Alaska, have the privilege of appointing citizens from their own districts to both the Military Academy at West Point and the Naval Academy at Annapolis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled be instructed to assist and further whatever legislation may be introduced at the next session of Congress, which will provide for appointments to the Naval Academy by the Governor of the Panama Canal from among sons of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Investigation of Alien Situation on Panama Canal and Panama Railroad

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There are employed by the United States Government on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad approximately 10,000 British West Indian Aliens; and

WHEREAS, Three thousand of these Aliens are occupying skilled and semi-skilled positions in the crafts and in office helper positions; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions providing for the replacement of these three thousand skilled and semi-skilled aliens have been approved by the Metal Trades Department in several conventions; and

WHEREAS, Bills were sponsored by the American Federation of Labor and introduced in both Houses of Congress during the last session providing for the replacement of these skilled and semi-skilled Aliens by American citizens; and

WHEREAS, The result of this legislation is that the Senate voted a substantial sum for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of the Alien situation on the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, A committee of five members of the Senate were appointed to make this important investigation but for various reasons were prevented from making the trip to the Panama Canal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled be instructed to make every effort to have the United States Senate follow out its intent to make a full investigation of the Alien situation on the Panama Canal.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Refinancing of Farm Mortgages

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In Wisconsin a fine spirit of cooperation exists between the economic farm organizations and the labor unions, as represented by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor endorsed the Frazier-Lemke bill to re-finance farm mortgages; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued a statement just as congress was about to vote on this farm measure declaring labor's opposition, which carried considerable weight in causing its defeat; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor confer with the economic farm organizations on similar

legislation at the coming session of Congress, with the object in view of bringing about the much needed co-operation of these two groups of workers, organized labor and organized agriculture.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Apply Wagner Act. U. S. Employment Service, to Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 62—Introduced by Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Delegate, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico; Laura Iglesias, Delegate, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, On October 12, 1933, the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico brought to the attention of the Honorable Frances Perkins, U. S. Secretary of Labor, the helpless situation in which the employment service of Puerto Rico had been left after the operation of the Wagner-Peyser Act—Public No. 30—73rd Congress, creating a new United States Employment Service, since no provision had been made to provide financial aid for the employment service of the Island and its branch office located in the city of New York,

WHEREAS, The Hon. W. Frank Persons, Director of the U. S. Employment Service, under date of October 13, 1933, expressed in a communication to the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico, that while the points brought to the attention of the U. S. Secretary of Labor, commanded the sympathetic interest of his Department, however, under the Act itself the U. S. Employment Service, was not empowered to assist in maintaining a system of public employment offices in Puerto Rico, due to the fact that the territory of Puerto Rico was not included in the Act, while there were included those of Hawaii and Alaska, all of which did preclude any possibility to include Puerto Rico,

WHEREAS, As stated by the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico to the Hon. Frances Perkins, U. S. Secretary of Labor, there is no place in the world where American citizens live, where the employment service is more badly needed than in Puerto Rico,

WHEREAS, There has been functioning in the Island of Puerto Rico a local employment service bureau which is a part of the Insular Department of Labor, but the appropriation

is so limited that no effective work can be accomplished,

WHEREAS, In our opinion, more than 1,600,000 inhabitants of loyal American citizens living in the territory of Puerto Rico are entitled to enjoy the benefits of all social legislation intended to remedy such a social evil as unemployment,

WHEREAS, The Committee on Public Employment Exchanges of the Third National Conference on Labor Legislation, held in Washington, D. C., November 9, 10, 11, recommended, and the conference unanimously approved, "that the Wagner-Peyser Act be amended to include Puerto Rico"; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct and direct the Executive Council request the U. S. Congress that the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act be made applicable to Puerto Rico through an adequate amendment to such Act by the Congress of the U. S.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Representation of Organized Labor in Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration

Resolution No. 63—Introduced by Delegate Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico; Delegate Laura Iglesias, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, Through Resolution No. 143 approved at the 55th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor the President of the A. F. of L. was instructed to communicate with the President of the United States to request and urge him to recommend and direct the Administrator of the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration to appoint a member of the A. F. of L. in the Island of Puerto Rico to represent organized labor in the Executive Committee of the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration.

WHEREAS, The results of the efforts put forth in connection with the above stated purpose are unknown so far to the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico and no satisfactory action has been taken by the proper authorities; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. be instructed to renew his efforts to secure due rep-

representation of bona fide organized labor in the Executive Committee of the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration so that the terms of the resolution approved by our previous convention be duly complied with.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Political Status of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 69—Introduced by Delegate Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico; Delegate Laura Iglesias, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, The Island of Puerto Rico was formally surrendered by Spain to the United States on October, 1898, and by the Treaty of Paris, signed December 10 of the same year, at the close of the Spanish - American War, Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States, together with Vieques, Culebra and other small adjacent islands.

WHEREAS, By the Treaty of Paris, the future of the people of Puerto Rico was entrusted to the hands of our Nation and placed the supreme authority over Puerto Rico in the United States Congress, such high body to decide on the final political status of the island,

WHEREAS, The Island of Puerto Rico has been under the American flag for nearly forty years, and nobody could successfully question that great progress has been made although progress made by the working class has not kept pace with that made by the privileged groups.

WHEREAS, The people of Puerto Rico have been loyal to the United States of America in peace and in war, although it has been repeatedly decided by the courts that the Constitution of the U. S. not always follows the flag,

WHEREAS, The political status of Puerto Rico is most peculiar because it is not a state, neither a territory, but some sort of unincorporated territory developing its activities under a special act of Congress, this peculiar situation having given rise to the discussion of different political formulas during the last thirty years.

WHEREAS, Although the people of Puerto Rico have collectively and repeatedly expressed their opinion through the duly constituted political bodies and labor organizations; labor having expressed most unequivocally

that the "Influence of the people of the United States in the destinies of the people of Puerto Rico has been, is and will continue to be civilizing, and with such convictions organized labor rejects every and all colonial political systems and insists upon keeping its permanent association with United States," and also the political parties of the Island at different occasions have expressed the same views,

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding this fact, there has been maintained in the Island, for the past few years, some agitation intended to sever the relations of the Island with the United States, such agitation having apparently induced a small number of U. S. Congressmen to offer different formulas as to the final political status of Puerto Rico; among them being the granting of independence to the Island in a bill introduced in the Senate during the 74th Congress;

WHEREAS, The people of Puerto Rico believe that they are justified in claiming that the time has come when they, as American citizens, should request from Congress and from all other proper authorities, to make a plain and formal official declaration as to the intention of the U. S. towards the final political status of our Island, so as to do away with agitation and so as to enable us to determine the orientation to be followed by the people,

WHEREAS, The feelings and aspirations of the people of Puerto Rico as to the final political status which they hope to enjoy could be made known only through a proper and legal instrumentality by which the people might be accorded the opportunity to freely and democratically express their opinion,

WHEREAS, We sincerely believe that the people and the Congress of the U. S. are prompted by the best intentions and motives to be of service to our people and to guarantee its civil rights and liberties, which have been enjoyed to the fullest extent under the American flag during the American regime in the Island, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the 56th annual convention of the A. F. of L. to request from the U. S. Congress and the Federal authorities in behalf of the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico and of the U. S., that proper and immediate action be taken as follows:

1. That a frank, formal and official declaration be made public in reference to the intention of the Government of the U. S. as to the final political status to be enjoyed by the Is-

land of Puerto Rico, this to be done in conformity with the authority granted to the U. S. Congress by the Treaty of Paris signed at the close of the Spanish-American War.

2. To request the U. S. Congress to pass a resolution authorizing and directing a referendum (plebiscite) be carried on in Puerto Rico without restrictions or limitations whatsoever, and so that in giving the people the opportunity to decide upon the final political status of the Island not only one political formula be brought to their consideration but all of those different plans, systems or political solutions that have been publicly discussed by the different political parties of the Island, and by the labor organizations such as a territory, statehood, independence, self-government, or autonomy of the Canadian or Australian type, associated free state, or any other plan offered so that the people be enabled to make the proper selection according to their wishes, ideals or political beliefs.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That in view of the fact that uncertainty, doubts and confusion have been created during the past year in the Island of Puerto Rico because of the agitation for independence; taking into consideration that the effects of this agitation have been felt in business, and other activities in the Island and in the continental United States, all of which has been most detrimental to the interests of both the U. S. and Puerto Rico; and having in mind that the people of Puerto Rico are anxious that this situation be brought to an end, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is further instructed to take action on this proposal as soon as possible.

Your Committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We have arrived at the time for the consideration of the special order of business announced by the committee.

Delegate Williams, Building Trades Department: I move you that the rules be set aside and that the convention remain in session until the completion of this report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Trotter, International Typographical Union: Inasmuch as this convention has already decided to adjourn on Thursday for Thanksgiving,

how are we going to remain in session until this question is settled? I suggest, in the interests of everybody concerned, that a quibbling motion like that should be withdrawn in the interests of fair play to everybody, not attempt at the outset of this discussion to cripple anybody.

Delegate Williams: I had reference to the question that was set for 3:00 o'clock, not the whole committee's report, but that special question, which, as I understand, was set for 3:00 o'clock. Am I right?

President Green: You are.

Delegate Williams: That is what I had in mind.

President Green: Would you consider withdrawing it, Delegate Williams?

Delegate Williams: Let us vote on it.

A Delegate: I rise to amend the motion to have the following added, "or until 7:00 p. m."

Delegate Olkives: The passage of this motion won't prevent us from having a recess at some given time.

The motion offered by Delegate Williams was carried.

Special Order

Vice President Woll: In reporting upon this question, I wish to take advantage of the opportunity to express my appreciation to our secretary, Mr. Frey, for his kindness and courtesy in giving way to the chairman reporting upon this subject. In the matter of reporting, bear in mind that the report is not the work of any one member, but the work of all of the committee. I repeat again that I appreciate the giving way of the secretary in the presenting of this report.

Committee for Industrial Organization

In connection with those portions of the Executive Council's Report, relative to the questions and issues which have arisen through the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization, your committee has examined 20 resolutions relative to some phases

of the questions raised by the organization of the Committee for Industrial Organization, and the suspension of its affiliated unions by the Executive Council.

The resolutions are Nos. 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 60, 71, 83, 109, 123, 126, 159, 184, 197, 201, 209, 215, 233, 239, 253.

Three of these are from State Federations of Labor; nine from Central Labor Unions; five from Federal Labor Unions; two from International Unions and one from a Department of the A. F. of L.

As this portion of the Executive Council's Report contains the official correspondence between the American Federation of Labor, the Committee for Industrial Organization and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, your committee refers to this portion of the Executive Council's Report, rather than reproduce any of the correspondence and official action taken which are vital to the subject.

In its examination of the problems created by the Committee for Industrial Organization, its activities, policies and announced purpose, your committee has not been influenced by the studied insults and the stinging taunts directed by the leader of that organization to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and this convention.

The Executive Council in its report under caption "Formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization" on pages 65 to 86 sets forth in substance the issues involved, the course it has pursued, the path which has been followed by this Committee and its associated organizations, and of developments having taken place since its formation and up to the present time.

Under caption of "Instructions of Atlantic City Convention Regarding the Inauguration of a Steel Organizing Campaign," pages 86 to 95, it relates the efforts put forth to carry out the

instructions referred to and of its inability to do so because of usurpation of these activities by the Committee for Industrial Organization, and the acquiescence of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Under the following four principal chapters, the Executive Council directs attention to the birth, growth and development of the International Union of Automobile Workers; the United Rubber Workers of America the Federal Labor Unions of Gas and By-Product Coke Workers, and the Radio Workers, and of contributions made to them and of moneys spent in their behalf, and all of which organizations are now associated with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The following chapter deals with the irresponsibility of the Federation of Glass Workers of America and its flagrant disregard for and transgression of unquestioned jurisdiction of other affiliated organizations and its association with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

On pages 121, 122, under caption of "Rules of Procedure for Executive Council," there is set forth rules adopted by the Executive Council under authority of Section 8, Article 9, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee has considered all these subjects as a whole, because they are dependent and inseparably involved in the whole problem of the Committee for Industrial Organization, and the suspension of the charter of the affiliated unions involved.

In this connection your committee has likewise considered the 20 resolutions which have been introduced by delegates to this convention, and all of which in one way or another deal with, relate to and directly involve the subject referred to and now being reported upon.

Your committee deems it unnecessary to restate how the present situation developed. The question to be

considered is whether the Executive Council erred in the procedure it followed and in the decisions reached, either because of lack of authority or in reaching beyond its authority, or if its judgment though legal may have been in error. Then, too, there is involved the question of validity or invalidity of the course followed by the suspended unions in their agreement and combination to substitute, not by action of orderly and agreed-to procedure, the will of a minority over that of unquestioned majority and in disregarding not only the rights and guarantees of other affiliated unions, but in violating the very principles and conditions upon which affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is predicated.

Your committee has no hesitancy in stating that it finds that the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council have acted in all instances not only within the authority delegated to them by constitutional provision, convention action and by custom and practice, but we find that this authority has been exercised by them with due discretion, and only to the extent made imperative by the unjustified and unwarrantable conduct and activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization and some of its associated unions.

While we hold that on these issues the Executive Council did not err or exceed delegated authority, we are faced with a more grave issue, one that transcends in importance, gravity and extent all that has preceded and to which reference has been made, and that is, the question of what shall be our future guide; how best shall we meet the present problem, and by what manner or policy shall there be re-established unity in the ranks of labor. Then, too, there is involved the safeguarding of the future democracy of our great labor movement, the protection of our smaller unions against the force of larger organizations, and the equal protection of jurisdictional

rights and trade prerogatives of all concerned.

Involved and embraced in all this we must be certain that in seeking to organize the unorganized we do not weaken or destroy the organized workers of our land. After all we have come to the present situation over a long road and after many battles, during which there has been a complete regard for the spirit and principles of voluntarism and a splendid manifestation of inspiring mutual helpfulness.

Outstanding in the struggles of labor throughout the centuries is that cardinal principle that in unity there is strength. Thus unity is the essence of trade unionism.

It is a growth from within; it cannot be imposed from without. It is an inner cohesion which distinguishes an organized movement from a mass. It is based upon the common acceptance of a common goal. Unity is by definition, "A uniting or being united into one body." By the service and sacrifice of workers it is labor united into one body.

Unity is not uniformity. It does not mean that all must think alike. It permits of a diversity of opinion, on the assumption that after discussion and agreement on a course of action there will be unity of action. One of the democratic principles of trade unionism, as well as those of our country, is that of majority rule. Under that rule the action agreed upon by the majority is willingly accepted by the minority in the interests of unity, for under a democratic form of government the rights of a minority are safeguarded.

Today the unity of the American trade union movement is being jeopardized by a diversity both of opinion and action. If it is permitted to continue, it will seriously impair the effective functioning of our trade union movement. Nearly twenty-five years ago Samuel Gompers proclaimed, "Our Federation resting on a solid foundation is erecting a structure adapted at all times to its purposes and

of a lasting character. Our movement has no schism within. All opposition to its policies, its procedures, its form of organization and its tactics, comes from without. All who would divert it from its established principles are enemies, working for the promotion of institutions foreign to its character. Those who would change it, aim at its disintegration. But it can be safely said our trade unionism is to witness no integral change in structure or principle; for those are all adaptable to circumstances as they arise—to conditions as they develop."

In that faith the American Federation of Labor has developed in the quarter of the century since 1911. Within that larger unity it has adjusted its structure to meet new conditions. It has not always succeeded; there is a lag between a change in machine technique and in organizational adjustment. We seem to be able to change our machines more rapidly than men change their minds.

We are now asked to turn our back on our experience, and on our traditions, and to acknowledge that both our structure and our faith is wrong. Is that wise? Let us consider the facts.

The American Federation of Labor arose out of necessity—the necessity of creating an effective organization to express the collective will of labor in America. The Knights of Labor which preceded it failed to develop an effective organization because it sought to create an inner unity by compulsion and without reference to a common basis as the result of lessons learned in the school of experience. The Federation on the other hand, was built upon voluntarism and skill in the job. It has enjoyed a continual existence for fifty-five years, and today is one of the oldest and largest federations in the world. Its record in the service of the wage earners of America and the nation, has been written again and again in our histories. We need no recapitulation of that story here. In spite of all the handicaps

and limitations the record of the Federation over this past half century or more has been a wonderful story of what labor has done for itself and by itself, rather than what others have done for labor. But the record of the Federation is not complete; it never will be. It is on its way and to greater achievements in the future.

During all these years the Federation has not only served to unite the forces of labor, it has provided a shelter and a bulwark for a number of organizations in their distress. When, at the close of the great war the open shop movement began in this country, it selected first one union after another to destroy. Each time the Federation stood as a rock in support of each member organization thus attacked.

When, about a decade ago, the Miners were harassed by a prolonged strike, the Federation raised upwards of three-quarters of a million dollars to aid them in their distress. When the Miners were hungry and cold, we sent them food and clothing. Throughout the United States and Canada we gave of our moneys—of our efforts and all to help win their battles. And it is upon the battles that they won that they built their structure.

Finally, the United Mine Workers took their last great step forward under N. R. A., and it is true to say that it was the American Federation of Labor that secured the incorporation into N. R. A. of that section which announced that Miners as well as all of us had the freedom to organize, a right previously established by law and judicial decisions, but given greater emphasis by N. I. R. A.

And so, nurtured in the breast of the American Federation of Labor, this now powerful union turns upon us because, for the moment, it cannot have its way in all things. Having failed to bribe or browbeat our President to desert the high honor and trust imposed on him, the leaders of the United Mine Workers would now drive him

into a decision that could only bring shame, disgrace and self-humiliation. It is inconceivable that the many thousands of miners thus benefited would so readily spurn the association, good will and cooperation of all who have thus been their former associates and friends in time of need.

Ten years ago, when the United Textile Workers faced one of their periodic and prolonged strikes, the delegates and officers to the Detroit Convention, after a moving appeal, raised a large sum of money to defray the expenses of organizing these underpaid and exploited textile workers. Time and again have the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor come to the financial aid of these oppressed workers. Time and again have we given of our time and effort to bring a little more sunshine into the lives of these underpaid and undernourished textile workers. Are we to believe these workers now spurn our help and would destroy us if they could?

Need we refer to the history of the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Is this organization and its splendid growth not an excellent example of what is and has been possible under the guiding and protecting arm of the American Federation of Labor?

Let us go back only a few years. Here we find that when eight years ago the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union was rent apart by internal dissension and faced both by a loss of membership and financial insolvency, the American Federation of Labor responded to their call for help as one brother to another; and so, on every occasion have the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor responded to every call which presented itself. It is inconceivable that a people so charitable, so appreciative, so understanding of the sufferings of labor, should now question the abilities and sincerity of action of those who have struggled with them

and rejoice in the attainments now secured by them.

In giving voice to the aid extended to these organizations, justice demands we acknowledge gratefully the generous aid extended by these organizations to other organizations in distress. But these facts merely emphasize the importance and necessity of peace and cooperation—not of division and strife.

As for the organizations composed largely of Jewish workers, it can only be said, if we are to have the full truth, that we took them by the hand when there were few hands willing to greet them; and we have led them and bullded with them and for them, and protected them. When some of their leaders steeped in the ideas of the Old World from whence so many of them had fled in mortal terror of their lives, used our platform to preach doctrines alien to our own beliefs and convictions, we still led them and protected them. They are our equals in every respect. The story of these persecuted people is too long to tell here, too filled with the gripping emotions of a half century of affectionate relationship, of helpfulness and cooperation. Let them think it over in their hearts and in their homes.

May we ask, where would be the Oil Workers, were it not for the help we have given and the prestige we have helped them to build?

Need we state the fact that the United Rubber Workers of America is the outcome of the sole activities of the American Federation of Labor. After having spent approximately \$200,000 in organizing these workers and starting them off with a substantial treasury of a new International Union, we find its leaders at the first possible opportunity, biting the hand that made the existence of its organization possible.

So the story runs with regard to the Gas and By-Product Coke Workers and the Radio Workers.

The Automobile Workers, after

years of insecurity and exploitation under the monstrous rhythm of mass production in the automobile industry, sought the protection of the labor movement. The Federation expended \$250,000 in organizing these workers. It succeeded in the establishment of a functioning organization and granted it a charter as a new International Union.

These are but a part of the more recent record of the American Federation of Labor's activity in sheltering those in need. The expenditures in both sweat and blood were beyond money and price.

Today our house is divided, not because we have not helped our fellow workers; not because we have failed to pour out money and given of our best services; but because we are informed that we could have done better if we had developed a different form of organization. Yet, some of the very organizations which make this criticism have been the largest beneficiaries of our help in the past, and without it they might not have survived. Had the form of organization which they represent and now seek to impose upon others been the secret of their achievement, why have they been the petitioners for the help of the Federation so often in the past?

We are now told that we must bow to the dictates of a minority of which they are an uncertain and wavering part, or else subject the American Federation of Labor to an attack that will include all the forms of warfare which an arrogant and dictatorial leadership can teach. When they speak of democracy they talk of something that passed out of their experience when they forsook the councils of the American Federation of Labor. Surely they are not enjoying it now? These shadows and echoes who compose the Committee for Industrial Organization membership, must some day soon come to realize how completely they have abandoned their own leadership.

But that is not all. We are constant-

ly threatened with further reprisals and with further dismemberment. Members of our unions have been compelled to disassociate themselves from the trade unions of their calling and with which they have been lifelong identified. We are faced with a dangerous labor conflict that will affect not alone the well being of our trade unions and of our organized wage earners, but the evil effects of which will affect seriously the life and living of every wage earner and seriously impede whatever helpful legislative program may be in the making and designed for the general well being of all.

The pressures being placed upon trade unionists today are very great. More than one delegate sits in this hall, fearful lest whatever he may do will mean his destruction as a useful factor in the ranks of labor. "I am on the spot" has become almost a password among many who are here.

If we were to give way to what must be the feelings of many among us, we should shout to them, "Those who love treachery of this kind, be gone and we shall do well without you; though less in numbers we shall be stronger in fiber and in moral strength." But we must not surrender to feelings of resentment no matter how justified. We are not here to be swayed by taunts, jeers or insults. We are not here to be unhinged in our judgment by theatrical stormings, nor selfish calculations.

It is well-known that many members of the organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization are actively opposed to the action which has been taken by their officers. This convention must be duly considerate of the welfare of these trade unionists, and care should be taken to avoid any disciplinary action on our part which would be injurious to these members of organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, who remain loyal trade unionists and loyal to the poli-

cies of the American Federation of Labor.

We are here to find a way to restore unity, so that the great masses of the workers, even in spite of stubborn misleadership by those now in insurrection, may live together in the one house of labor. Dreams of empire have ever given way to the light of reason and experience, and these dreams of today likewise will evaporate sooner or later. There may have to be, for all we can foresee, a year or more of struggle in division. It will be destructive and many will be made to suffer, if it must be undergone.

But if there is division, let the responsibility fall fully upon those who created division. It shall not be upon the American Federation of Labor.

That there cannot be unity is the sheerest folly. If the unions in the Committee for Industrial Organization want unity it is theirs upon honorable terms. But for them to stand aloof, in arrogant and rebellious refusal even to meet their old associates across a table, haughty and in the role of heavy tragedy, is not the way to unity.

What is it that they want that is not to be had within the American Federation of Labor?

Is it, in reality, organization of the steel workers that they want? Well, so do we. Is it organization in other fields? Well, we, too, want that.

Is there an uncrossable bridge as to method? There is not and there never has been. Who was it that gave to the United Mine Workers an industrial charter? It was the American Federation of Labor.

The time has arrived to end deception. It is time to understand that the future of labor leadership is not in a dream of empire.

Let these men and organizations come back to live among us as equals, as men and organizations working for a common cause. Let these men again reaffirm their loyalty to the principles of democratic rule which we have always applied. They are welcome.

As indicated before, the record of the American Federation of Labor is clear and definite. Its history indicates that there is room within its house for all workers; skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled. We are not bound to any definite form of organization, and include alike the so-called trade, craft and industrial form. Need there be said more?

Your committee, after due consideration of all the facts involved and mindful of a most solemn obligation to maintain both the integrity of the American Federation of Labor and preserve the unity of the labor movement, recommends three specific steps to this convention:

1st. That this convention approve of all actions taken, decisions reached and rulings made by the Executive Council, as hereinbefore noted and referred to. We specifically recommend approval of the suspensions noted, and all actions and decisions and rules relating thereto. Lest there be fear that this recommendation may be interpreted to mean permanent suspension or complete severance, let it be understood that the suspension noted shall remain in effect until the present breach be healed and adjusted under such terms and conditions as the Executive Council may deem best in each particular case or in all cases combined.

2nd. That the Special Committee appointed to discover a basis of settlement be continued with the full faith and confidence of the convention.

3rd. In event that by action of the suspended unions they make the present relationship beyond bearing and create a situation that demands a more drastic procedure, that the Executive Council be authorized and empowered to call a special convention of the American Federation of Labor, at such time and place it may deem best, to take such further steps and actions as the emergency of the situation may then demand. We counsel this procedure and delegation of authority in the sincere desire to avoid any possible

future and permanent severance unless such permanent separation comes as the choice of those who would permanently divide and bring warfare instead of peace and unity into the ranks of labor.

We offer the foregoing statement, plan and recommendations, based upon the Executive Council's Report as before noted and in lieu of all resolutions hereinbefore indicated, firm in the dignity of our strength, and conscious of our responsibility to use every honorable means of uniting all labor in the one house of labor—the American Federation of Labor.

There is room enough for all; there is honor enough for all; but there can never be any place for dishonor.

We stand at the doorway to our greatest opportunity. Those who weaken us in what should be a united effort are doing what our traditional enemies have always loved to see done.

We call upon those who have turned their backs to us to come back and once more join in our councils, to once more take their places at our table, to once more take up their share of the joint burden in the struggle for the betterment of the lives and conditions of all workers. We call upon them to give of their services in this broader field.

Let them re-unite with us, and let us jointly and wholeheartedly adopt the Nation's song for our banner, the watchword recall which gave the Republic her station:

"United we stand—divided we fall."

Vice President Woll: Mr. President, I move you the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Vice President Woll: May I make this statement, that there are two members of the committee who do not concur in this report. I do not know whether I should name the delegates. I think they wish to be recorded—

Delegates Myrup and Lewis. That is only on this part of the committee's report, not the balance.

President Green: It has been regularly moved and seconded that the report of the Resolutions Committee just submitted to the convention be adopted. Are there any remarks?

The Chairman recognizes Delegate Zaritsky.

Delegate Zaritsky, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I wish at the outset to make it perfectly clear that I am not here as an emissary of the Committee for Industrial Organization. I am speaking here as a member of the American Federation of Labor, as a delegate representing an organization in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. I represent the United Hatters' International Union. It is my hope that mine will not be a voice in the wilderness. I fully appreciate the conditions and circumstances under which we meet this afternoon. I want to make it clear that I am not a lawyer and I do not possess a legalistic mind. I am a labor man and have been all my life, and if in the course of my remarks there may be some fault found with my interpretations of the law, I ask forgiveness now in advance, because mine is a lay mind.

I am opposed to that part of the recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions which endorses the action of the Executive Council in suspending the international unions holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization.

I am also appearing in opposition to that portion of the report of the Committee on Resolutions favoring the rules of procedure as adopted by the Executive Council. In my opinion, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor went beyond its powers and the authority given to it by the conventions of the American

Federation of Labor. Unless I do not understand the aims and objects of the Federation, in my opinion and to my knowledge, the seat of all power in the American Federation of Labor rests in its annual conventions. The convention, therefore, is the only supreme authority recognized by the American Federation of Labor. When this Federation was born and created, its founders and those who followed them all these years and generations took pains in describing in full detail the duties and the powers of the Executive Council and specified and limited them by the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Let me quote from the Constitution, Section 1, Article IX:

"It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct."

Section 2 of the same Article IX again specifies the duties of the Executive Council:

"The Executive Council shall organize new national or international trade and labor unions," and so on and so forth to the end of that section.

Then in Section 1 of Article XII:

"The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated national or international union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout."

These are the specific duties and powers of the Executive Council.

When it comes to the question of the right of suspension, that power, too, is specified and limited by the constitution. Section 3 of Article X specifically states that these powers are:

"Any organization affiliated with

this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation."

Here is a specific duty empowering the Executive Council and its officers to suspend a union. You have further in Section 2 of Article XII:

"Any union, international, national or local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention."

Then you have in Section 12, Article IX:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated national or international union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll call vote."

This is specific and unmistakable and cannot be misunderstood or misinterpreted or mis-used by any one, including the Executive Council, chosen by a convention of the American Federation of Labor. And let there be no mistake about that.

Now, we come to that controversial point which has aroused the passions of the entire American labor movement. The question has been promulgated: By virtue of what right under the constitution did the Executive Council venture to dismember ten international unions and declare them outlaws, or read them out of the American Federation of Labor? And it is answered that this was done under Section 8 of Article IX of the constitution, which reads:

"The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this constitution." And I repeat, lest it be forgotten, "not in conflict with this

constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation."

And proceeding on the theory that the Executive Council has the right to make the rules of procedure, it went ahead and adopted a lengthy declaration of the rules of procedure for the Executive Council. I will ask your indulgence to read just a few excerpts of these rules of procedure for the Executive Council.

First, I find fault with the caption of it. These are not rules of procedure for the Executive Council. They have now become rules of procedure for every organization, national and international, Federal labor union, city central body and state federation of labor. What are these rules as formulated under that Section 8, Article IX?

"If any national or international union"—and I am skipping in order not to make it lengthy—"If any national or international union violates any order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and if notice or charge of said breach of obligation or any of the provisions of the constitution or of orders of the Executive Council is filed with the Executive Council, or by the Executive Council of its own motion, the national or international union so complained of or charged with wrong doing shall be notified by the President or Secretary-Treasurer to appear before the Executive Council or a committee of its members."

Now, let us get that straight, that in the absence of any charges filed against any national or international union by another national or international union, such charges may be filed by the Executive Council itself, and then the prosecuting Executive Council will sit in as the judge and jury and decide one of the following things:

Then it proceeds:

"After said hearing the Executive Council may take any of the following steps:"

Forgive said breach. That is not bad.

Suspend said union—that is a little worse—for a definite or indefinite time.

But we go further: Penalize such union, revoke its charter. Yes, there is a qualification on the revocation of the charter. It says: "But only upon instructions from or approved by the convention of the American Federation of Labor," and that approval must be passed by a two-thirds vote ordering or approving the revocation of said charter."

Not being a lawyer, possessing only the humble mind of a layman, I ask myself the question, does it mean that the convention orders revocation and then the Executive Council revokes, or under this rule, first comes the revocation by the Executive Council and then, subsequently, approval by the convention.

It seems that this rule was promulgated by the Executive Council in order to justify an action, which, to my lay mind, was not in keeping with the policy and traditions and laws of the American Federation of Labor. And incidentally, there is another question that is in my mind. Was it fair sportsmanship to invoke a law promulgated by the prosecutor and to have that law applied retroactively? Is this the rule of procedure under which we in the American Federation of Labor are to function? I would like to have an answer to that simple question. I don't know of any sportsman that will make new rules while the game is on. To my mind it is not cricket.

Any way some wish to differentiate between suspensions and expulsions. Let me again as a layman say that my mind has not been trained to go hair-splitting. I don't see the differentiation between suspension and expulsion.

To my humble mind, suspension in this instance in this labor movement of ours, under our rules of the game.

is tantamount to expulsion, and the difference is only technical for lawyers to debate on, but not for us to find. It is scant comfort to any suspended national or international union to know or to be told that the charter is not revoked. The effect of a suspension is the same. That union is deprived, not alone of its voting strength, it is deprived of its voice in the convention.

And let me say this, that as one delegate in this convention representing an international union of long standing in the American Federation of Labor, under this rule, to my mind, no organization can feel safe if this rule is to prevail and if this part of the recommendation of the committee is to be adopted by and in this convention. Particularly the smaller organizations who, because of their lack of numbers or who are not as vociferous as their big brothers and do not control as many votes as their big brothers, will be under constant, mortal fear of being gobbled up by their big brothers, some of whom occupy seats of the mighty in the councils of this American Federation of Labor.

And, by God, it is not yet time for the organizations in the American labor movement to give up their fundamental rights by which they may continue existing in the American Federation of Labor. Do we need any more striking illustration of the fallacy and the unreasonableness of this procedure? Right here in this convention ten unions with over a million members have neither a vote nor a voice. We here will hear one side of the argument, right or wrong, but these more than a million workers and their spokesmen and representatives cannot be heard, are not given under this rule the right to be heard and to say what they have to say—right or wrong again.

This proves the fallacy of the reasoning that the Executive Council had the right to promulgate such rules, particularly when the constitution of the American Federation of Labor specif-

cally says it has no such right. It possesses such rights as have been granted to it by the spokesmen of labor in convention assembled.

I am a sort of realist, I have been in the great labor movement long enough, thirty years is a long time, and I am not in the habit of deceiving myself or deluding myself. I appreciate that the Executive Council's action in suspending these unions will probably be sustained. I have a sneaking suspicion that it will be sustained—in the absence of over one million members of the American Federation of Labor whose vote and whose voices are so vividly and so strikingly absent from this convention.

I am tempted, perhaps like so many others, to ask this pertinent question: Why all their haste? Why was it necessary to drop the ax over the necks of these ten great international unions in such great haste? Why could we not wait two more short months, just 60 days, and have this issue fought out, yes, in man fashion on the floor of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in the presence of the spokesmen of all of the three and a half million members now claiming their rights in the American Federation of Labor councils?

I am not here seeking to point my finger at any one. It is not my purpose to find fault, and please, men and women of labor, men in the councils of labor, if in any of my remarks or in any word I have uttered I be misunderstood, please do not construe it as personal or as criticism of one person or another. It is my hope that we are big enough and intelligent enough, as I know we are, to take this thing out of the realm of personality. There are important issues that are confronting us, and it is the future of the American labor movement that is at stake today. So let us forget personalities and please, I beg of you, do not misconstrue my remarks. If unintentionally I hap-

pen to step on one's corns, I am ready to say, I beg your pardon, sir.

It seems to me that this rule of procedure which is responsible for the absence of over a million organized men and women in this convention was ill conceived, ill advised. It was, I think, the child of despair, born perhaps in the fertile brain of the prophets of defeatism. And may I be permitted to paraphrase the words of the President of the American Federation of Labor, who knows that he enjoys my highest regard and respect and affection: "Whom the gods would destroy they first either make mad or drunk with excessive power." And this, I fear, is what happened in our Council. Need I further elaborate on this point? Read your report and then read some of the resolutions presented to this convention—also, in my judgment, ill conceived and ill advised,—resolutions demanding a boycott of the Printer's Label, of the Hatter's Label, and of the labels of other international unions. Of course one foolhardy act must, of necessity, lead to another.

I only hope, men and women of labor, that you will not freeze to death next winter because of the absence of union labor coal, because of an organization suspended under this rule. I am not holding any brief for any organization or for any individual leader of any individual organization. Again, I repeat, and I plead with you, I am trying in my humble way to lift this discussion above personalities and individuals.

I am sure you agree with me, and so does, in fact, the Committee on Resolutions, that this is a grave question confronting us. If I were inclined to depart from my serious mood, I would say that it must have required a half dozen Philadelphia lawyers to work out and attempt to legalize these rules of procedure by which one part of the body was severed from the whole.

Do we not realize, men of labor, that such procedure destroys the very foundations upon which the great American labor movement was built?

I agree with the wise words quoted by the Committee on Resolutions that the foundation of the American labor movement is voluntarism, and now voluntarism under this procedure ceases to be the corner stone of our organization, by this act you have successfully undermined that foundation and principle, if you will, of voluntarism in the American labor movement. We have departed thus from the time honored and traditional policy and principles and tenets of the American Federation of Labor. Coercion from now on, again under this promulgated rule—coercion, I will say, will take the place of conservatism. Appeal to reason is now being substituted by appeal to force and intimidation and boycott.

What is the next step? What are we going to do? Now that we have succeeded in dividing our forces, now that we have denied the plea of the great founder of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, who pleaded in days gone by for a united and not a divided movement, what are we going to do and what is going to be our next step?

May I be permitted to say that I have the honor to represent a numerically small but a great organization, one of the oldest in the councils of the American Federation of Labor, the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. And it is this organization, imbued with the glorious spirit of the American labor movement, that has made an effort to reunite the forces of labor. It has contributed or attempted to contribute its humble share in the reuniting of labor's forces. And while I am not going to elaborate on this issue, and I am proud of the part that my organization has endeavored to play in this critical situation, it is public knowledge that one thing is outstanding: That is that the suspension hanging over the heads of the ten international unions prevented any possible reapproachment or any hope for peace in the movement. I don't

think that any national or international union or any participant in any conference relishes the idea of sitting down around the conference table knowing that the other party to the controversy is ready to swing the club right over its head.

And let me say right here again, let us not mislead ourselves in our own minds that this is a personal issue. I for one discount that. I want to throw these personalities overboard. The issues involved transcend in importance any personal issue that might be brought to the fore. It is not an issue of any individual officer of an international union. If it is charged that it is the intention of one individual to gain control of the American labor movement, or seek self-aggrandizement, or to become a dictator of the movement, I ask those who make these claims, what about the other officers of the other international unions associated with our movement? Is it a case of every one of them vying for the purpose of creating a dictatorship of one who will control the movement? That does not appeal to my mind. There are issues more important than that involved in this controversy, and I think we are old enough and tried enough in this movement to face the real issues squarely.

And may I be permitted to go into another point which I just heard the committee read off? I did not have any advance copy of the report of the committee, and I had no chance or opportunity to glance over it, but I heard it read. I regret—I hope that many of you do—that the committee had to go out of its way and make reference to one point which perhaps was intended to become controversial. I don't think the committee or the members of the committee had any justification for going out of their way to single out one racial group and to make special reference to such unions—I have not the language before me—but such unions as have a Jewish membership.

I want to say to my good friends

on the committee that there are some members on that committee who have my highest personal regard and respect. I respect them for their sincerity, their ability, and their contributions to the fortunes of the great American labor movement, and I ask you, my respected members of the committee, why was it necessary for you to raise the Jewish question on the floor of the most liberal movement in the world, the labor movement, the movement that knows no nationality, no race, no color, no religion?

You have failed to make it a point that the Italian members of the American Federation of Labor shall go home and think it over. What about our Irish membership in the American Federation of Labor?

And, for your information, delegates—if I might digress—in my organization, the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, we have the happiest family in the organization, the finest, most ideal relationship between the Jews and the Irish in the leadership of the organization. What about the Welsh membership? What about the English membership? What about the French membership? What about the Canadian membership? And what about the German membership and the membership of so many nationalities which all together comprise the most wonderful combination of human beings, the American Federation of Labor?

And you had to go out of your way to bring shame, at least upon my head, not as a Jew, but as a member of the American labor movement. I protest with every fibre of my being against the injection of the Jewish question or of any other racial or national question in the councils of the American labor movement, and I hope that this part of the report, that this reference by the committee, will receive appropriate action of this convention. I do not like and do not care to use a

stronger term—I regret it, gentlemen of the committee.

And in talking about these unions including in their membership Jewish people, why did you fail also to mention that these unions have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars when workers of other nationalities, their fellow workers, were engaged in bitter struggle against the one and only enemy I know organized labor has to confront, against the exploiters of labor?

I will just refresh your memory. Think of the great textile strike, to which the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union mentioned in your report contributed thousands of dollars. Think of the great struggle of the Mine Workers, to which your committee made reference, to which these same unions contributed again hundreds of thousands of dollars, and of the famous 1919 steel strike when the organization responded generously, contributing hundreds of thousands of dollars. They have done so because of their loyalty, their devotion to and love for the great American labor movement. That you forgot to mention, but you asked them to go home and think it over! I join hands with you, gentlemen of the committee, and I will tell these men, "Yes, you go home and think it over."

Let us not forget that all these rules and regulations, that all these mistakes made by the Executive Council, made originally by the suspension of these organizations, are all the outgrowth of another issue, and that is the issue of the policy and the method pursued, or to be pursued, by the American Federation of Labor in bringing in to the fold the millions and tens of millions of unorganized workers of America. The issue is clear and I shall not burden you with a long dissertation on this question. You have heard it before in two conventions previous to this. We all know the issue. Yes, there is a violent disagreement within the ranks of the American labor movement on the issue of the form and the method and the policy to be pursued in the

organization of these millions of unorganized workers.

Those of us who believe in the modern method of organization believe in it because of the unpleasant and unfortunate and unsatisfactory experience we have had in the past 55 years of the existence of our Federation. We are today no successful match for the open enemies of labor. We cannot be a match for a large and powerful corporation employing labor when we have to come to face such employers or such corporations headed by fifteen or twenty-five or thirty committees representing that many organizations, each vying with the other, each jealous of its petty little jurisdiction rights, each trying to get customers into its own corner drug store or grocery store. We must modernize our policies and our methods.

Whether one side is right or the other is wrong, this is an honest disagreement, and because we honestly disagree no one gave the Executive Council license to throw out or suspend—mildly speaking—those who are in disagreement. There are other principles involved, and it is not my purpose to impugn the motives of the Executive Council. I shall not think or say anything to impugn the motives of the President of the American Federation of Labor whose sincerity and loyalty and devotion I hope no one questions. Surely, I who have known him closely for many years do not doubt his sincerity and his loyalty.

Yes, there are other questions involved, other reasons given, but all of these reasons, all of these explanations cannot now and never will justify the grave mistake made by the Executive Council last August or September. I see the committee now recommends holding a special convention when it is necessary. Why was not that done last summer? Why did not such counsel prevail then? Perhaps I will be told it was not legal under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. Well, then,

neither were the suspensions legal and justifiable under the rules of the game and under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

I do not intend to continue much longer. I will just say this: I think that this is the tide in the affairs of the American Federation of Labor which must be taken at the flood right now lest it will be too late. And I say again that I am speaking as a delegate to this convention, as a member of the American Federation of Labor and not as a member of the CIO or a spokesman for it or representing it. I have not been given, nor did I seek, any authority or any credentials from the CIO. I speak as a rank and filer in the American Federation of Labor.

The next four years under the guidance and progressive and liberal leadership of the great President of the United States of America will be historic. We will go in a certain direction; labor's hopes will be renewed; labor, I hope, will be given the opportunity it has been seeking. I hope the gates of opportunity will be opened by the President of the United States and that legislation which has been enacted will enable the organized labor movement to proceed at a rapid pace. Let us not miss that opportunity.

I join in the call of the committee, "Let labor's ranks be reunited," and I call upon the committee to just add one other thing—let us bring these organizations back into our fold as bona fide, regularly ordained organizations in the councils of the American Federation of Labor. Forget the emotions raised during this controversy. Let not rancor or bitterness prevail. Let us show that we are men of labor, that our responsibilities weigh heavily upon our shoulders, that we are ready to let bygones be bygones, let us invite immediately these organizations to take their rightful seats in the councils of the American Federation of Labor. Let us indeed reunite our forces and together march on to a happy future.

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: I rise to address myself more largely upon the legal questions raised, rather than the questions of merit involved, leaving that for others to discuss. But before proceeding to do so, may I say in answer to the reference made to organizations composed largely of Jewish workers, that the committee's appeal in that paragraph is identically the appeal presented to the members of the United Mine Workers, to the members of the Textile Workers, to the members of the Automobile Workers, to the members of the Cement and Rubber Workers, and had no other purpose or motive in mind. I quite agree with the previous speaker that we should not seek to impugn the motives of men; but when he seeks to give motives to the committee in this question which would evidence that in his mind any member of the committee designed that philosophy with the purpose of making an attack upon any race, I regret that he, above all, should have raised such an issue.

Certainly I need make no apology for my attitude upon that question. Those of that faith know only too well how sincerely I have endeavored to be of service, and my mind goes back to the San Francisco, yes, and to the Atlantic City convention out of which developed the labor chest designed for what purpose, more than all others? To help those of Jewish faith, more particularly than all else, in the struggles of the Old World.

Surely, then, this is no time to place misinterpretations upon language which the delegate himself states he had not fully familiarized himself with.

The delegate has waxed eloquent regarding the lack of authority on the part of the Executive Council in proceeding as it has done. He speaks eloquently of coming together, forgetting all, and preaches the doctrine, as we have, of unity. Pray, where was he when the Executive Council in January last, addressed him as then a member of the CIO, as well as the officers of

all the other organizations of the CIO, and asked him to come and meet with the Executive Council so that we might talk over the agreement formed to give enforcement of a minority report and to disregard the judgment of the majority as declared for by the convention.

Pray, where was he when finally charges were presented to himself as well as others? Why did he not then appear before the Executive Council and appeal in the eloquent manner that he would now present to this convention why it was without authority and why it was unwise and that it would be a great error if the Council proceeded in the course that was subsequently followed?

Surely, when he joined with others and calmly and understandingly agreed to not come and visit the Councils of the American Federation of Labor, but to remain aloof and on their way, is he now the one to complain about actions that have followed? Did he not agree with those who would destroy, who would treat with contempt the officers, the Council of the American Federation of Labor charged with the responsibility of carrying out the judgment of the convention and giving enforcement to law? And then finally, when he made the appeal to the Executive Council to appoint a committee for the purpose of seeking an adjustment and making possible the representation of the splendid organizations in this convention, what did the Executive Council do?

It may be said that the Hat and Cap Makers presented another proposition, but the delegate will concede that that was not the condition, and that subsequent to the Council's appointment of the committee he was fully satisfied that the Council had done all that was expected of it to bring peace and harmony into the ranks of labor. How was his proposal treated when the Executive Council followed the course outlined by him?

Throughout his entire discourse the question has only been raised that the Council did not have the authority, and if it is followed there will be no more voluntarism in the American Federation of Labor. Pray, what degree of voluntarism is there in the CIO? Not a word has he uttered on that subject. True, only your officers and your Executive Council are in error, and upon those without we must place the halo of justice and righteousness, of liberty, of all that is sweet and true!

Now, of course he says that he is not a lawyer. I don't know whether there is a personal reference to me involved, because of course it is generally known that I have been admitted to the bar. I have nothing but a grammar school education. I, too, am an immigrant, and if, perchance, working at my trade instead of spending my evenings in other enjoyments and entertainment, I took up educational opportunities that gave me schooling equal to that of high school, which permitted me to carry on my studies further into the study of law and finally I am admitted to the Illinois bar, that ought not in any way detract from my judgment or service to the labor movement. If that is intended, and if you want to judge things otherwise, let me say that I have been in the service of the organized labor movement officially over a period of thirty years and have never practiced law.

But now let that be gone, because we speak of not impugning motives, of not entering into personalities, but subtly and indirectly we manage to do the very thing we deny we are doing.

Now, as for the powers of the American Federation of Labor and of its Executive Council and officers, I regret, of course, that it must be in the nature of legalistic argument, but that is the only way you can judge the question upon the legal status if that is raised, and the first question comes: What is the character of organization of the American Federation of Labor? Is it an organic body out of which flows all

power to affiliated organizations, which are determined and regulated by the grant of charter, or are we a federated body that springs by means of contract, that comes by individual organizations, unities, complete, autonomous in character, joining with one another?

The American Federation of Labor, insofar as its central labor unions, state federations of labor, local and Federal labor unions are concerned, is an organic body, because these organizations spring out of the American Federation of Labor and do not go by means of contracts to make up the American Federation of Labor.

Insofar as our national and international unions are concerned, each and every one of them is a complete, autonomous entity, and in joining one with the other and all with each, it is upon a basis of contract wherein the rights of each are protected or safeguarded under that contract.

Now that this is not purely fiction. Those of you who know anything about the American Federation of Labor, its origin as reported in the records, will know that a serious question arose right at the formative period of the American Federation of Labor, in that the American Federation of Labor attempted to issue a charter. Immediately the International Typographical Union, keenly sensing a danger, raised the question that we do not spring out of the American Federation of Labor, a charter grant implying such subordination, and we would not be subordinate in character or form. The matter was brought up at the following convention of the American Federation of Labor and it was advised that unless that policy was changed it would no longer remain in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. From that moment on it was clearly recognized that it was not a subordinate body, but an autonomous body, and since then only certificates of affiliation, not charter grants were issued.

The case is entirely different with the organization which I have cited.

However, last year in our meeting in San Francisco—and I don't know how many of you are keenly alert, and perhaps it is unwise if we don't know more about some of these legal questions—but at the last convention, yes, upon the committee's report of which I was chairman and which was hailed and unanimously accepted, there was incorporated a procedure, a restriction, a grant of power to the American Federation of Labor which now does make the American Federation of Labor a part organic structure over newly chartered national and international unions, and by the recommendation and adoption of that policy a newly organized national or international union may be supervised, its officers appointed, its finances controlled by the American Federation of Labor, and no longer is clear and complete autonomy vested in it until such time as the Council or convention decides.

You speak of powers to the Council. You delegate these powers, and that was done two years ago, and then was laid the kernel and the seed for a destruction of the Federation, if you shall be pleased to call it that. That report was drafted by Charlie Howard, adopted by John L. Lewis, Dave Dubinsky, and accepted by the other members of the committee.

Now, then, what does that certificate of affiliation, which is evidence of the contract entered into, state? It states that the said unions shall conform to the constitution, laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor. Mind you, it provides for a constitution, laws, rules and regulations, and in default thereof in whole or in part, this certificate of affiliation may be suspended or revoked, according to the laws of the Federation. That, primarily, is the fundamental law of the American Federation of Labor, for it determines the relationship of the larger portion of our membership, and when national or international unions cause a breach, refuse to comply with the constitution, laws, rules or regula-

tions, then that national or international union is in default and its certificate of affiliation may be suspended or may be revoked.

That is nothing new. That has been in there ever since, I believe, the second or third convention of the American Federation of Labor. Bear in mind that that contract of affiliation is not simply onesided, it does not merely require of an affiliated union that it must abide by the rules and regulations and the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, but it likewise binds the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council—to do what? To protect the affiliated organizations in their autonomy and in their jurisdiction and in their trade supremacy.

Oh, we disregard that at times, but that is the contract entered into, nevertheless, and there is a responsibility upon the American Federation of Labor and upon its Executive Council to regard that obligation, and in case of a breach or default, punish either by suspension or revocation or other means the defaulting organization.

Unquestionably, the American Federation of Labor has four distinctive powers: it may revoke the certificate of affiliation, revoke it if authorized by two-thirds vote. It may suspend an affiliated union for a definite or indefinite period. It may penalize the union in some other way, or it may forgive the breach upon such terms and conditions as it pleases.

Now the question arises, who shall have the power, the authority to carry on—first, to hear charges; second, to conduct the trial, so that all may have their day in court, and third, to impose penalties suitable to the offense committed? It is clearly evident that if this power is possessed it needs must be exercised.

Now, a careful reading of this constitution—and I shall not attempt to correct the mis-quotation of the constitution as given to you by the previous delegate, but may I say for your

information that the words "suspension" and "expulsion," "revocation" and "forfeiture," appear but six times in this constitution, only six times. I do not mean that each term appears six times—I mean six provisions. Two of them relate to international unions and one to revocation. Two of them relate to central bodies and one to suspension of individual members by central labor unions.

The delegate seeks to confuse revocation with suspension. The very fact that the constitution uses "suspension," "revocation," "secession" and "forfeiture" indicates clearly that it contemplated different offenses and different forms of punishment. This convention need not be told that even in the exercise by the convention of the power to suspend, no one has ever questioned the right that it may suspend by a majority vote, even though the particular section quoted relating to revocation requires specifically a two-thirds vote. This in itself is evidence of the fact that there is a vast difference between suspension and revocation, although the delegate tells us, "What is the difference in suspending an organization and revoking a charter?"

Again, may I point out to you that revocation means a complete annulment of the organization revoked and places full and complete authority in the hands of the Executive Council to give a charter to whomever it pleases within the jurisdiction, the trade or occupation involved in the organization whose charter has been revoked, while under suspension no such power is given to the Executive Council. If that is not a difference, then I fail to understand the organized movement or involuntary, unincorporated bodies guiding their affairs.

What does Funk and Wagnalls say about that? He defines "revoke" as follows: "To amend, to recall or cancel, that is, to sever all relations," while "suspension" is "To hold in a state of indecision or to debar for the time be-

ing from any privilege." There is quite a difference between "suspension" and "revocation," severance and annulment and withholding for the time being of a privilege.

Might I pause here upon the legal point of view and say that if the members composing the CIO had responded to the previous telegraphed invitation to the CIO to appoint a committee to meet their brothers over the table, as did the Executive Council, they would then be here and amongst us to participate in the affairs of this convention. But who is it that reached the decision that even though they might be permitted to attend, they would agree not to come to this convention? So please don't carry the point of view that this convention was fearful of what might happen if these suspended organizations might be privileged to attend. If so confident in their positions, if so certain of the outcome of deliberations on this convention floor with their voice and vote, pray, then, why did they not come here and participate, and why did they not cease their activities infringing upon the duly constituted authority of the American Federation of Labor, come here and take a chance with all of us and see what judgment might prevail?

Now, since we have a provision for the punishment of those who violate, who disregard any law, the constitution, rules and regulations, somewhere must be vested power to enforce it. Now, the delegate holds forth this constitution and he states nowhere in it does it state specifically that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has the power to suspend. He quotes two sections having to do with the financial responsibility of the international unions, and peculiar as it may seem, neither the convention nor the Executive Council need power to suspend, because automatic suspension is provided in that section. And there is a serious thought in my mind that if a union more than three months in arrears for

dues becomes suspended under this section, whether even the payment of that arrearage can again bring it back to clear standing with the organization. A pure, literal interpretation even precludes the Council from again reinstating that organization.

Yes, it is true that nowhere specifically is the Executive Council authorized to suspend, but equally true is it that nowhere in this constitution is there given the power to the convention, specifically or affirmatively, to revoke or to suspend. And if the rule be good in one instance, it is good in all instances, and would he contend, because it is not affirmatively expressed, that the Council has not the authority, then, too, neither has the convention? Necessarily, in the absence of any specific provision either of the convention or the Executive Council, we must fall back to the doctrines adopted in all organizations, in all voluntary movements accepted by courts, accepted universally as the practice, and that is the doctrine of assumed and implied consideration. And what is meant by that? We must go into other sections of the constitution to determine what powers may be possessed by the others. We are dealing now with that section of the constitution pertaining to the Executive Council, and of which the delegate preceding me read but two sections. The Executive Council is clothed with the power to issue charters with jurisdiction, protecting the rights of affiliated organizations as guaranteed in the contract of affiliation, and then it is given general authority—yes, I will read it again, Section 8 of Article IX:

"The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation."

In view of the absence of any specific affirmative action either upon the part of the convention or the Executive Council, necessarily we must fall upon that section which most

nearly deals with that, and that is Section 8 of Article VIII, just read.

Might I, before going into that subject further, read to you again the section the delegate so eloquently referred to, Section 12:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated national or international union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of the regular convention of the American Federation of Labor by a two-thirds vote."

Let us read it again.

The Executive Council shall only have power to revoke when it follows a certain procedure. This does not say the convention shall have the power to revoke, either by majority or by two-thirds vote, and still the question is open whether the convention may not, of its own accord, revoke a charter by a majority vote, because there is no restriction placed upon the convention itself. The restriction is contained under the caption of "Executive Council and Its Powers," and Section 8 is but a limitation, a restriction, not a grant, a limitation upon its powers, and it can only exercise the power of revocation when the convention authorizes it to do so by a two-thirds vote.

Now, the Executive Council, having been vested with this greater power of revocation, specifically limited by the convention, it necessarily follows that it has the power to suspend without further recommendation or limitation, because the constitution is completely silent on that point.

Now, I realize that the Executive Council heretofore has imposed a restriction upon itself in not exercising that authority and it has made its recommendations to the convention, but that does not alter the constitution, and when we are speaking of legal powers—as a matter of fact, Section 12 in that Article, Section 8

makes clear that that power is possessed by the Executive Council.

Then again, reference has been made to these rules and regulations. Pray, under the law, and let us ever hope in our own councils, if not these rules and regulations, then at least rules akin to them may be provided, for what guarantee would any organization charged with wrong-doing have to have a trial in court, to be advised of charges made against it, to confront witnesses that may be adduced in support of charges, to be accorded the right of presenting evidence to the contrary, and then an appeal to this convention? These rules are absolutely essential if the Council proceeded, as it ultimately did, and if the matter would have reached the courts, for there the claim might well have been made that those charged with wrong-doing were not apprised of the offense charged against them, that they did not have the opportunity of hearing those that might testify against them, that they did not have the opportunity of presenting their witnesses and that they would be denied the right of appeal to this convention. So it became imperative, if the Council was to carry out its duties, to adopt rules and regulations to make possible the exercise of the power in a way lawful, just, and equitable to all concerned. Now, you may not like the rules, you may feel that even under this interpretation of the powers of the Executive Council they are too great. That is quite another question. But heretofore that power has been vested in the Executive Council, and the reason for its exercise has been not that a single union violated the guarantee given to all other affiliated unions, not that a single union breached its contract, but that ten unions conspired and connived to defeat the very purposes of the executive authority and the declarations of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

This is an emergency situation, it

was created, not by the making of the Executive Council, but by those who were flaunting the authority of the American Federation of Labor. It has been said, why did the Council hasten; there were but two months? Again I refer to the fact that in January an appeal was sent, and when finally the charges were made, did any of the organizations who alleged that the Council erred present themselves to the Executive Council and direct its attention to the fact that it was proceeding illegally and in an unjustified manner? Did the delegate here who now quotes law so exuberantly appear before the Council and notify it that it did not have the authority he now claims they possess? No, not a single witness appeared, not a single document was presented excepting that of Charlie Howard. It strikes me that those who had their day in court and neglected it, it ill becomes them to present it at the final moment, and even now, gentlemen, of the twenty resolutions presented, of the many letters and telegrams received, not a single one raises the issue of legality of the Council's action—not a single one.

Bear also in mind that the organizations suspended have an appeal to this convention. Have they presented their appeal? No, not one appeal has been presented. A matter of contempt on every hand, a disregard from all winds—we are supreme, let the American Federation of Labor go on its way. That has been the tenor, that has been the attitude.

Shall I go on and indicate even more fully as to the right of the Council to act in these matters? I shall not want to take further time and attention. Read the experiences of the activities of other organizations in matters of this kind, not when there is a mere infraction upon jurisdiction, but actual dualism established, actual conflict of authority created. Read the records of the United Mine Workers of America as interpreted by courts

of law and find the rulings as they pertain to voluntary organizations, and of suspension and of revocation and of implied powers—yes, in the executive alone where absence of specific provision is present.

Read the history of any other organization and find what the rule and practice and law has been. And now to say that the Council is without authority is merely begging the question.

Yes, the committee does recommend, for it does not wish to place in the Council's hands the power of expulsion. It does recommend the calling of a special convention, and the answer is made, why was that not done before? An answer to that very well may be that the Council is not possessed of power to call a special convention unless specially authorized so to do. That does not conform to the rules and government of the affairs of the American Federation of Labor in between conventions, and consistent with the constitution. The constitution provides for suspension, for penalties, yes, for revocation. It must be possessed of the authority of making the rules, of enforcing and bringing into being that power delegated to it.

I shall not argue on the question of the wisdom or unwisdom of delegating to the Executive Council, a body of a comparatively small number, power or suspension in unlimited form. That is not the issue, that is not the question. If this convention wishes to place limitations upon the powers of its Executive Council or to deprive it of powers, that is to be done when that matter comes rightly before it, but so far as powers now exist, no competent person in the matter of law, of voluntary organization, unincorporated bodies, can reach any other conclusion than that herein indicated. And under that authority we have gone on and developed, and I cannot see that there is involved this great danger of coercion, this danger of destruction and of involuntarism, for it

seems to me that the organizations without our fold have elected to do so of their own volition, for nowhere and at no time have overtures been made, or the slightest intimation had that they desired reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

If their choice be that of disassociation, deeply as we all must regret it, we cannot compel them to remain in association with us, and by the same token neither can we compel those within our fold to remain with us if we fall honorably and justly to protect their rights and to safeguard their guarantees of affiliation within our body.

The Council, confronted with an extreme and with a grave situation, to my mind did the best it could, for the choice was not with it except complete capitulation to a dual authority and the wishes of a minority, whether they be a million or less, nevertheless a minority, and if submitted would spell the end of voluntarism or the disintegration of the American Federation of Labor.

May I say that the charges against these organizations are not only for breach of contract, for violation of constitutional provisions of laws and decisions of the American Federation of Labor, but for dualism itself. I shall not wish to take your time further on these questions, because they will be presented to you in behalf of the committee by the secretary of our committee. Suffice it to say the definition of "dualism," of "breach of contract," is no better and clearer defined than by the action of the President of the United Mine Workers of America in dealing upon problems of a like type and character, and if we but applied that language to the situation here, then there can be no question of outright dualism, violation of contract, disregard for the rights of our affiliated organizations.

Please understand that I do speak in the spirit of impersonalities, that I do impugn the motives of no one, that I do pray for unity in the ranks of labor, that I do not wish to divide broth-

er and sister, not alone on the religious field, but as well on the economic field, and with ideas and forms of organizations.

Pray, why could the convention declaration of a year ago and of two years ago, not go on undisturbed until we would meet here, instead of undertaking by force of organization to compel others to do that which they might have willed by voluntary, persuasive methods, but which they stubbornly resent when attempted to be forced upon them by organization force and by theatrical display? After all, we wish to be free men, we wish to have a part in determining the course and destiny of our own lives, as well as the course and destiny of all our organizations' lives. And certainly, representing a small union as I do, I want to see the rights of that small organization, of all small organizations protected against the ravages, against exploitations, against force of power by larger units within the American labor movement. And glad am I that in this Council of labor the spirit of democracy has at all times prevailed, and it was not a question of little or big unions, of large votes or small votes. In the main, and compared to any legislative bodies, this has been the greatest respecter of the rights of minorities of any voluntary body I have yet to know of or hear of, and surely we are not departing from that way nor does the Council or committee reporting upon this Council's action embrace an idea foreign to that.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: Mr. President and fellow delegates—the organization which I am proud to belong to has been mentioned throughout this discussion, both prior to this convention and since it has met. It is necessary, and I believe advisable, that the position of the International Typographical Union upon this question should be clearly stated so that no one should have any misgiving as to what the attitude of the International Typographical Union is in this controversy.

I have here the resolution in connection with this proposition which was adopted by our recent convention at Colorado Springs:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has suspended ten International Unions associated under the title Committee for Industrial Organization because these International Unions have engaged in organization and educational campaigns to promote collective bargaining among unorganized workers in mass production and other industries; and

WHEREAS, By its action the Executive Council has exercised authority not delegated to it by the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and taken an action never previously attempted by an Executive Council, the Constitution specifically providing:

"Section 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote;" and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the American Federation of Labor contains no provision conferring upon its Executive Council authority to entertain charges against a National or International Union, conduct a trial, or assess a penalty of suspension which in effect is the same as "revocation of charter;" therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Typographical Union in annual session by this action refuses to recognize the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has authority to suspend a National or International Union thereby usurping power specifically reserved to regular conventions of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, The International Typographical Union hereby asserts its right individually or in concert with other National and International Unions to engage in educational and organization activities among unorganized workers and to assist any or all National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, The International Typographical Union hereby pledges such moral and financial support as it may contribute to the organization campaign among steel workers and in other unorganized industries now being conducted by the Committee for Industrial Organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, The Executive Officers of the International Typographical Union are hereby authorized to take such action as in their judgment may be necessary to protect and preserve the autonomous rights, privileges and powers of the International Typographical Union as an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor.

It has been related as a part of the history of the American Federation of Labor that at its initial meeting some 56 years ago, an attempt was made to take power, just the same as that which is now proposed to be exercised, and that a delegate of my organization, long, long ago dead, refused to agree to such a proposal and stated that the International Typographical Union was willing to affiliate with other organizations for common purposes and for further orderly relation of the constitution, but would not, by its affiliation with other organizations in the proposed Federation, surrender any of its autonomous rights which it then possessed as an organization. In the succeeding convention that attitude was adopted as a policy of the convention.

When people talk about suspending or revoking the charter of the International Typographical Union for any action whatsoever, they are entirely beside the mark, because the International Typographical Union does not hold a charter from the American Federation of Labor. Nevertheless, its delegates are seated here and have been seated ever since.

I take it that the policies of this American Federation of Labor are those which govern all voluntary organizations. The action taken by the Executive Council is one of usurpation of authority, as stated in this resolution, and the previous speaker, after that legalistic argument, admitted in specific language that they did not have the authority to do the thing they have done but by the adoption of these rules they will then have the authority to do the thing they have done. But the one thing they neglected to do was to make these rules retroactive. Then they would have had the power

to do the things they are now proposing to do. The very fact that they are submitting these rules which have been adopted since they took the action which they did is proof that they did not have the power which they are now seeking, through this convention, by the adoption of rules which were not in existence when they took the power to suspend these organizations.

Why talk, my friends, about coming and fighting this question out man fashion upon the floor of the convention when no credentials have been issued to these people? Any man could win a fight if his opponent had his hands tied behind his back, and not only that, to the pole in the corner of the ring. Anybody can pass judgment, as this organization seems inclined to pass, if his opponents are not present on the floor, even to present a respectable minority vote. There is nothing to be proud of in excluding your opponents from an assembly like this and then proceeding to pass judgment on them.

Our friend, Mr. Woll, states that he has not practiced law. I think that is a great pity, because he might have continued along that line and he would have formed an admirable candidate for the Supreme Court as at present constituted. I have read these dispositions of the Supreme Court and there was strong resemblance in that legalistic statement in regard to suspension and revocation. Unions are suspended. Do you expect those unions, while they are in suspension, to contribute further to the funds of this organization, that they shall pay dues and assessments and still have no voice upon this floor? Then as a result of this questionable suspension they will ultimately become automatically suspended for non-payment of dues, and you accomplish the purpose in another way. The whole thing is utterly and supremely and completely ridiculous.

President Green—and I bow to no one in my personal respect for Mr. Green—stated in his opening speech:

"We have been functioning for 56 years. Why is it that this issue did not split us asunder 20 years ago?" The answer is simple, very simple. No Executive Council took such an attitude until the present time. Why has this particular feature not split us asunder during the past 56 years? Why, you can't say that this question has never arisen before, but it is true that the Council never took such action before.

I, as a member of the International Typographical Union, have a very clear memory of resolutions having been introduced to this convention by the International Association of Machinists, demanding that the International Typographical Union, of which I am proud to be a member, should be suspended from membership in this organization because we have in our organization a certain number of machinists. Two years in succession that plea was made. History records that nothing occurred. We still have these machinists in our organization, and if you wish to know the number, there are 2300 of them in the International Typographical Union. They have been there many years. They are going to stay there. And yet we sit here as duly accredited delegates and we have no quarrel with Mr. Wharton's delegates on the floor in that connection.

I see seated here members and delegates of the Brewery Workers' International Union. How often have you listened to those fights on this floor between them and other organizations? Nevertheless, they are seated here as duly accredited delegates. And what is the difference in essence between the thing you are now discussing and that which has happened and gone along year after year? The report of the Executive Council shows that not only these organizations, but many others, are in a like situation. And what has been the policy in that connection, the well understood policy? That the American Federation of Labor shall use its best offices under all conditions to bring these peo-

ple together to solve the difficulty. But now a new feature comes upon the scene, and as I listened to the presentation of the major resolution which is now before you from the Committee on Resolutions, it seemed to me that I could hear the voice of Hitler, "There is somebody seeking for power in this organization which was never bestowed before, and through the exercise of that power are now splitting this organization wide open."

If the Executive Council could retrace its steps and go back to that point which it departed from and go back to its previous policy and let all these organizations be represented on the floor, the same as other allegedly dual organizations are, then we could fight out our difficulties in man fashion and face to face. But that is denied these organizations. They are judged upon in their absence.

I visited one or two sessions of the Committee on Resolutions. I did not say anything there, I looked and I listened, and it appeared to me, as man after man came pleading before that committee, that the whole aspect of things changed. Instead of the white cloth around that triangular table I saw a black cloth, and behind the committee monkish figures. It was an inquisition. The members sitting behind the table were absolutely careless of anything that might be said by the person in front, who was already a victim. The decision had been arrived at before anybody had been heard on the question. "We have the votes," is the slogan, and we can do exactly as we please. But, gentlemen, remember this, that in doing just exactly as you please, you are reversing the policies of this Federation of Labor, and the end is not yet.

I want to point to just something before I sit down that may not occur to any member of this aggregation. Seated here on my left is the fraternal delegate from Canada. Twenty-nine years ago I was in that position, I was

the fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to the Norfolk, Virginia, Federation of Labor meeting in 1907. It may be perhaps conceded that I have some little knowledge of the labor movement, and particularly that of Canada. The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress has been associated with this body through international unions. That is why your unions are termed international, Canadian and American. The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress has accepted the jurisdictional decisions made on this floor and the decisions between different crafts, with the idea that there was no use whatever in having the same jurisdictional fights injected into the convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and possibly have a different decision arrived at upon the same question than that which was arrived at in that body here.

Therefore, the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress has gone along without any of these differences. Nevertheless, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is based on the same organization as the convention of the American Federation of Labor. If this order is to go out, what is it equivalent to? The Trades and Labor Congress is officered at the present time by a president who is a member of my organization, and the first vice president, Simpson, is a member of my organization. The next vice president is a miner, affiliated with the United Mine Workers of America. The other two members are members of the International Association of Machinists. To follow out the dictum now promulgated by this body, the printer members who are the heads of that organization and the miner member will be in a precarious state.

Secondly, labor bodies in that country will be shot to pieces, because if they do seat those suspended organizations they will come under the ban of the American Federation of Labor, and if they don't seat them, they will be broken up. If they do seat them,

the international unions governed by the American Federation of Labor will demand that their people withdraw from those councils.

And so in the country to the north of you, you have extended the same policy of disintegration which began when the executive of this organization, at the parting of the ways, took the wrong road.

I heard one man speak before the Resolutions Committee. He delivered a very impassioned appeal, and at the finish he said, "I don't care which of you is right or which of you is wrong, but this I know, that if you don't find a way to compose these differences, the labor movement of this country will call down a curse upon both your houses."

I believe there are other members of my organization who will be well able to take care of the situation which has arisen so far as our organization is concerned. There have been people, who, through their contributions to the daily press, have indicated that they were better able to select a President for our organization than we were ourselves, but I want to let this organization understand that we are quite satisfied with the President we have, who is quite able to take care of himself.

Delegate Costello, Federal Labor Union 18,456, Kenosha, Wisconsin: I wish to rise and speak in opposition to the committee's report. I do not wish to indulge in personalities, but I wish to speak on the issues our convention is confronted with.

President Green: Will the delegate that was recognized yield for a moment while the secretary of the committee makes a statement?

Delegate Costello: Yes.

Secretary Frey: The chairman of the Committee on Resolutions made a rather ample statement relative to the offense taken by Delegate Max Zaritzky to that portion of the report relating to Jewish trade unionists. It

was my intention to answer what had been said so that there can be no misunderstanding, no misconstruction placed upon the committee's report.

The committee intended not only to defend Jewish trade unionists, but it took special care to show that our attitude toward Jewish members was the same as toward all other members. It is my opinion that if Delegate Zaritzky had a copy of the report he would not have spoken as he has. However, I think there is nothing more dangerous to this movement than to foster prejudice with regard to racial questions. The language of that paragraph has been accepted by Delegate Zaritzky as an offense rather than a support and a defense, as it is.

The chairman and the secretary of the committee have consulted together. If the other member of the committee are in agreement, we desire to withdraw that one paragraph from the report so that the newspaper accounts of this session will not find it possible to twist and distort what the committee recommended into anything that savors of racial or any other kind of prejudice. Unless some member of the committee arises in opposition, I will withdraw that portion of the committee's report.

President Green: Inasmuch as there seems to be no objection to the section or the paragraph quoted in the report being stricken therefrom, it is so ordered.

Delegate Costello: I want to go back to the first convention of the American Federation of Labor I attended, the fifty-fourth convention at San Francisco. The remarks that were made in that convention, the remarks of our President of the American Federation of Labor, when he stated that they were going to organize the unorganized workers in the United States, that we shall be able to report that we will organize approximately 25,000,000 people in the United States under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, are in the record.

And from the fifty-fourth convention to the fifty-fifth convention held in Atlantic City—I also was a delegate to that convention—I scanned through the Executive Council's report and they did not carry out the decisions of the 'Frisco convention. They did not carry out the organizational drive in the mass production industries. They did not attempt to organize the Federal Unions into international unions of their respective industries. We do not have to speak at great length on this question because the issue is clear.

As we sit here this afternoon the eyes of the membership of the American Federation of Labor are focused on the city of Tampa, Florida. They are awaiting patiently for the action of the convention on the recommendations and the resolutions submitted. They are waiting to hear what action the convention will take in regard to the CIO unions who are up for suspension. The committee recommends that the suspensions stand and that the special committee appointed continue its negotiations in order to bring about a better understanding, discuss this question around the table in order that there shall be no split in the ranks of the American labor movement.

What are the issues involved? The organizations in the CIO are carrying out an organizational drive in the steel industry. They are attempting to organize one of the large mass production industries in the United States. The steel workers' organizing committee is confronted with some of the anti-labor acts that some of these steel companies can bring into the field. The committee is facing one of the richest organizations in the United States, but the committee is attempting to bring to the men who work in the steel industry the gospel of organization. They are attempting to organize these people into one industrial organization, a union of their choice, and they do not care to have that union based upon craft lines.

The steel organizing committee has told the world what it intends to do. The Amalgamated in 60 years could not organize the steel industry because of the fact that the steel workers would have to go into craft unions, that the steel workers would be represented by various craft unions. The steel workers in the United States had given their answer. They did not choose to become part of an organization that would not organize them industrially.

The purpose of the CIO, the purpose of the American Federation of Labor, the purpose of every delegate assembled in this convention is that we should all agree, and that purpose is to organize the unorganized workers in the United States. Even Delegate Woll and any of the delegates in this convention, regardless of which side they will speak on, will agree that we must have unity in the American Federation of Labor, that the only way we can build a powerful trade union movement in the United States is by remaining as one powerful American Federation of Labor and not cause one quarter of the membership of the Federation to stay on the outside. They are guilty, yes, they are guilty of one thing, they are guilty of attempting to organize the unorganized workers in the United States.

What shall the reaction of the members of the American Federation of Labor be when they read in the press tomorrow, if the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee is adopted? The vast majority of the membership of the American Federation of Labor will not agree with the action of this convention; the vast majority of them will say that the only way they can organize the mass production workers in the United States is in an industrial line.

It is true that we must have craft unions. In the building trades and in other highly skilled trades the craft organizations must exist. The industrial unions will not injure any of these craft unions. I want to appeal

to the delegates to this convention, I want to appeal to the people on the outside who are members of the American Federation of Labor, who have not an opportunity to sit in this convention that we, the members of the American Federation of Labor, must pledge our loyalty to the unorganized and we must pledge our loyalty to the members of the CIO by allowing them to come in here and iron our differences out here.

If this question is defeated, if the recommendations of the Resolutions Committee are adopted by an overwhelming vote, the vast majority of the American Federation of Labor will force unity within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor.

I cannot pass over the report of the Resolutions Committee without mentioning some of the recommendations that they have made. I want to quote some of their passages, "Outstanding in the struggles of labor throughout the centuries is that cardinal principle that in unity there is strength. Thus unity is the essence of trade unionism." We can all agree on that part of the committee's report. I can agree, and every member of the American Federation of Labor will agree.

In passing, I wish again to quote, "one of the democratic principles of trade unionism, as well as that of our country, is that of majority rule." I agree, and the delegates agree, and the entire labor movement agrees that majority rule shall decide the issue. And where shall we find that majority rule? If the Resolutions Committee is sincere in its recommendations, let us refer this question to the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor. There are delegates at this convention who will cast a large block of votes for the recommendations of the Resolutions Committee. It is their privilege to cast their votes as they see fit, but at least they can cast their votes in the spirit of unity within the American Federation of Labor. I quote again:

"The American Federation of Labor has developed in the quarter of a century since 1911. Within that larger unity it has adjusted its structure to meet new conditions."

Twenty-five years ago I was but three years old. I did not know the exact structure of the American Federation of Labor at that time, but I did try to study it and to make an attempt to find out what the structure was at that time. At that time we had conditions in the mass production industries that do not exist today. If we are going to agree with decisions that were made twenty-five years ago, let us change our system as time marches on, let us meet modern machinery with modern methods of organization.

Quoting again, "It has enjoyed a continual existence for fifty-five years, and today is one of the oldest and largest Federations in the world." We can all agree, and we are proud to be a part and parcel of one of the most liberal trade union movements in the world, and one of the largest, but how much larger would it be if we would go out and organize the unorganized workers into the American Federation of Labor, disregarding what type of organization they would come into as long as we would organize every worker? Yes, we could have recorded one of the greatest Federations in the world, and not one country in the world could compete with the membership of the American Federation of Labor if we would go out and organize and forget our jurisdictional disputes.

There is much to be said on the report of the committee, but I do know that international unions that are craft unions have organized locals into their international unions on an industrial basis. I have sent into the international union three locals that were organized on an industrial basis. The International Brotherhood of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Carpenters, and the Upholsterers' International

Union did not say who had the whole jurisdictional right over them.

We in the American Federation of Labor should not argue who belongs to every craft in a factory. If a machinist, or a polisher, or any other craft has a small number of members, will that stand in the way of organizing that plant because they want those people in their international unions? Will they say, "You cannot organize this plant because we have jurisdiction over these people in this industry"?

I ask you to weigh this question as seriously as if it would affect your organization. It will not affect my organization, because we are organized 100 per cent. When you cast your vote, think twice before you do so. Will the rank and file of your organization agree to the way you are casting your vote? Think back when you last held your international convention and ask yourself if your membership would allow you to cast your vote as you are

going to cast it in this convention. Those of you who are going to cast a large block of votes should remember that 3,000 votes may not represent the membership of your organization.

Vice President Coefield: Mr. Chairman, I rise to make a motion, and I would like to preface it by stating the necessity of carrying my motion. We have now been in session three and one-half hours. Most of the delegates feel they ought to be given an opportunity to get a cup of coffee and a sandwich at least. I know the President has an important meeting to attend and other delegates have meetings, and I move that we recess until 8:30 o'clock and return here and remain in session until this important question is decided.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

At 8:00 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 8:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Sixth Day—Monday Evening Session

The convention was called to order at 8:30 o'clock by President Green.

The Chair appreciates the fact that there is a large number of delegates in attendance at the convention who desire to speak on the subject now being considered. The Chair has been very liberal in the extension of time to the delegates who have been recognized, but I feel that in order to facilitate the work of the convention, it will be necessary to invoke Rule 7 of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, which was adopted by the convention. It provides: "That speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention." The Chair will be obligated now under the circumstances to enforce the rule.

Delegate Lewis (J. C.), Iowa State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—as one member of the Resolutions Committee, I rise at this time to speak in opposition to that report. One year ago at the Atlantic City convention, I signed a minority report on this subject matter, and I can see no reason why I should change my mind on this occasion.

I suppose I should start out by saying that I am opposed to any split in the labor movement. I am for harmony in the labor movement, and I am willing to go as far as any delegate in this convention to secure harmony. I am a member of the United Mine Workers of America. My organization has been suspended and, as a result of their being suspended, I am here to protest against that expulsion—I guess that is not the proper word—but the fact remains that it has the same effect.

Now, the question in the minds of many of the delegates here—and I assure you I have given it consideration—is with reference to the authority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to suspend ten or-

ganizations. I contend they did not have that authority. Along came the chairman of our committee, Brother Woll, a legalistic, constitutional technician, and after he had finished everything was just as clear as mud.

I say to you that we are not of a legal mind. We have very few legal minds in the labor movement, but I contend the wage earners of the country can read the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. It is my contention that my international union should have been seated in this convention, and if there were charges against them they should be members of the American Federation of Labor until they were suspended by the American Federation of Labor.

Why are they not here? It is like a policeman putting a man in jail, locking him up, and then taking off his coat and asking him to come out and fight. Much has been said with reference to their not meeting the summons of this committee of the Executive Council. I don't know why they refused, but it is my judgment that they were not ready to surrender the autonomy of their international organizations to the Executive Council, and I believe if charges had been preferred there is no question but they would be here defending their position.

There are very few delegates in this convention that were not of the opinion that a motion would be passed to expel these organizations from the American Federation of Labor. It was generally contended that they had the vote and they were going to put it over. We had a great international member come down here, and he suggested arbitration. The powers that be said, "Nothing to arbitrate." The head of one of the organizations made the statement that George Berry was nothing more nor less than a professional politician, and they

were not going to have anything to do with him.

Then the charge was made that these organizations were Communistic. I think there is too much stress placed on this Communistic stuff. I don't think there are enough Communists in the United States to break up a Sunday school picnic. I understand that Hamilton Fish and the Liberty League are defending us from the Communists, and it comes with poor grace for us to try to steal their thunder.

Last Monday morning in this convention a member of the Executive Council, Brother Daniel J. Tobin, made the statement that this was the supreme body, it was labor's supreme court, and he also made the suggestion that if you are going to apply the law against the coal miners, why not apply the law against the Brewery Workers and suspend them? And that was not done.

I recall when the great split was in our Building Trades Department in this American Federation of Labor. They even went into the Courts. They came back and one part was called dualists. But eventually a satisfactory settlement was arrived at. If the other situation had been handled in the same way, we would not be in the position we are today. I challenge the right of the Executive Council to summons international organizations to appear before them. This is the place where these people should have been tried if they were to be tried at all.

We talk about democracy. I contend that Brother Tobin was right when he said this was the supreme court of the American Federation of Labor, and they have a right to have their day here. Well, everything was fixed. But something happened in the meantime. Brother Hutcheson came on the job, and when asked by the press what his position was, he said they were out. And they are out. After Mr. Hutcheson made that statement, there was a different opinion around

here. They tried to get away from the proposition of expulsion.

It was unfair, it was uncalled for, it was unjust, and, in my humble opinion, they used unfair methods to suspend these organizations, and further, it was economic treason when they sabotaged a million workers of the American Federation of Labor. As one United Mine Worker, I know I am voicing the sentiment of an overwhelming majority of the Mine Workers in America when I say that we protest against being dumped out of the Federation as we were.

I don't believe there is a delegate on that committee of the opinion that this resolution will bring any results. I know the members of the CIO well enough to know that you cannot thrust it down their throats. I don't think they will take it, nor do I believe they should take it, and I believe you are of that opinion.

Delegate Eddy, American Newspaper Guild: The organization which I represent is not the youngest here, but it is next to it. Today it includes a majority of big city newspaper men in this country. Although we have been in existence for a short period, we have already faced some difficult situations. The first confronted us at the time of the order of suspension, when one of our most prominent locals immediately enacted a resolution, which was later withdrawn, that the American Newspaper Guild withdraw from the American Federation of Labor. We of the International Executive Board of the Guild were not of the opinion that such action was conducive to harmony. After due consideration by our officers and by our members, our International Board adopted a resolution with regard to the question of the Executive Council suspending from membership the ten unions that comprise the Committee for Industrial Organization, and our grounds then were, as they are now, that such suspension could not bring democratic settlement of differences.

How did the issue present itself? I ask that as a representative of a young organization which yet has a great deal to do to complete its organization and which in that can be likened, to a great extent, to the task of the American Federation of Labor in organizing the tremendous number of men outside of its ranks.

The first form it took in our organization was dissension within our organization, with the result of decreasing in strength. I wonder, after listening to the discussion here tonight and listening to it attentively and with a great deal of humility because of my lack of experience as compared with a majority of you here, what a few years from now will appear to be the issues before us in this, perhaps most important session in the fifty-six years of existence of the American Federation of Labor. Will the issues appear to the average worker, organized and unorganized, in this country today as a discussion of technicalities that occurred two or three years ago?

We know that a large group of unions set out to organize what perhaps is the most important mass industry in this country, and that the action of the American Federation of Labor when that happened was to suspend these unions. That we can understand. That makes us want to do what we can to promote union, and I wonder if union can be promoted on the basis of past precedents or past differences or past traditions rather than on the basis of the present situation where we all know in one way or another this organizing drive must go on, not only in the steel industry, but in others, and we know it cannot go on with full success if there is to be a tragic division in the house of labor itself.

In the report of the Committee on Resolutions, which I was fortunate enough to be able to read by bumming a copy of it from a newspaper friend, I was particularly interested in the proposal that might bring about an-

other convention of the American Federation of Labor; but I would like to conclude on this note: That no more can that convention dispose of what confronts us today than this one, in the final analysis can, with one-third of the constituent members of the American Federation of Labor absent from our councils.

Thank you.

Secretary Frey, of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, in the beginning, so that there may be no misunderstanding, when I arose to withdraw a portion of the committee's report, it was not with any thought that there might be any misrepresentation by the press, but rather that there might be a misunderstanding on the part of those who read the press tomorrow morning as to the object of the committee in framing its statement as it had.

I would like at the beginning to clear away, if possible, some of the misunderstandings which quite evidently have crept into the discussion of this question, and perhaps incidentally refer to the fact that while there are rights which must be respected toward those unions affiliated with the CIO, it is evident that there are some rights also of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which must also be respected.

Now, to get away from questions that have been brought forward so far. They are scarcely incidental or a part of the subject covered in your committee's report, and very briefly I want to remind you of the salient facts.

Last year the Committee on Resolutions made a report. There was a minority report. Some unions were dissatisfied with the convention's action. Instead of following the ordinarily well established democratic principles of this Federation, instead of waiting for another year in which to discuss the merits of their point of view, they immediately formed an organization for the purpose of making the desire of a minority the rule which

must govern the majority. They sought to set aside the well established decision of the last convention.

They say in the beginning that their purpose in organizing was purely educational. I am informed that some of the international unions who affiliated with the CIO did so because of their belief that the purpose was purely an educational one.

Let me call your attention to the first official statement issued by the CIO to the press on November 10, 1935, and I will quote it in its entirety. It is brief.

"Press Release by Committee for Industrial Organization. (For release to morning papers, Sunday, November 10, 1935.)

"A meeting was held today at the offices of the United Mine Workers of America by representatives of seven International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A committee was formed to be known as the 'Committee for Industrial Organization.' The following individuals were named as members of the Committee:

John L. Lewis, President, United Mine Workers of America.

Charles P. Howard, President, International Typographical Union.

Sidney Hillman, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

David Dubinsky, President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Thomas F. McMahon, President, United Textile Workers of America.

Harvey C. Fremming, President, Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.

M. Zaritsky, President, Cap and Millinery Department, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

Thomas H. Brown, President, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

"This Committee will work in accordance with the principles and policies enunciated by these organizations at the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is the purpose of the Committee to encourage and promote organization of the workers in the mass-production and unorganized industries of the Nation and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Its functions will be educational and advisory and the Committee and its representatives will cooperate for the recognition and acceptance of modern collective bargaining in such industries. Other organizations inter-

ested in advancing organization work along the lines of industrial unionism will be invited to participate in the activities of the Committee and name representatives to join in its work.

"John L. Lewis was named Chairman of the Committee and Charles P. Howard, Secretary. Offices will be established by the Committee and facilities provided for carrying on its work. Mr. John Brophy, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has been named Director to supervise the work of administration."

I call your attention to the fact that in this first official statement the CIO made it clear and definite that its purpose was educational and advisory. The record is evidence that they have traveled a long distance since then and set up an organization dual in purpose, hostile to the policies of the American Federation of Labor, and it is my opinion that the majority of the international unions now a part of the CIO would never have affiliated had there been the slightest thought in their minds that before a year had elapsed that organization would have been formed into a dual union, and formed in a direction against the American Federation of Labor.

In the past I made the charge that the leaders of this organization in their purpose and in their propaganda were insincere and inconsistent. I want to repeat that charge now. The question debated in Atlantic City last year was over form of organization. Those who advocated it ever since then have avoided any indication of a desire to apply the policy of the CIO to themselves. I have charged, and I charge again, that if the needle trades were sincere in believing that this industrial form of organization was advantageous, they would indicate their sound belief in what they try to impose upon the Federation by at least advocating amalgamation among themselves.

I have made the statement that in the beginning the International Typographical Union was an industrial organization covering every one employed in a printing establishment. I have said, and I repeat again, that if they were sincere and consistent, they

would at least advocate the amalgamation of all the trades engaged in the printing plants.

I have said, and I repeat, that the United Mine Workers are the most inconsistent among the members of the CIO. We listened last year, and we have read many statements since, that the only form of organization which will enable the mass production industry and some of the other industries to protect themselves is an organization which will embrace all the employees of an individual or of a corporation. We are being told that every one in the automobile industry must be members of one union if they are to adequately protect their interests. We are told the same thing about the rubber industry, about the steel industry, and about others.

I repeat what I said at last year's convention, if the United Mine Workers were sincere in the argument they were making, they would tell the convention, as evidence of that belief, that they would advocate that the miners employed by the automobile industry, that the miners employed by the rubber industry, that the miners employed by the steel industry should be members of that industry. And I repeat again that unless the United Mine Workers show their sincerity by applying to themselves the same program and the same theory that they now are endeavoring to force upon other international unions, until they do that, I for one will doubt their sincerity.

The question of the industrial form of organization was discussed two years ago. It was discussed last year, and I find that some of the leaders of the CIO have talked in a very opposite way when addressing their own unions. One of the oldest organizations in the American Federation of Labor, older than the American Federation of Labor itself, whose members have been most active in the organization, the International Typographical Union, at a

very recent convention discussed this subject.

We heard the secretary of the Committee on Industrial Organization last year; we have heard much from him during the present year as to what is wrong with the structure of the American trade union movement. I want to read to you the official statement which he made to the membership of his own organization on this question a short two years ago, so that you will all have a knowledge of the difference between that gentleman when he addresses his own members and when he addresses the convention of the American Federation of Labor, or tells the story to the press.

In his report to the convention of the International Typographical Union held in August, 1934, President Charles P. Howard said under the caption "Extremist Group Seeks Control":

"The depression with attendant unsettled conditions, unemployment and wage reductions, has created a new menace to the effectiveness of some of our larger subordinate unions and may endanger the International Union. This has been one of the most democratic of trade unions. Its members have been schooled in tolerance. Discussion of religion and partisan politics are the only questions not permitted in meetings of the union. At no time has it been considered good union ethics to condemn members for their views and the obligation each member has taken pledges him or her not to impugn the motives of other members.

"However, during recent years there has appeared within the ranks of the union organized groups which have adopted methods entirely foreign to the best tradition of the union and those engaged in the printing industry. It is the practice of these groups to try and control the actions of the union by adopting methods that are abusive and indecorous. They attend meetings of the union with a prearranged program and during recent months have carried on a nation-wide campaign which has for its purpose control of legislation for the International Union.

"These groups thrive on discord and are vociferous in their denunciation of everything and everybody with whom they disagree. It is a part of their well-defined plan of operation to discredit both local and International

Union officials whom they can not influence or control.

"In formulation of proposed contracts they foster extreme and unreasonable demands, thereby adding to the difficulties of local unions in reaching agreements. They most strenuously oppose settlements in conciliation and advocate the strike as the initial move rather than an action of last resort, after peaceful methods have failed. Such actions discourage attendance at meetings and leaves these extremist groups in control. Motions and resolutions adopted embarrass the union, sacrifice the interests of members, and are not representative of true sentiment of the membership.

"It has been charged by responsible and well-informed members that these groups act under orders of the Communist party, functioning under different titles, which receives its instructions from the capital of Communism. The evidence is sufficient to justify the statement that these groups are operating in the interest of a revolutionary political party, the object of which is to take control of or demoralize the trade union movement in the United States."

With all of which I agree. And now comes the most interesting part. The secretary of the committee of the CIO, when talking to his own membership who do understand what trade union principles are—Listen to this! It sounds almost as if it was written as a part of the committee's report and should be incorporated therein:

"Industrial unionism is advocated to replace craft organization and as the first step to revolutionary changes in the industrial and economic system. In some cities an organization is being attempted among workers in the printing trades and those who are unemployed. The apparent purpose is to form a dual organization to destroy the effectiveness of the established unions in the printing trades. It is also apparent that the ultimate purpose is to reduce all the workers to a common level and create a condition of helplessness and hopelessness which will drive them to support of Communism.

"The experiences of a number of national and international unions whose members are engaged in other industries have been such as to cause the adoption of laws which provide for expulsion of Communists. It is certain that one can not resort to the subversive methods of Communism and avoid violation of his obligation as a member of the International Typographical Union. Efforts to adopt

legislation which would permit minority control of the union must be carefully guarded against."

Here is perhaps as strong an indictment of the so-called Industrial Union as has been prepared by any international officer.

President Green: The time of the speaker is up. Do you wish to extend it?

Chairman Woll: I move that his time be extended.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Frey: Now, what we are interested in, the question which will be decided by your vote, is the question of whether a minority in the trade union movement will be permitted to set itself up as superior to the majority, whether the rights of a minority are to be considered as greater than those of a majority.

I have charged that the CIO as it developed constituted an organized insurrection against the American Federation of Labor, and that it was also an organization dual to the American Federation of Labor, dual in authority, dual in policy, dual in purpose, dual in all of its activities.

Is there evidence of that? Is that an idle statement? Is it supported by something which we are familiar with? We know what dual unionism is, we know what the setting up of a dual federation would be. It would be taking into its membership international unions.

Now, while most of the delegates were on their way to this city, the newspapers carried the statement—and we have found that they were accurate—that the CIO had affiliated to it two dual unions, one a national union of radio and electrical workers, which is dual to the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers affiliated with our Federation, and an independent union of shipyard workers, which is dual to every one of the international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, and to fifteen or twenty others affiliated with other departments. If

that is not dual, I fail to understand what dual means, I fail to understand what the setting aside of the decision of the majority is intended to convey.

You are familiar with the history of some of the most prominent unions affiliated with the CIO. What is their record in the matter of discipline within the boundaries and jurisdiction of their own organization? The record of a part shows that when local memberships set their will against the decision of the majority, when they set themselves up as a dual authority within their International Union, they were not only promptly tried, they were not suspended, they were immediately expelled. I don't want to trouble you with going over the record and cite case after case.

Might I say, incidentally, that the first men who were given permanent employment by the CIO, with one or two exceptions, were men who had been expelled from their own Union because it was their belief that in order to save it from what they thought was a disastrous policy, they endeavored to prevail upon groups within their own organization to take joint action.

Now the question is whether we will continue to enjoy democratic rule in the Federation of Labor. The issue is whether from now on the will of the majority will be respected. The question is whether we will have our house in order or whether every one in it will be permitted to do anything they choose at any time, and if they don't agree with the majority immediately set up a separate organization for the purpose of destroying the majority itself.

We are told to be kindly, to be charitable, to wait, to be patient. How about our rights while we are being patient? How about these vital questions that are coming up, facing every International Union that comes into contact with the activities of the CIO. At least the American Federation of Labor owes as important a duty to the

International Unions who have remained loyal to it as it does to those organizations comprising the CIO.

What has been going on during these years? What has been happening? Why are International Unions disturbed? Because of the activities, the educational methods of the CIO? Not at all. Because of any fear they would acquire so much strength that this Federation would shrivel up and blow away? Not at all. They are disturbed because, since the beginning of this year their local Unions have been taken away from them. Those who have been members for years have been forced, not through persuasion, not through the logic and the eloquence of the leaders of the CIO, but through the force of numbers, they have been forced to give up the membership of their own local Unions, and affiliate with one which is chosen by the CIO as the proper one for affiliation.

One of the oldest and most constructive organizations in the Federation is the railway shop employees, the Railway department of the American Federation of Labor. What is their practice? The machinists, the boiler-makers, the blacksmiths, the sheet metal workers, the electrical workers, the railway car men and the others, instead of individually negotiating with an employer, jointly sit down and enter into one agreement as a group of railway crafts. That agreement is jointly negotiated and covers all of their members.

Early in the year, in a location in Pennsylvania where these railway shop crafts had had that type of agreement since 1912, covering all of these railway shop crafts and were then under an agreement which they had negotiated with the Lehigh Navigation and Coal Company, the coal miners apparently—and I say that because no others were at the conference—informed that company that unless its employees in the railway shops joined the United Mine Workers of America, the miners would strike all of the

company's mines. The effect of that attitude on this company was such that all of these crafts, organized and under a joint agreement since 1912, the effect was such that the company informed them that unless they gave up their trade union membership and joined the United Mine Workers of America the company would be compelled to discharge them.

Throughout the country the same is true. I have a list. Those of you who read the official proceedings against the CIO can find all of the cases. Those proceedings were on your desks and they show where every one of the crafts in the Metal Trades Department have not only had memberships taken away from them, they have had entire Unions taken away from them—not through persuasion, not through logic, but in many instances by massed force.

In the City of Butte one hundred and fifty or more members of the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen's Union, led by national officers, went on the job where operating engineers were employed and physically threw them off the job—not on one job but on more than one. They went down to the meeting of this Local Union. They forced their way into it. They intimidated these operating engineers. They told them if they did not surrender their charter they would run them out of town. They prevailed upon some of the officers of that Union, under threat of physical force, under threat of being driven out of Butte, Montana, by armed force, to enter into an agreement that they would surrender their charter. After they had done that they went to the meeting of the Building Trades Council and they told that Council that now it must accept them, the mine, mill and smelter men, they must accept them into membership because they were the only ones who now represented the building trades so far as the operating engineers were concerned.

Quite incidentally—and you have heard of Butte, and our agreement with the Anaconda Copper Company

before—the chief of police refused to give any support, the sheriff refused to give any support, and so some trade unionists, determined that they would not be driven out of their Union or driven out of Butte, served notice that they were now ready to shoot it out, and since then they have been unmolested.

What are these International Unions to do? What protection is this Federation to give them? Are they to lie down, in the interests of harmony and unity and without any resistance, without any help from this Federation, permit local union after local union to be taken away from them?

It is quite evident that the CIO desires to carry on organizing work, but the International Unions whose delegates are seated on this floor are likewise endeavoring to carry on organizing work. They are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to organize. They are putting their ablest organizers into the field. And what do they encounter? As they talk to the non-union man the non-union man says, "Well, we don't know about your form of organization now. A few years ago we might have joined, but here is the CIO, here is this great leader that has suddenly blazed across the horizon." And so not only are the International Unions losing their locals without any protection except such as they can give them, but the work of organizing the unorganized is made infinitely more difficult. Are we not entitled to some consideration? Are we to supinely sit down? Are these International Unions to continue to uphold the hands of the Federation of Labor and the Federation of Labor in convention tell us that there is nothing we can do to protect you from those attacks of the organized insurrection that the CIO has set up?

I don't know but that every consideration has been given to this group. Early in the year when the Executive Council met in January an effort was made to prevail upon these Unions to cease what they were doing. Their

attention was called to the fact that in the opinion of the Executive Council they had set up a dual organization. Did that influence them? Did they tell your officers that it was not their intention to work as a dual body? Did they say, "We are as loyal to the American Federation of Labor as any others, and if there is a doubt as to our being a dual Union we will sit down and talk it over with you"? No, they did not do that.

What their leader did was to write as studiously insulting letters, couched in as sneering language as his gift for expression permits, and after preparing these missives, sent to the President of the American Federation of Labor, the representatives of the press were called in, they were given a copy of this communication to the President of our Federation. The newspapermen naturally went to see President Green to find out what his reaction was, only to discover that the President of the American Federation of Labor had not yet received the communication.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I rise to a point of order on the question of time.

President Green: The time was extended by the convention, but the chair will call the attention of the speaker to the fact that a point of order has been raised, so I will ask him to endeavor to bring his remarks to a close.

Delegate Frey: I can do it in a couple of minutes. That was the way they tried to meet us. Charges were preferred against them, not because of any animosity but because the very existence of the International Unions demanded that this question be discussed between the CIO and the Executive Council. Did they appear? No. Since then the Executive Council appointed a committee to meet with their representatives to confer. That committee has sought to meet with a committee of the CIO. Have they met with such a committee? No, because the CIO refused to appoint a commit-

tee to confer with that committee representing the American Federation of Labor.

Because the time is short and you have already listened to very much discussion I leave this thought with you. What is your duty to your own International Union? What is your duty to your members? What is your duty to the American Federation of Labor? Is there anything you know of that is more valuable than the right of these free discussions and determination by a vote of the majority? What you will determine by the vote taken on the committee's report will decide whether the rule of the majority shall continue or whether an organized minority will be permitted at any time it sees fit to set aside all of your decisions, all of your policies, all of your activities.

Delegate Davis, Teachers: Mr. President and fellow delegates, as President of the American Federation of Teachers I have been instructed by my convention to vote against the suspension of the CIO. I want to state briefly why our convention believes this. We all have the greatest loyalty to the American Federation of Labor. Personally, I have required the reading of Brother Frey's book in my classes. Ten years ago I invited President Green to great mass meetings in New Haven, and I incurred the enmity of some of the business leaders of the State for doing so. This is not, therefore a personal question at all.

We are all agreed, I think, that besides craft unionism we need industrial unionism. This has been decided by the American Federation of Labor in convention. It has been reaffirmed time after time by President Green. We all recognize that the conditions in the mass production industries make obsolete the old craft union basis as the sole method of organization. We now know that technological advances and the concentration of wealth make imperative industrial organization. The old conditions of forty years ago have changed, and giving increased wages

to the skilled workers alone does not solve the problem. We need increased purchasing power, production for use, and that demands industrial organization.

The only question we are faced with tonight is whether the CIO was right in practically trying to organize in the mass production industries. It seems to us that the CIO was sincerely trying to help the American Federation of Labor, and that although there have been mistakes on both sides we should at all costs endeavor to keep the unity of the American Labor movement.

Looking at the matter impartially, it seems to us that it was the Executive Council which suspended the unions representing the CIO, and I believe in doing this there is considerable question as to whether they did not violate the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. In any case, it seemed unnecessary to do it only two months before the convention took place. It seems to us it was a dangerous precedent to prevent their vote in the convention.

We believe there is a duty to the unorganized mass production workers of the nation. Without organization these workers are helpless, and already it may be claimed that the CIO has forced an increase of wages in steel.

The plight of the unorganized workers reminds me of the parable of the Chinese hunter who always took a dog with him when he went hunting. Once he was lost and he finally got so hungry he cut off the dog's tail, roasted it and ate it. Then because the dog was hungry he gave the dog the dog's own tail bone to eat, and the dog came up in front of his master fawning and licking his master's hand for his own tail bone. The unorganized workers are like that dog, and the CIO has been trying to help organization among these workers.

The depression has already cost us more than the World War. What we sometimes fail to recognize is that the non-organization of the workers in the mass production industries has also

cost us more than the World War, for it keeps wages low and destroys purchasing power. If the workers in the mass production industries could have been organized it would have largely blocked the depression. The CIO, in spite of any mistakes which have been recounted here today, should be commended for trying to do their work of organizing the mass production industries. So in justice to the unorganized workers we should withdraw suspension.

Let me cite briefly how it affects the teachers. A week ago Saturday I was speaking before ten thousand teachers in Atlantic City, debating the merits of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The only argument that was used against it in opposition was that the labor movement was today split and that there was threatened a difference of opinion between the CIO and the A. F. of L. and therefore the teachers should not come in until these differences were ironed out.

A split in labor endangered the entire labor movement at a time when we had the greatest chance that ever confronted American labor in the history of the United States, when we have a President dedicated to help organized labor. Whatever the mistakes, whatever the merits of this dispute, it seems unfortunate to take this action now. Therefore, in justice to the entire labor movement, the teachers all over America feel that regardless of mistakes that suspension should be withdrawn. From the history of labor in America we know the dangers of a split. The action of the majority here—and we know you have the votes to put it over—means that there is every likelihood of a real split. Then at all costs, for the sake of the unorganized workers, for the sake of every organization of labor, and in spite of mistakes, we urge a compromise and removal of the suspension order. This, we believe, is in accord with the great historic principles of the American Federation of Labor.

A policy of suspension by the Executive Council we believe is always dangerous to the other unions. If ten unions can be suspended by an Executive Council order, any union can be by a bare majority of the Executive Council. No one can deny that a law was invoked and promulgated, not by the convention but by the Executive Council. There is some truth, therefore, that suspension in this case may be tantamount to expulsion. In justice to the great record of noble work done by the leaders of both sides throughout the years, let us remove the suspension of the CIO unions and preserve unity. Every single reactionary employer in America will be chuckling at the action we take tonight if we go through with this suspension.

It was Abraham Lincoln who said, at the time of the Civil War, that he would sacrifice everything to preserve the unity of the United States, he would accept slavery rather than block that unity. If Lincoln was willing even to perpetuate slavery for unity, we should be willing to cooperate rather than expell the CIO to preserve unity. I believe the CIO has not so much been trying to foster dual unionism as to organize the workers in the mass production industry.

In conclusion I wonder what the future John R. Commons will say about the decision we make tonight in the next history of the American labor movement? Will he say that in our decision tonight we have been forwarding the interests of all the organized workers of America, and that no other action should have been taken except what was done? I believe Brother Woll was right in saying, "United we stand, divided we fall," but if that is true, let us revoke the suspension of the CIO unions and bring back labor solidarity in the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Baer, Fire Fighters: Mr. Chairman and delegates—It may seem strange to most of you that after eighteen years affiliation with the

American Federation of Labor, never having taken the floor to voice my sentiments in the convention, at this late date I accept the opportunity to voice our own opinion at this particular time. I represent an organization that is purely industrial from the ground up, the International Association of Fire Fighters, composed entirely of Firemen paid by the municipalities in cities where municipal fire departments are organized. We started eighteen years ago with a membership of five thousand. We had our troubles, our trials and our tribulations. We had to sell our own ideas even to the labor movement itself, for the right of affiliation with the labor movement, because of our peculiar status as a uniformed organization that had a smattering of militarism within its make-up. But eventually we were successful in doing just that one thing. We started with a handful of men—five thousand, to be exact. In ten years we struggled along with a membership of less than ten thousand, continuing our salesmanship to the American Federation of Labor, and I am happy and proud to state to you at this late date that our membership today comprises forty-five thousand of the sixty-five thousand possible membership throughout the United States and Canada.

I think our growth has been as successful, as regular and as fine as any organization within this Federation. Our organization up to date has never been denied one request, never lost a resolution, never has had any controversy of any vital importance with any organization within the American Federation of Labor.

At the present time there is great concern and discontent occurring throughout the country among our membership, caused by the invocation of this CIO. And may I not reverse it as nicely and pleasantly as possible? I call it the OIC. Why is it? I am asking you as delegates of good, clean cut, bona fide organizations: Why is

it that industrial organizations of other descriptions cannot have the same happy outcome and the same relations that we have had over eighteen years of our experience of affiliation with the Federation of Labor?

It has been voiced here on the floor this afternoon, just prior to recess, that the voice of Hitler was being heard on the floor. I say not only the voice of Hitler, but Mussolini, Stalin and various other voices have been heard here, but it never was brought here by a real, bona fide trade unionist who loved his American Federation of Labor.

You have all heard the story of the fond mother who saw the army walking down the street and she said to the fond father, "Look at the army coming down here, they are all out of step but John." It is not unreasonable to assume that if one hundred and ten International Unions mandate certain prescribed conditions to follow out and nine per cent of the organizations dictate otherwise, it is somewhat like the fond mother, and like the fond mother, they are all of step but John. Ninety-one per cent of the American Federation of Labor cannot be wrong. It has been contended here on this floor that the Executive Council has stepped beyond their bounds of authority. Why do we have an Executive Council? Isn't it to take care of the things that happen in the interim between conventions? Being a fire fighter I will ask you this, would it only be possible for you to call upon us for our services after the house was burned down?

Do you elect executive officers of your American Federation of Labor merely as a joke? Don't you put them there for a purpose? Don't they decide questions that come before the organization during the interim between conventions, and if they decide those questions aren't they entitled to the power to do as they see fit and bring that back to this convention? Then I say to you in all sincerity, when you divest your Executive Council of this authority you

won't have the pleasure of the International Association of Fire Fighters as a member of this great movement.

I thank you.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I won't bother you very long. I just want to say a few words on behalf of our International organization. Our organization is of the industrial type, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, Bartenders International League of America — cooks, waiters, waitresses, bartenders and miscellaneous employees, and we get along. We are very much concerned over the solidarity of the American Labor movement.

Some forty years ago we appealed to the American Federation of Labor to straighten us out on some little disagreement, and they came to our support, and as a result we are right here with you today.

I am not a junior in the labor movement. I have had considerable experience. I am an old trade unionist with a young mind. Our delegates were sent here with an open mind to use their best judgment, to maintain the unity of the American labor movement. Years before, when our President, Brother Green and the other gentleman, Mr. Lewis, were in the mining game, I was working in the mining camps. Mr. Morrison is the only man in this convention who served three or four years in a composing room before I did, and I was in the press room before my good friend, Major Berry was, and I got promoted to be a cook.

We are very much concerned, as we should be in the labor movement. My younger days were spent on the Pacific Coast, where men are men and they take care of their women folks and try to give them the same scale that the men get. I say that because away back in 1889 I was in Vancouver, B. C., where Brother Trotter comes from. I have gone through matters of this kind before. I went through the movement of the American Labor Union, later the Western Labor Union, or before that,

and then the OBU, and later on the IWW. The people of the city where I come from, Seattle, Washington, stood up in front of them all, and solidified the movement.

I was interested when the delegation from the Teachers came up here. I am glad to see them back. I have only got six or seven youngsters of my own, I am a good miner, and when he told the story about the tall trying to wag the dog I was a little bit concerned. This is another case of the tall trying to wag the dog. I have only been down in Florida for about a week, but I learned from one of the natives that if a banana gets away from the bunch it gets skinned.

I would like to have the teachers teach my youngsters — and I have some yet — that they should be unified and work for the solidarity of the movement. I think it was Benjamin Franklin, who used to be a printer, and who said, "If you don't hang together you will hang apart."

I don't want to get personal while I am on the platform for about five minutes. I thank the President for recognizing me. I don't very often ask for recognition, but when I do I like to get it. If my memory is good, within the last year or two these people who are coming here talking about democracy and solidarity and the unity of the labor movement—and I speak now about the United Mine Workers of America; and I respect them, too,—they have thirty districts in this country and in Canada, and about twenty of those districts have had their local autonomy taken away from them. If I am wrong they will correct me, and the President of that organization appoints the officers and delegates of those districts. If I am wrong, tell me so. If that is democracy, I don't want to be taught that kind of democracy.

Our delegates are here, and I am only one, but we are here to do our portion to maintain the unity, the solidarity of the American labor movement under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

I am sorry to see men of the calibre—and I won't mention their names—of the nine or ten International organizations petering away from the main standard. I think they have had every opportunity to come along and go along. Every other thing that could be done to hold together was done. But what can we do with one man, and the other nine men following him, that have no compromise, who won't get into the ranks to maintain solidarity but who believe in a rule or ruin policy? We came here to help heal the breach. We will do our best to do it, but so far as I am concerned I can't see a thing to do but stand by the recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Horn, Brotherhood of Blacksmiths: Mr. Chairman, I have listened for three or four hours to all of the horrible things that are going to happen. It almost gives you the creeps. The real question we are discussing here is whether we are going to continue the time-honored American policy of majority rule or be dictated to to accept minority rule. Twenty-five million people voted for President Roosevelt. Fifteen million people voted for Landon, and about two hundred thousand for the "also rans." Who was Landon? He was a good American and enough of a good sport to congratulate President Roosevelt and accept the will of the majority. That is who Landon was. So did the "also rans," leaving Al Smith on the sidewalks of New York, now a good place to walk. We fellows who have spent our lives in this movement are not listening to anything new, when we hear some fellow who came in a few years ago tell us that conditions have changed. Eugene Debs told me that when I was a boy, and I went along with him and wound up in a lumber yard working under an assumed name. T. V. Powderly told me before he died that the Knights of Labor failed because they had so many conflicting interests, that they grew too heavy and fell over and died. Bill Haywood could tell you why he failed. Within a reasonable time

the CIO, which is really the OBU, will admit to you why they failed. After all, it is a question of whether we are going to submit to dictatorship. We have heard the horrible things about the dictatorships in Europe. Well, I will say frankly to you that the skilled craftsmen are not going to submit to the dictatorship of anyone. We have done our part to build up this organization. It was our money that we used to organize the rubber workers and United Automobile workers. We cast our bread upon the waters and hoped it would return ere many days. Instead of that the waters returned filled with sharks to devour us. We would rather sink with the crowd than attempt to swim with the sharks.

Don't fool yourselves. I dispute the statement that the mass production industry or any other industries have to be organized only on industrial lines. As the Secretary of one crew that organized 56,000 men at one time and turned them over to their respective craft organizations and later on negotiated a national agreement with them, I say the thing can be done in any industry if you want to do it. But that conflicts with the personal aspirations of certain powerful leaders. Let us not humbug ourselves. If the committee of the CIO had really spent its time trying to organize the steel mills they might have reported some measure of success.

I submitted to President Green a record which I would not be able to explain in ten minutes, and other organizations have, too, of the time they spent raiding our organization and reducing our wages. If the record was stretched out it would be longer than the Hindenburg line. We have gone through all of this.

We heard the school teachers, and I have a lot of respect for them. I came from a family of school teachers and I am the only one that never graduated, and now they tell me that I have a fairly good education, mainly due to the American Labor movement. All the school teachers ever got in the way of legislation and improved conditions, the

American Labor movement paid for and got for you.

You say, what has the American Federation of Labor done? We have done everything that has been worth doing, and you all know it. Yes, Federal Labor Unions, State Federations, Central Bodies—and I am not belittling the State Federations, and Central Bodies. For many years I served on one of the best Central Labor Unions, in St. Louis, Mo. I could make a statement of some things that happened twenty-nine years ago myself. They told us we could not do things when the Machinists and Blacksmiths were on strike, and we forced the St. Louis Post Dispatch to carry our ad against the opposition of some of the leading organizations in the labor movement.

I live in Chicago. That is the reason I do not apologize for my bad grammar or anything else. We don't do that out there, and I will say to my old friend, Charley Howard, and there is nothing personal, because we are personal friends, come into Chicago and organize 36,000 men eligible to the printing crafts, men employed by six companies, and we will be glad to go out and help you, and, for the love of Mike, come in and try to give us the printer's label on the telephone directories throughout the United States.

They say the craft Unions have failed. As my friend, George Harrison says, let us explore that. You say we have failed. Until we went about and spent our time and got the NRA, some of the biggest industrial organizations affiliated with this body failed. You know who got the NRA. It was the American Federation of Labor. We went about it in a practical manner to organize these people, and if the organization work had been undertaken in as practical a manner as we went about the matter of getting the law, we would have had much better results today.

You say to me, you are a union fellow that works with the tools I work with. You don't amount to anything, you come on into our organization, whether you

like it or not. That expression has been used here several times today. That is exactly what we are told. Here is our CIO plan. If you like it all right. If you don't we will make you like it. But we haven't done that. We don't like that because we know every time skilled men are placed in the minority they all pay the price accordingly.

You all remember what President Wilson said about the small nations during the World War. Where are the small nations today? They are in the one big nation over there and they are being dictated to accordingly.

If you think the skilled crafts won't fight, consult some of these employers we fought with in the last few years, and you will probably change your mind. We are just as much for solidarity as any of you are, but not solidarity that pins the laurels on a few and makes monkeys out of the rest of us.

What about arbitration? There are some things you can arbitrate and some things you cannot. Men, we are but atoms, we are here today and gone tomorrow and forgotten the next day, but you can't arbitrate principles because they are eternal and they never die.

I paid dues into this organization for about 40 years. I have been closely associated with the metal trades and the building trades and the railroad organizations, because they were the ones that could help me. The rest of you may have been willing to help, but you could not do it because we had no labels to sell, only to the miners, and they would not buy them. But we can help you. I have a suit on that a member of Tom Rickert's organization made yesterday, and they said we could not get it. It looks fairly good, I think. I have been patronizing the label all my life. My old friend, Peter Beisel and I used to go around St. Louis begging them to buy goods with the label. There has never been a time when we have not been with you, and there never will be a time when we

won't be with you as long as you play the game straight, but when you don't, we have come to the parting of the ways. You are not going to force us to submit to the will of the minority. We have always gone along and we have been governed by the will of the majority, and all real trade unionists, all real Americans down in their hearts believe in that.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I do not propose to bore the delegates of this convention by repeating much of the stuff that has been said here this evening. To me, the most important thing confronting this convention is the consolidation of the American labor movement. I am not concerned with all of the allegations that have been made here tonight. A lot of things have been said that have no bearing on this situation at all.

However, the thing that is outstanding in my mind is that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor saw fit to unseat the delegates from these ten unions before the convention itself had a chance to pass on whether or not we would sit here and be tried in a regular way. They have been invited to come and take their seats, but to take their seats without a voice or a vote. That is not fair, and these people are not children. They, too, are men who have served long and faithfully in the labor movement, and there is no reason under the sun why they should have to accept an inferior position in the councils of the American Federation of Labor.

I say to you, my friends, that while apparently when we arrived in this city the program was to expel these organizations, that has been somewhat modified. If there has been any change of mind on the part of those in the American Federation of Labor who have the power to set policies, if they are softening up on this question, I want to congratulate them. I hope that before the year rolls by, both of them will stop calling each other

names, stop giving out statements to the public press that are designed to incite the other fellow, and create a chasm in the ranks of the American trade union movement.

There is room here for all of the working people of this country, and yet we stand here today quarrelling among ourselves over whether we are going to be organized in the CIO or the American Federation of Labor. That is not the question, my friends. The question before those who have been sent here with the stewardship of the rank and file is whether or not the labor movement of America is going to tear at each others' throats, while the employers of America are buying machine guns, poison gas, and other weapons to mow you down with when you get through fighting among yourselves and return to the common enemy.

The International Typographical Union, one of whose delegates I have the honor of being at this time, has taken a very definite position. They challenge the authority of the Executive Council to act in the manner in which they have acted. They say they are acting without authority in law. No such powers were ever rested in the hands of the Executive Council. If the Executive Council fought to put out the fire, why were they not content with their suspension to this convention, and then let this convention decide that issue as men ought to decide it?

The invitation to fight as men was very fine. I have seen men fight, and they usually square off to each other with their dukes up, and not one with his hands tied behind his back. To invite these people in here to fight, as they say now, in a democratic manner, would be to ask them to take their seats without any restriction and let us all participate in the discussion and decision. Then I am sure, my friends, that regardless of the outcome, the American labor movement would be one movement and not threatened with

a split. The greatest indictment we can have today is that there is not sufficient intelligence in the American Federation of Labor to compose this difference. The job has not been delegated to me. Others have accepted that responsibility.

Some one may get satisfaction and glory out of a temporary victory in this controversy today. I wonder, my friends, if they will want the satisfaction and the responsibility that will come ultimately as a result of the criticism, the disappointment, the disillusionment on the part of the American wage worker within the American Federation of Labor and those yet unorganized who have the right to look to the American Federation of Labor to place at their disposal the services of the trade union movement?

My friends, you are not deciding that issue here tonight. You are going to decide a quarrel that arises out of personalities, and that is unfortunate, because the rest of us are going to be the victims of that kind of a policy. I hope, Mr. Chairman, that you who have given this movement such splendid leadership for ten years will find some solution of this problem that will bring this family back together and forget some of the unpleasantnesses that have come into it as a result of the clashing of strong personalities.

Thank you, my friends.

Delegate Coefield, Plumbers: Mr. Chairman, delegates and friends—I see I owe you an apology for presuming to take up your time at this late hour in the evening, when the question has been so well dealt with by speakers on both sides. However, after all of those gentlemen who spoke on each side of the question, nearly all of whom I think I can call personal friends and who are such accomplished Spanish athletes, it is presumptuous on the part of an honest plumber to speak to you and expect you to listen to him.

I do not consider the subject that we are discussing a question of industrial unionism versus craft unionism. I be-

lieve that the subject before the house is the committee's report, and I will try to be as brief as I can and confine myself to the report. However, I will have to go back over a few conventions merely as a reference to some of the actions taken by the delegates upon both sides of this question in similar instances during that period of time.

I wish to start out by saying that I am not in favor of the committee's report. I don't believe that any committee or any other well organized group of men and women should place themselves upon the defensive. I believe that the report should have been a more aggressive report. However, as a true trade unionist and, I think, a real good sport who has taken as many licks here as any delegate in the convention, I will vote, speaking for the group with which I am closely allied and particularly for my own organization, for this and all other committee's reports.

I wish to refer first to a reference made by one of the previous speakers to the Building Trades Department decision that was made in 1934 and 1935. I do that not for the purpose of renewing that fight, because I want to say to you that we building tradesmen have demonstrated that, notwithstanding the fact that that decision and the action and the consolidation following was not entirely satisfactory to both sides, we have showed an absolutely harmonious and cooperative movement in everything that we have entered into in our Department, in our personal associations with one another and in this convention. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, if those who referred to that question would be just half as good sports as those building tradesmen were, we would not have any trouble at all in settling this difficulty.

There is only one rule under which these matters can be adjusted. It is the only rule we know, and that is the rule of the majority. The majority

prevailed in that dispute and now we have harmony, and if the delegates on the different sides in this question before us tonight would have displayed the same sportsmanship, we would not have been here discussing this matter now.

Let me say again to you, consistency, thou art a jewel, and the men who have debated this question tonight on the other side from the administration, in my opinion, every one of them talked and voted just the opposite to what they are doing now in that same building trades situation. Every one of them voted to make us take medicine that we disliked to take. We took it by force and we like it, now that we have got it, and why can't you be the same kind of sports that we were? You are not consistent, you are not consistent in your arguments tonight. There has not been a consistent speech, because I think every one of them voted just opposite to what they are advocating this evening in that particular notorious dispute in the labor movement.

I would like to ask the delegates, when can the American Federation of Labor or its officers be right? No matter how hard they have tried, no matter how consistent they have been, they are always attacked, the same as the officers of local bodies, central bodies, and international unions are attacked by the rank and file. This seems to be the rank and file against the organization that has done so much for them.

Isn't there going to be a time some time, some place, when we might take action that you can give us a good hand for? I want to say that officers are elected by the delegates in this convention. Laws are made by the delegates in convention. Policies are introduced and carried out by the convention and brought to a successful issue. Then the officers of that convention, by a majority vote of the delegates present, are placed in a position as your employees, and your em-

ployes only, to carry out the laws that you made, and every law that has been referred to you tonight was made by you and by no one else.

There is no successful organization, no successful group in any walk of life that does not have laws and proper enforcement of those laws. That applies to the highest of society and the lowest, and even up to the national administration we are so proud of at the present time.

Now, then, in the enactment of laws in any organized society the same system prevails. The press discovered that although Columbus had discovered America in 1492, and Sam Gompers had discovered this organization fifty-years ago, this business was conducted in the same manner as the Congress or Senate in Washington, or our legislative bodies. This they published. Now, why cannot we continue to do it as all organized societies do it, and in all those organizations that will prevail.

We had an instance in our organization some years ago where, after a great deal of hard work, an organizer organized a local union of plumbers and steamfitters. After we had gotten through and got them a raise of a dollar a day and established very good conditions for them, a young man approached this organizer and said, "Do you think it is necessary to have an organization any more, now that we got what we were looking for?"

Isn't that the attitude today in this convention of ours? The answer to that young man was that a few years ago we had a long and a short man in Chicago. You all heard about that. They caused a great many depredations upon the citizens of that city. Finally the police department caught them. The courts convicted them. They are serving life sentences. Did Chicago dismiss its police force? Chicago did not. Well, your Executive Council is still with us and they are

entitled to as much respect as any set of coppers in the country.

I contend there is nothing in this report or in any action taken by the Executive Council or the American Federation of Labor itself that even smells like personal matters. There is no personality in this, particularly from the group that I am speaking for.

Now, let us just step back a few conventions and ask if we have any consistency in the labor movement or in the leaders, or the so-called leaders of the American labor movement. In the last two years we have had more changes in this organization than we had in two lifetimes previous. There were a couple of new presidents elected in 1919. I was one of them. You can figure out the other for yourself.

In 1920, we had a proposition placed before the American Federation of Labor to increase the Executive Council four members. We had quite a fight on the floor, and in the morning we reversed the decision of the previous session, and the other president who was elected the same time I was—who is spokesman on the other side was opposed to increasing the membership of the Executive Council.

In 1921—if you want to know something about personalities—that was the first time in the history of the American Federation of Labor that a real campaign was ever made against the Grand Old Man, Samuel Gompers, and that man, after two years of service, ran for President of the American Federation of Labor.

We went along for a number of years and we got the same proposition again to increase the Executive Council. This time it was to increase it to 28. For harmony's sake the Executive Council, the President and delegates of these international unions agreed to that increase, knowing full well that the strength of the American Federation of Labor would not be increased. I am going to leave to you gentlemen whether it was a bene-

fit to the American Federation of Labor or not.

This dispute that we are now discussing arose since the Executive Council was increased and this great big Executive Council and those gentlemen who showed us how to do it have not been able to settle the dispute.

Those things I call to your attention to show there was some personality, but we disclaim all responsibility for it. For harmony's sake we submerged many of our beliefs, but it is not wise to do so every time, because sometimes you have to fight.

I would like to ask the delegates in this convention one question, after I have heard the speeches made by some of the previous speakers and some of the suggestions made by them—when will some people ever stay put? Now, this convention has been attacked and some of the resolutions have been charged as being vicious in character. The same viciousness is displayed in the thoughts and expressions of central bodies and other organizations when resolutions are received. This convention, like any other gathering of labor, is an open forum, and this is the place where any man has a right to express his opinion and introduce any resolution he desires. And in this, as in all other conventions of the American Federation of Labor, I have been fortunate enough to attend, each and every one of these resolutions, which are merely the expression of opinions of individuals or the groups, have received as much consideration as the report of the Executive Council, the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, the officers or any one else.

It was stated here this afternoon by one of the delegates that "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad." I believe in that. I have read some of the Bible and books of that character, and I have had the teaching that most any other boy had, and I want to ask you now, after you have heard the attacks in the convention, and after you have heard the expressions of the press, who is mad now? Is

it us? I will say it is not by any means.

A reference was made to sharp practices and the fact that we did not have an opportunity only by one speaker to thoroughly read and digest the report of the committee. That is quite true, but it is not sharp practice, it's because we have to conserve our time.

But let me take you back one year and ask you how was the minority report that caused all the trouble we have today introduced in the 1935 convention? Even the committee did not know what it was until it was presented just at the time we went to bat. Of course they set out, like all minor leaders do the first time up in the big league.

A very impassioned speech was made regarding our unfair treatment of the Jewish people. I don't think there is any honest Jewish gentleman or lady in this country that will agree with that speaker or any other speaker that at any time in the history of the American Federation of Labor we have even intimated any unfairness to that great race of people.

Another reference was made as to how to get harmony in the organization and a particular organization was mentioned. Now, let me give you a brief history of that organization, and tell you how to get harmony in your organization. In that organization in which the speaker said there were a number of Irish and they were in complete harmony with the Jewish people. There were two Irishmen that were a secretary and president of that organization for about as long as any of us can remember.

Very recently those two gentlemen have been disgraced, and their places have been taken by two Jewish gentlemen, for which I have no objection to offer, and I am not talking about the race; but I want to say to you that you can have harmony in any organization or in any strata of society if you can get the Irish to take that kind of an adjustment. Why, in this little affair across the pond that went on for 700 years, if the Irish had agreed to that,

there would be no trouble between Great Britain and Ireland at the present time. We would have settled 700 years ago if we had that advice.

I agree with the suggestion of this speaker I refer to, that there should be a change in the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor. I agree that the laws of the American Federation of Labor should be modernized in order that they might conform to the evolution in the great labor movement, and more clearly in line with the laws of the international unions who are so successful in the conduct of their affairs, and the change that is necessary is to put a few teeth in the law.

A reference was made to a special convention that should have been called. An opportunity is given now by the committee's report for a special convention, and while a special convention had been pleaded for there was no greater need for it than there is now. You have your opportunity now, you can have one whenever you desire it, according to the report of the committee.

I admire the courage of the gentlemen who are fighting this losing battle, but I certainly disagree with their mode of procedure and their method of fighting the battle.

Now, I am going to wind up in a moment, without having said half of the things I want to say or having been able to draw out to a successful conclusion I wanted to. In this great American labor movement of ours which is holding its fifty-sixth annual convention, we had at one time a great man, small in stature, who was the largest man that any of us were acquainted with. We followed his leadership, we followed his advice, and we found his advice was good. The report quotes from his statements exactly what should be done with a question of this kind. Are we so changed, now that he has passed to his reward, that we are going to turn around and do just the opposite of what he taught us and what

we believed in and what we followed for fifty-six years?

Ladies and gentlemen, I refer to that immortal little man who had more courage and who was a better statesman and diplomat and philosopher than any of us who have followed his teachings, that great little gentleman, Samuel Gompers.

Delegate Friedrich, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council: I rise to offer an amendment to the committee's report. The amendment is to strike out Recommendations 1, 2, 3 of the committee's report, and substitute the following:

"That, in the interests of re-establishing harmony and unity, the suspension of the CIO organizations be lifted, and that a committee of seven members, including one representative of the state federation of labor and one of a city central body, be appointed by the President, such committee to meet with representatives of the CIO to seek an adjustment of the present controversy, that such committee report to the Executive Council within 90 days and that the Executive Council be given authority to call a special convention after the committee has reported, if they deem it necessary."

The amendment was seconded by several delegates.

Delegate Friedrich: Mr. Chairman and delegates, in offering this amendment I wish to make three points clear.

Vice President Hutcheson: I would like to know how the proposal made by the delegate would be an Amendment, when he proposes to strike out everything that has been recommended and substitute what he said?

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that the amendment is in order, Brother Hutcheson, because it provides for the appointment of a committee to confer.

Vice President Hutcheson: I agree to this, but it is a funny parliamentary ruling.

Delegate Friedrich: One point is that it is no reflection upon the action of the Executive Council in what they have done in the past.

Vice President Coefield: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

President Green: What is your point of order?

Vice President Coefield: My point of order is that this proposition was dealt with by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in regular assembly, and the Executive Council's report has been given to this convention and accepted. The same motion was acted upon in this convention and defeated.

President Green: The Chair is of the opinion that the point of order raised by Vice President Coefield is well taken and the amendment is therefore out of order.

Delegate Friedrich: May I then proceed to speak upon the report of the committee?

President Green: You may.

Delegate Friedrich: The ruling of the Chair, from which I do not wish to appeal, forces me to speak against the recommendation of the committee. I do that again, not because I wish to cast any reflection upon the action of the Executive Council. I am taking the stand that we are here confronted with a situation out of which we ought to find some solution. I do not question the legality of the action of the Executive Council. Granting all of that, I hold the recommendation made by the committee will not solve this situation.

The second point I wish to make is that in speaking against the recommendation of the committee, I do not endorse the action taken by CIO. I feel that they have been mistaken in their attitude, I feel that some of the leaders have been arrogant, and I am not defending them, but I seek to defend the rights of the men and women of the organized labor movement and the men and women not yet organized, because it is they who will suffer if

we cannot get to a satisfactory solution of this matter.

No one here feels that the acceptance of this report will heal this breach. The only way there is a possibility of healing this breach is to take these organizations — mistaken though they may be — back into the Federation. It was said that some of them, if they had had a knowledge of what the CIO was going to do, would not have gone into the CIO. That I feel is true, but as long as you have the club of suspension over them, these organizations are not going to crawl, and they will not come in now. If the suspension is lifted, you will have an opportunity to have them back in here, and since you have a majority, you need not be afraid of the decision of the organization.

It is said we should have a special convention, but before you have that you should have a committee from this convention, which is the supreme body of the American Federation of Labor. Let us start with a committee mandated by this convention, and then there may be a possibility of healing this breach. And if then we cannot heal it, we have at least done everything humanly possible to heal it, and the blame will rest solely and entirely on the other side.

I make this plea to you in the interests of the men and women who are now on the picket line and the men and women who will be on the picket line in the future.

Dualism has been spoken of. This report will not cure the dualism. The breach in the next few years will be widened and not healed, and when it is widened you will have fraternal strife, the end of which no man can see.

We plead for peace. We say we are against war among the nations. This will cause war between the unions and it will increase in intensity until you give those organizations an opportunity to come into the convention of the American Federation of Labor in or-

der that they may have an opportunity to state their case. I think there is still possibility of healing the breach, and it is only on that ground that I am forced to raise my voice against the report of the committee.

Delegate Beardsley, Jewelry Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the convention—I am one that very seldom takes the floor in conventions. If somebody has said some things that I agree with I am one that sits quiet, believing in the things which have been said and it is not necessary to repeat them. But I want this evening to state the position of our international organization in this controversy, in order that there may be no mistake when it comes time for me to vote, as to our attitude on this question.

I am one of those who voted at the Atlantic City convention with the group that now makes up the CIO. I voted with them as an industrial unionist who has believed in that principle over a period of 36 years, who has talked it and advocated it up and down the highways and byways of this country, in the halls where men could be brought together for the purpose of organizing them. I have, however, advocated it without any illusions concerning the proper way to bring it about.

I voted with those who are in the CIO at the Atlantic City convention as a matter of principle, and I want to say to those who voted at that time that I may agree with you in principle, but I may differ with you in the way in which to apply that principle, the way in which to attain that principle. I may agree with you upon a certain goal to be attained, but I may disagree with you over the road upon which we must travel to reach that goal.

I take this opportunity to say that I feel that I am honest and sincere in taking a position now that is directly contrary to the one I took a year ago in Atlantic City, and in doing that I

do not give up any of my industrial unionism.

I think something has been lost sight of in this convention, and it has been lost sight of in the year of controversy that has raged between the CIO and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. You will remember that in the Atlantic City convention, on Wednesday of the second week, we took up the question of industrial unionism in the mass production industries. A majority and a minority report were presented to the convention. I voted for the minority report, not because I agreed with it altogether, but I thought it should have gone further. I thought the men who signed that report should have put into operation the very thing they advocated for the mass production industries.

When we took a vote, we were licked by a vote of over 7,000 on a roll call. The next day we took up the question in a different way, upon application from Federal unions and others for industrial organization in their ranks. That was defeated by practically the same vote.

On Friday we took up the question of an organizing campaign in the steel industry, and at that time by a unanimous vote John L. Lewis and all those associated with him in the CIO and all the delegates present voted unanimously to instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to start and inaugurate and carry out an organizing campaign among the steel workers of this country, under which campaign all the rights of all the unions of the American Federation of Labor would be protected. That was the unanimous vote of the convention. There was not a dissenting vote registered against that proposition.

On Friday afternoon we elected the officers to carry out that decision of the convention, and I never thought for one moment when I voted with the CIO group on a matter of principle

that they had in the back of their heads the intention to go out of this organization, to start and inaugurate and carry out a campaign of organization in the steel industry. If I had thought that, I would have voted against the minority report. I felt we had fought the fight, we had taken our licking, and I thought we would come back into the next convention regular sports, going down the line with the Executive Council, and if the campaign the Executive Council was instructed to carry out had failed, we would have been in a position to come to this convention and wage our fight on much better ground than those who did what they did are on tonight.

I learned something this afternoon. We have been an industrial union in the Federation over a period of 19 years. Our charter was granted to us in 1916. It was granted by the Executive Council, perfectly sober, all of them, with their eyes open. There was no question of giving men and women to any other groups in the Federation. No other body was granted jurisdiction in that body.

In 1917, the question of jurisdiction was raised over two groups in our international, and it went on from 1917 and 1918 into 1920. In 1920 we were told to turn over two of our bodies. We did not do it. In the Montreal convention the Committee on Adjustment gave us 90 days to conform to the decision of the convention. We were suspended and were out of the Federation for 1920, 1921, and 1922, and we were out by a vote of the convention, and those who voted against us in the convention of 1935 in Atlantic City made considerable talk about the rights of men and women to have the kind of organization they wanted, but when we wanted the kind of organization we wanted, we were out of the convention. During the three years negotiations were carried on until an agreement was reached which our organization

and the two other organizations that were claiming jurisdiction agreed to.

I said I might agree with you in principle, I might disagree with you in the road to reach that objective. I feel the biggest mistake has been made, not by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, but was made by CIO unions when they walked out of the Atlantic City convention and immediately started to carry on an organization campaign that they themselves had voted to instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry out, and the spokesman of that group, John L. Lewis, had placed in nomination our present President, with the statement that he was the only competent man to carry out that campaign in the steel industry.

We were invited to become a part of that CIO organizing campaign. We turned it down. We felt it was not our place, that our place was to come back here and fight the fight out on the form of organization the American Federation of Labor should adopt. I feel that you cannot force industrial unionism, down other men's throats. It must come out of the experience of the workers themselves.

I have been through a great many campaigns where it has been attempted and failed, the IWW and all down the line, and I fought the IWW because I was opposed to them just as I have been opposed to the position of the CIO in trying to force their ideas on other organizations. I realize that they have some voice, that some day I may become one of the majority, and I expect that when I do they will be good sports and go along with the majority. So I am forced tonight, as a member of an industrial union, to support the report of the committee.

Now, I want to say this—and I hope it will be carried out by the Executive Council to be elected before we adjourn this convention—I hope that everything will be done to bring back into the ranks of organized labor all

of those now on the outside. And I feel that everything will be done to bring them in. A great many things have been said that have inflamed both sides. I hope that will be eliminated in the days to come, and I hope that when the convention convenes in 1937, we will have back with us all of the CIO unions, most of whom are old friends of mine, and I don't like to sometimes hit my old friends. But I am placed in that position tonight and cannot fairly and honestly vote any other way than I am going to vote when it comes to a roll call vote on this report. I have opposed the CIO in my own organization and I cannot consistently vote any other way than I am going to vote.

A large number of delegates called for the question.

President Green: The convention will please be in order. I think as a matter of right that the President of the American Federation of Labor should at this stage of the proceedings present to you certain facts and information which ought to help you arrive at a sound conclusion.

With your permission, therefore, I will take advantage of this opportunity to speak to you for just a few moments. Let us strip the issue bare. Let us have it before us in naked form. That is what I will endeavor to do—present the issue clear so that you can see and understand it.

The Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor rendered a decision by a vote of 18,000 to 10,000. Was that a majority vote? And should the majority vote control or the minority? Every delegate from a central body, every officer from a national union, every representative of the Federal Labor Unions ought to stand unflinchingly here in this open forum in defense of majority rule.

Suppose in Milwaukee the Central Labor Union decided a question, two thirds of the delegates voting one way and one third another way. What would the Milwaukee Central Labor Union do

if that third who lost the fight would go out and organize for the purpose of compelling you to accept their will? What would the International Typographical Union do if, after a question is decided in a convention by a majority vote, a minority would go out, organize, elect officers, set up headquarters, employ organizers, print an official publication, and announce to the world that, "We are going to organize for the purpose of compelling the majority to accept the decision of the minority"? You wouldn't stand for it a minute. Well, if you wouldn't, how can you consistently ask the American Federation of Labor to stand for something you wouldn't tolerate for a single second?

Well, following the adjournment of the Atlantic City convention, a public announcement was made of the formation of this new organization. We read that with feelings of deep concern. And immediately the most courteous letter that man's mind could conceive was sent, pointing out the danger of such a move, the possibility of division and strife and hatred and enmity and reprisal. Please don't do it; please stop right now; don't rip the labor movement apart.

The Executive Council was inspired by only one desire, and that was to preserve solidarity and unity. Who set up the rival organization? Was it the Executive Council? If the logic of some of the speakers in this convention tonight is sound, it is the Executive Council that is the culprit. Why is it to be denounced? Please don't do it. Please, representatives of the CIO, stop. Weigh the consequences of your contemplated acts. Please don't do it. And what was the answer? Well, you know. It is in the report.

The Executive Council did not stop there. It invited them to come within and talk it over. Please come, they said. Won't you come? When the first meeting of the Executive Council was held in January nobody came. And, mark you, it had its officers, President, Secretary, Director, headquarters, an official pub-

lication and all. What other kind of a dress must a movement wear in order to be a rival movement?

They did not come. Well, the Council then decided to send a committee, and it sent the committee, and the committee pleaded: "Please dissolve this movement; please abide by the decision of the convention. We beg of you to do it." And what was the answer? You know—refusal to every appeal.

Then we held another meeting in May and again we said, "come on and meet with us, let us find a basis of accommodation. The interests of the workers transcend the interests of everybody else. Come on." The answer was silence. Nobody came. How could we confer? How could we talk when nobody came? Who made the pleas and the offers for conferences? It is the Council that is denounced as the culprit here.

Very well—then charges were filed. Months had then elapsed and the Council then notified them that charges were filed. The Council said, "come and answer the charges. Please come, I beg of you to come, I entreat you to come." The answer again was silence—"no, we will not come." My God, what must men do? Well, the Council still has a little dignity and it proceeded to listen to the charges and weigh them carefully. Then it rendered a decision, and that decision was made, dissolving this movement that is ripping the American Federation of Labor asunder, that is tearing the central bodies apart, that is going through the State Federation of Labor, that is causing hate and bitterness where harmony and good will should prevail.

We give you thirty days to make your choice. Either stop it and come back home to us or stay where you are and outside the American Federation of Labor. That was only done after months of appeal, letters of invitation and begging on our knees for conferences and for discussion. I maintain that those organizations made their choice—not the Executive Council, but these Unions. Now if they wanted to be represented here

why didn't they say, "all right, we are good sports; the only court set up by the American Federation of Labor has decided we are wrong. We believe we are right, but we will reluctantly yield and we will come to the Tampa convention and fight it out there."

They didn't do that, they wouldn't do that. Why, some of them stopped paying dues to the American Federation of Labor on their membership last spring and haven't paid a penny to the American Federation of Labor ever since. Is there any significance attached to that? What does refusal to pay dues to the American Federation of Labor mean? You paid yours, and that is the reason you are here. They must have been antcipating something.

That wasn't all. Following that action the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union in convention adopted a resolution calling upon both sides to appoint committees for the purpose of conferring and trying to find a basis of settlement. That occurred the first of last October. It did not take the Executive Council twenty-four hours to decide that question. It said yes, we will appoint a committee, we will create one now, and within an almost unbelievably short space of time the Council appointed its committee, and we sent the communication to the officer of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, accepting his proposal, and a committee was appointed, all of the members of which are held in high regard and high esteem by every one of you—Vice President George Harrison, Vice President Felix Knight, Vice President Matthew Woll—every one of them fair and reasonable men.

We said, now the committee stands ready. The Council said when it rendered its decision that these organizations must withdraw from the CIO, but we will not press that. Without commitments, without qualifications, without conditions of any kind, sit down at the conference table with us and let us settle our differences. The committee is still standing and we have said. "please

come," and the answer has been no. The CIO refused to appoint a committee. It would not and it will not meet. If the committee named by the Executive Council or any member of it is objectionable to the CIO, we will put on the committee members who are perfectly satisfactory to them.

Well, they met and considered the matter thirty days after we appointed our committee. We believed on the first of October if the CIO would appoint its committee a settlement would be reached and these Unions would be here at Tampa. But how could that be done when they would not come? So they decided that no committee would be appointed. They prevented even my good friend, Max Zartisky, from carrying out his idea that a committee be appointed, and they said instead the chairman of the CIO would meet with the President of the American Federation of Labor. Immediately when I got the telegram advising me of that fact I answered. I stated that a committee had been appointed by the Executive Council, that it stood ready to meet with a committee from the CIO, the Council had decided that the matter should be adjusted through committee. Max Zaritsky had asked that that be done, the convention had asked that it be done, and we wanted to conform to their wishes. I said, "even though the Council decided that it should be taken up through committees and I can't change that, I will meet you at your convenience and try to find a basis of settlement." Immediately a telegram that you would not like and would not relish was received, refusing then to meet. That happened about ten days before the convention.

There is the story. There is the naked story. There is the truth. There are the facts presented to you. They cannot be challenged. They cannot be denied. Men, red-blooded men, what would you do under those circumstances? How much humiliation must you suffer? To what depths must you go?

Why, my friends, it is not the ques-

tion of industrial versus craft unionism. Let us strip that for a moment. I have repeatedly said we apply both forms and will continue to do it. No convention of the American Federation of Labor is for one form and against the other, for one exclusively and against the other exclusively. We gave the United Mine Workers of America an industrial charter, giving it jurisdiction over all men employed in and around the mines, and that jurisdiction will never be interfered with. The Garment Workers have their industrial organization.

Only a few months ago the Executive Council gave to the United Automobile Workers an industrial charter, practically speaking reserving only for the craft organizations those men who stand out distinctly and separately from the mass production workers. We gave them jurisdiction over every man employed in an assembly plant. Who organized them? Why, when we went into the automobile field we found every officer who now represents them working as non-union men in automobile factories. We spent \$250,000 to organize them. No CIO organized that mass production industry.

Who organized the rubber workers? In the same way we found their officers working in the rubber factories, never identified with any Union, and when we suckled them to our breast, nourished them and gave them life they left us—ingratitude more base than traitorous arms!

Some of you talk here tonight as though no attempt was made to organize the mass production industries until recently. The Automobile Workers' organization, the Rubber Workers, the Unions in cement and aluminum, the distillery workers, the flour and cereal workers, the workers in the Remington-Rand plants—that is the answer. There it is in the report, and we are doing it now, spending our thousands. We are the ones who are carrying on the organization work.

Where is the issue, then? The central bodies, the State Federations of Labor, our volunteer organizers and our paid organizers are at it every minute. And you representatives of Federal Labor Unions who seem to show nothing but contempt and hostility to the American Federation of Labor are here because the American Federation of Labor organized your groups. And you haven't had any trouble about industrial versus craft unionism of any consequence. That is a flititious issue, and there is no issue that transcends in importance, unity and solidarity within the movement.

I am amazed at the mental attitude of some of the speakers toward the American Federation of Labor, but I am consoled by the fact that when the mighty Lincoln gave his life to save the Union there were many who denounced him, calling for something else. My friends, I would do anything in the world to unite this movement. I have gotten on my knees. I have silently suffered from humiliation and insult, and I will suffer again if I can only unite this movement. There is no sacrifice, I care not what it is, that I am unwilling to make in order to unite the movement, and if I felt that I was responsible for tearing it and ripping it asunder, I would make a confession and beg for forgiveness.

Now I have told the story—unsavable facts. Out in Seattle the Newspaper Guild called a strike in a newspaper plant where it had only a small percentage of its workers organized, but the workers in the Central Body of Seattle, loyal and devoted members of the American Federation of Labor, rallied to the support of the Newspaper Guild, and the responsibility for making that strike a success must be given to the Central Body of Seattle, and not the CIO. What attitude ought the representatives of the Newspaper Guild show to the ones who made that strike a success? Ingratitude, I repeat, is the basest of crimes.

I am speaking with feeling because men get up and denounce the Council because it tried to save the Federation and save unity. They denounce the American Federation of Labor, and for what? They say the Executive Council exceeded its authority. Who is convinced by that argument? If a house is on fire, what do you do? You pour water on it. The Council had to do one of two things—it had to surrender, humiliate itself, prostrate itself and bring reproach upon this movement, or pour water on the fire and put it out. You wouldn't have an organization that would sit by and let your movement be destroyed. You would not stand for it one minute, any more than you would stand idly by and let your own Union be destroyed.

Now, my friends, questions will be decided here by a majority vote. When they are, will that be the decision of this convention? Let me ask you if those who demand the right to be here under the circumstances described, in order to vote, would not abide by the majority rule when they voted in the Atlantic City convention, what assurance have we that they would abide by the majority rule here? It is a rule of equity that those who come pleading equity must come into the court with clean hands. First of all, the decision of the Atlantic City convention should be respected and observed. That is only fair and just. I don't know what the future has in store for us. I cannot tell, but I do know that no self-respecting movement, no self-respecting organization of labor will stand for minority rule and minority control.

I am willing to abide by the decision of the majority. No man who believes in any form of organization is denied the opportunity to argue here and to vote here for any form of organization he believes in. This is an open forum, and if he can, by argument, and persuasion, prevail upon a majority to go with him, then he wants

and he has a right to demand that majority rule be respected. But when you attempt to force something upon a man, try to make him submit to your will, you have rebellion immediately.

The United Mine Workers of America occupies the warmest spot in my heart of any Union connected with the American Federation of Labor. I have been connected with it all my life. I have given it the best of my time and service. I cannot begin to express to you the sincere regret I feel over the unwise leadership that has led that splendid organization to the present position it occupies, and I am of the opinion that in the days to come sober judgment will assert itself, righteousness will prevail, and common sense will influence the minds and hearts of all connected with that movement.

Now, my friends, the door is still open, even under this report. The hand of fellowship is extended. The appeal is made—come back with us. Here is your house and here is your home. There cannot be two successful rival movements in America. Our enemies will rejoice and our membership will suffer if division continues. We will give, we will go a long way, we will hold out the hand of fellowship and good will, and if we can be permitted to sit at the conference table with the representatives of these organizations, I am confident and sure that a settlement can be reached.

I thank you.

Delegate Manion, Telegraphers: I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Vice President Woll: I move that a roll call vote be had.

President Green: The Secretary will proceed to call the roll. Those in favor of the adoption of the committee's report will say "Aye", when their names are called, and those opposed to the committee's report will say "No", and your votes will be so recorded. I

repeat again, the question occurs on the adoption of the committee's report.

Secretary Morrison called the roll, with the following result:

ROLL CALL—CIO

YES—Gillmore, Mullaney, Birthright, Reagan (P. H.), Merlino, Robinson (John B.), Crane, Abernathy, Horn, Powlesland, Franklin (J. A.), Davis (J. N.), Walter (Wm. E.), Haggerty (John B.), Prewitt, Becker (A.), Mara, Bowen (Wm. J.), Bates (Harry C.), Gray (R. J.), Stretch, Moran (Wm. J.), Jockel, Morrin (P. J.), McCain, Lyons (J. H.), Dempsey (J. J.), Horan (J. J.), Nelson (O. C.), McPetridge, Sealise, Bambrick, Knight (P. H.), Holmgren, Macrorie, Barney (I.), Hutcherson (Wm. L.), Duffy (Frank), Lakey, Kelly (Wm. J.), Guerin, Flynn (Thos.), Parrish, Howat, Van Horn, George (Leo E.), Hyatt, Falconer, Bowen, Jr. (J. F.), Harwood, Harrison (G. M.), Sarrett, Guerra, Desepete, Coulter (C. C.), Janes, Doyle (J. J.), Rosemund, Tracy (D. W.), Bugnizet, Paulsen, Bleretz, Posschl, Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Gramling, Walsh (Wm. P.), Volz, Woll, Schmal, Baer, Watkins (J. F.), McNamara, Clinton, Kelley (James L.), Kennedy (J. M.), Lucchi, Mindel, Begoon, Rickett, Adamski, Hashkins, Gordon (A.), Houck, Maloney (James), Dixon (Wm. S.), Mayeur (J. E.), Gillooly, Stengle, Heffner, Edwards (C. L.), Moreschi, Marshall (Jos.), Rivers, Etchison, Bove, Fosco, Flore, Hesketh, Koveleski, Lane (Chris.), Stagenburg, Cowan, Beardsley, McSorley (Wm. J.), Moore (George T.), Case (Charles J.), Brooks (W. C.), Bryan (W. E.), Gainer, Finnan, Gorman (Wm. J.), Swartz (Luther E.), Duffy (Charles D.), Ryan (Jos. P.), Dwyer, Wharton, Robinson (W. F.), Fry (Charles W.), Allias, Henning, Haggerty (D. P.), Fljzodal, Millman, Holleran, Davis (George H.), Mitchell (S. H.), McCarthy (Wm.), McInerney (J. A.), Scully (J. J.), Hynes (J. J.), Ryan (James J.), Moriarty, Close, O'Keefe, Wardley, Haas, Weber (Jos. N.), Canavan (Edward), Weaver (C. A.), Bagley, Kapl, Steeper, Lindelof, Swick, Kelley (Jos. F.), Kaufman (Harry), Meehan, Madsen, Lynch (Geo. Q.), Colleran, Rooney, Donlin, McDonough (M. J.), Coeffield, Burke (Thos. E.), Rau, Anderson (Charles), Fallon, Britton, Duffy (James M.), Young (Alex.), Draby, Berry (Geo. L.), Freeburn, Wilmot, Lawson (John C.), McMorrow, Kehoe, McLellan, McLaughlin (M. J.), Broderick (Thos. F.), Bennett (J. F.), Strickland, Jones (Geo. W.), Gavlak, Furuseth, Hunter (Ivan), Scharrenberg, Evans (A. A.), Browne (Geo. E.), Dempsey (Fred J.), Green (Thos. V.), Brock (E. J.), Zander (Arn-

old S.), De Vese, Sumner (Chas. A.), Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen (P. J.), Cashen (Thos. C.), Lundergan, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (Thos.), Gillespie, McLaughlin (J.), Wilson (Geo.), O'Rourke (John), Manion (E. J.), Perham (H. B.), Evans (E. Lewis), Lentie, Rodgers (R. E.), Morrison (Frank), Hatch (Jas. H.), Deamer, Graves (Edwin E.), Williams (J. W.), Frey (John P.), Ornburn, Egan (J. J.), Soderstrom, Mullen, McCurdy, Watt, Welsh (W. S.), Marclante, Lyons (Thos.), Donnelly (Thos. J.), Osborne, Martinez, Mulcahy, Egan (B. M.), Taylor (J. A.), Handley (J. J.), Towers (Al.), Campfield, Yablensky, Schoonover, Lenehan, Wegener (A. L.), Cushing, Peetree, Ross (Holt), Fenton (F. P.), Davis (T. J.), Augustine, England, Kennedy (Jas. G.), McKenzie, McMahon (Benj. R.), Thompson (K.), Le Bow, Burke (Frank), Morris (Fred), Rivin, Baker (Edgar E.), Quinn (Jas. C.), Hoocker, Anderson (Gust), Switalski, Sommers (Wm. H.), Quinn (Thos. F.), O'Connell (John A.), O'Reilly, Doyle (Frank E.), Sullivan (W. E.), Brach (Otto W.), Edwards (John A.), Coleman (F. J.), Melvin, Knelp, McCurry (J. J.), Gibson (Chas.), Cairns, Fitzgerald (I. J.), Gross (W. S.), Greenwald, Alford, Olds (Fred), Gallagher (Patrick), Bradley (H. A.), Hannah (Phil), Weikel, Iglesias, Groner, Levitas, Odell (Homer J.), Lufano, Nick, Thomas (Steve), representing 21,679 votes.

NO—Myrup, Schmidt (Joseph), Beisel, Goldstone, Obergfell, Kugler, Zusl, Kastten, Comfort (F. B.), Milton (Harry), Taylor (Mathew), Zaritsky, Grenne (Michael F.), Rose, Hershokowitz, Eddy, Burns (Matthew J.), Huggins, Randolph (A. Philip), Tiller, Burke (John P.), Brinkley, Sullivan (H. W.), Davis (Jerome), Mann (Allie B.), Kuenzli, Trotter, Martel, Simons (John), Gill (Jack), Thompson (Dan C.), Kidwell, Jeffries, Lewis (J. C.), Kane (J. C.), Lawson (Geo. W.), Townshend, Phillips (John A.), Patterson (Dowell E.), Easton (John B.), Tate (Wilmer), Harper, Getchen, Cowherd, Tracy (Wm.), Mayer (Richard), Bails, Adams (Sue), Soutter, Komaroff, Williams (C. O.), Sams (Darrell Eddie), McCain (U. S.), Olkives, German, Reld (John), Taylor (Arthur), Parker (Cedric M.), Friedrich, Genis, Pickler, Langston, Houghton, Hirschberg, Kane (John J.), Powers (Robert W.), Yagoda, Bower (A. P.), Markwa, Brown (Warren), Henderson, Woolf (George), Vigil, Merrill, Costello, Ryan (Marcella), Stern (Harry), Feinberg, Driscoll, Osman, Dahl, Cannon (William J.), Jackson (Geo. B.), Zumach, Cross (Andrew B.), Gerhardt, Garcia, Waddell, Laundry, Rex, Davis (Donald O.), Gerhart, Fine, Faupl, Joers, Weintraub, Scherr, Hudson (Marie), Kelleher, Meyers (Irving), representing 2,043 votes.

NOT VOTING—Foley (Laurence), Kennedy (Andrew J.), Bruck (Robert), Walsh (John J.), Lane (Dennis), Maxwell, Jmerson, Carrozso, McGrady, Kaiser (Edw. W.), Reznicek, Powers (Frank B.), Howard (Chas. P.), Jewell, Kindred, Wood (Vic), Hefferly, Heaton, Rosqvist, Williams (E. H.), Graham (James D.), Turnblazer, Rapp, Cahill, Burr, Minton (Wm.), Key (E. S.), Muddell, McDonald (S. S.), O'Neill (John J.), McClellan (T.), Johnson (E. A.), Jenkins (E. R.), Dobbs (Joe G.), Jones (John T.), Breidenbach, Nischwitz, Van Patten, Will (J. E.), Alltop, Stackweather, Drake (Glen), Owens (John), Doll (Milton), Alden (Edward), Egan (Frances G.), Patton (Fred), Farrell, Marchesi, Preston (E. J.), Powers (Geo.), Hansen (H. I.), Hanly (Dave), Majors, Soule, Shave (E. J.), Keegan (John J.), Stofels, Draper (P. M.), Haywood (Allen S.), Klarish, Lisse, Hill (W. F.), McCarty (M. L.), Cahir, McCormasters (Philip A.), Legler, Irwin (Clarence), Price, Sr. (Ed.), Burton (R. L.), Harrison (J. W.), Gatelee, Wood (R. T.), Glasgow, Crofoot, Hudak, Edmundson (Ray), Hafta, Hunter (Thomas), Reed (Geo.), Saltus, Bender (Frank J.), Moulin, Arias, Johnson (C. W.), Schreier (John), Hawthorne (Roy), Kocher (J. Earl), Williamson (Harold), Reynolds (Robert), Clinedinst (Lillie B.), Bellows (Clair B.), Marek, Finnegan (Thomas), Knopka, Heymanns, Merritt (F. W.), Gales, Barnes (Geo.), Lee (Will), Williams (Clemon S.), Matlin, Prior (E. F.), Duldner, Kocarek, Kirby (Thomas J.), Kean (Wm.), Gibson (Geo.), Brunet (Geo. R.), representing 747 votes.

Delegate Lucchi, Fur Workers, asked to be recorded as voting "Yes" on the adoption of the committee's report for the same reasons as those given by Delegate Beardsley in his address to the convention.

President Green: The convention will be in order and the Secretary will announce the result of the roll call.

Secretary Morrison: The result of the roll call is: Yes, 21,679; No, 2,043.

President Green: The report of the committee is adopted and it is so ordered.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: I move that the rules be suspended and the convention stand adjourned until 10:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded and carried.

At 12:35 a. m. the convention was adjourned to 10:30 o'clock, Tuesday morning, November 24.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Tampa, Florida,
November 24, 1936.

The convention was called to order at 10:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Kindred, Hefferly, Heaton, Rosqvist, Kane (J. C.), Williams (E. H.), Phillips (John A.), Patterson (Dowell E.), Turnbull, Cahill, Minton, Muddell, McDonald (S. S.), Tracy (Wm.), O'Neill (John J.), Mayer (Richard), McClellan, Johnson (E. A.), Yablensky, Jenkins (E. R.), Dobbs, Jones (John T.), Breidenbach, Nischwitz, Van Patten, Will, Stackweather, Drake, Owens (John), Patton (Fred), Farrell (Charles), German, Thompson (Kenneth), Burke (Frank), Parker (Cedric M.), Powers (George), Hansen, Hanly, Majors, Baker (Edgar E.), Soule, Shave, Keegan (John J.), Stoffels, Draper, Haywood, Klarish, Lisse, Kane (John J.), Hill (W. F.), Cahir, Burton (R. L.), Harrison (J. W.), Gatelee, Wood (R. T.), Hudak, Haffa, Edmundson, Hunter, Reed (Geo.), Saltus, Bender (Frank J.), Moulin, Markva, Johnson (C. W.), Henderson (Donald), Schreier, Merrill (Lewis), Kocher, Williamson, Cairns, Fitzgerald (J. J.), Reynolds (Robert), Dahl, Clinedinst, Bellows, Finnegan, Knopka, Merritt (F. W.), Gales, Barnes (Geo.), Lee, Bradley (H. A.), Hannah, Davis (Donald O.), Gerhart (F. B.), Williams (Clemson S.), Matlin, Prior, Duldner, Lufrano, Kirby (Thos. J.).

INVOCATION

Reverend John Branscomb, pastor First Methodist Church, Tampa: Eternal God, our Heavenly Father, we look to Thee as the source of all energy, power, life and strength. We thank Thee that Thou art a working God, a busy God, creative, ingenious. We ask Thee to give us the power and the ability to become laborers and workers with Thee and build a better and a greater world. Help us, we pray Thee, our Great Father, that we might create conditions in which work will be able to prevail in the life of the people, where the people will have access to opportunities to do their work, to labor in peace and in happiness.

We invoke Thy divine blessing on this body. May they in their deliberations today have Thy power and Thy

wisdom that they may work with ability and with success. Pour upon them and upon Thy world the blessings of Thy paternal heart. We ask this in the name of the Nazarene, Amen.

President Green: The Chair extended an invitation some time ago to Judge Byrnes, of New Orleans, to speak to us on a subject in which he is tremendously interested. He is here in the city. I will appoint a committee composed of Vice-president Gainer, Delegate Dwyer, and Delegate Holt Ross, of Mississippi, to call upon Judge Byrnes and escort him to the hall at your convenience, so that he can address the convention when it will be satisfactory and acceptable to him.

We have with us this morning Mr. E. N. Bowen, General Secretary of the Cooperative League of America. We are all deeply interested in the cooperative movement, notwithstanding the fact that we have reached the point where the convention is exceedingly busy dealing with the committee's report, I feel we can at least spare ten minutes to listen to his message. I take great pleasure in presenting to you E. N. Bowen, Secretary, Cooperative League of America.

MR. E. N. BOWEN

(Secretary, Cooperative League of America)

President Green, delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention:

I am happy to be able to be here as a fraternal delegate from the Cooperative League of the United States to present greetings to the American Federation of Labor from organized consumers of America to organized producers of America. I also want to direct your attention to a long range and fundamental program for Labor—that of organizing as consumers as well as producers.

The Cooperative League held its Biennial Congress at Columbus, Ohio, on Oct. 8-10. There were nearly 700 in attendance. We were delighted to have a most significant message from your

President, William Green. In his message he quoted from the A. F. of L. resolutions of 1917 to the effect that **consumers cooperatives and trade unions are twin remedies**. However, they are not like Siamese twins which cannot be separated and, since then, organization as consumers into cooperatives has been too largely overlooked by organized labor. President Green concluded his memorable message to the Cooperative Congress by stating, "In a cooperative economy, the farmer needs his marketing cooperative; the worker needs his trade union; both need the consumers cooperative." Following the reading of President Green's message, the delegates passed resolutions supporting organized labor and appointed a special Committee on Labor and Cooperatives.

The Consumers Cooperative Purchasing Movement in the United States is today as yet largely made up of farmers. After the war farm prices did not come back. From 1922 to '29 farmers were handicapped an average of 14% between the prices they received and those they had to pay. They continued to lose ownership of their farms and to become tenants. In the great agricultural State of Iowa, where I was born, half the farmers are now tenants. So farmers started organizing in dead earnest. First they organized as producers into farm marketing cooperatives. Farm marketing cooperatives might be called farm unions—they are the organized unions of farm producers who market their labor through their farm products. Later farmers began to realize that it was not enough to organize as producers to raise the prices they received, but that they must also organize as consumers to reduce the prices they had to pay. So they began organizing Consumers Cooperative Purchasing Associations. Now they buy one-eighth, or 12½%, of their farm supplies cooperatively. They doubled their cooperative purchasing of farm supplies from 125 to 250 million dollars during the five depression years from 1929 to 1934.

Consumers Cooperatives have entered primarily into four fields in this country—feed, seed and fertilizer in the East; petroleum products in the Central West; fire, automobile and life insurance; and groceries and dry goods. The first cooperative gasoline station was started only 15 years ago at Cottonwood, Minn. Yet now there are over 2,000 in the United States. They buy together from 40 to 50 million dollars worth of gasoline and oil and save from 4 to 5 million dollars.

Organized labor has not yet realized to any degree, as farmers have, that you must organize your economic power in two ways—as consumers to control the prices you pay as well as producers to

control the wages you get. It is at least equally as necessary for labor to **buy collectively** as consumers as it is to **bargain collectively** as producers. Until labor organizers as consumers in cooperatives as well as producers in unions you are fighting with one hand behind your backs.

Farmers who have taken the lead in organizing their consumer purchasing power are ready and anxious to help you get started as well. As an example, at Racine, Wisc., a farmers cooperative oil wholesale assisted a labor group to organize a cooperative oil station. Then they organized a cooperative coal yard and grocery store. They are getting more food and goods for every dollar they spend through cooperative purchasing.

I believe in government regulation of minimum wages and maximum hours; I believe in government support of collective bargaining; I believe in social insurances of all kinds, to be paid for, however, by income and inheritance taxes and not by sales or payroll taxes—but I also believe that workers should and must eventually own America and bargain with themselves as owners. If workers owned America, as we should, and hired ourselves, we would all have good jobs and just incomes.

In Great Britain where the Consumers Cooperative Movement started, over half, or 7½ million families are now members. They employ over 300,000 of their own members. Most naturally all cooperative employees are organized into unions, while on the other hand only 5% are organized in private distributive trades. They not only pay higher wages to the 300,000 of their numbers who are employees, but they distribute 120 million dollars a year among themselves in patronage dividends on their purchases. Cooperation is one of the British bulwarks against Fascism.

In Denmark, where they had 42% farm tenancy in the middle of the last century, as we have today, they started to organize farm marketing cooperatives, labor unions, consumers cooperative purchasing associations and credit unions and, with the support of favorable legislation, they have now eliminated farm tenancy.

Sweden has almost eliminated unemployment by organizing consumers cooperatives, public utilities, farm cooperatives and labor unions. The cooperatives there are proving that the people can really bust the trusts.

Finland pays its debts to us but it also distributes ownership, income and employment at home more equitably among all the people. Finland is proving that economic equality can be real-

ized and democratic liberty be preserved.

Organizing as consumers into cooperatives to recover ownership of distribution and production is one of the democratic ways out. Consumers' Cooperatives are one of the economic organizations of liberty, equality and fraternity. They are the economic embodiment of the American Dream.

Our forefathers laid down the principles of freedom and security. We have largely applied them only to the building of a political democracy. We must extend them into the building of an economic democracy as well. Consumers' Cooperation is one of the democratic means of achieving economic freedom and security.

Let me appeal to you as did Dr. William King, of England, to a group of workers over a hundred years ago, "Organize your purchasing power as consumers." This is American Labor's great unused economic power today. Consumers' Cooperatives and Labor Unions are, as your 1917 resolutions read, twin remedies. I urge you to develop your consuming as well as your producing arms of Labor.

President Green: I thank Secretary Bowen for his address. It will be included in the report of the proceedings of today's convention.

We have another distinguished visitor here this morning. He is here in reply to an invitation I sent to him. He came all the way from New Orleans to present his address to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. Judge Byrnes is a student of economics and social problems. He feels that he has developed a real remedy for unemployment. I am glad of the opportunity accorded him to present his plan here this morning. I know you will be interested in it. I present W. H. Byrnes, Jr., Judge of the Civil Court of New Orleans, Louisiana. He is an outstanding liberal judge. His subject is "The Cure for Unemployment." I present him now to you for his address—Judge Byrnes.

W. H. BYRNES, JR.
(Judge, Civil Court of New Orleans
Louisiana)

Mr. Chairman, delegates to this convention, ladies and gentlemen: I am indeed proud of the privilege of addressing a convention of the American Federation of Labor, but I feel whenever I speak on this subject—though

I have spoken on it a great number of times and I was fortunate enough to have the Louisiana State Federation of Labor endorse my suggestions last April in their convention at Baton Rouge, Louisiana,—but I feel very much like the diminutive Negro man who felt, when he was spoken to by a very prominent politician some years ago, that it was an honor.

This politician was running for office. As he walked the streets of one of the leading towns of Louisiana, he saw this very small Negro man eating a tremendous piece of watermelon. And as he passed he said, "Well, too much melon!" The little Negro man said, "No, Boss, not enough Niggah!" So when I speak on a subject which is the paramount subject in America today, I feel just like that little Negro man—not enough man.

Today, according to what Mr. Landon said a few weeks ago, as I heard him over the radio, there are 11,000,000 persons unemployed. I heard our great President, Mr. Roosevelt, say that there were 10,000,000. The other day, according to the Department of Commerce, the figures which were released, 9,000,000.

But, my friends, I believe that those figures are inaccurate. We do not take into consideration the professional men, the lawyers, the doctors, the architects, etc., whose purchasing power has been so reduced that they might be classed as unemployed. Those figures do not take into consideration what is known as the misfits, where you have a graduate pharmacist trying to eke out a bare existence in selling insurance. They do not take into consideration the number of A.B. degree men who are filling tanks at gasoline stations. So I do believe that if an accurate survey was made, the figures would show quite a larger number than the 9,000,000 mentioned by the Secretary of Commerce.

I think every one will agree that there are a great number of persons idle. I am going now to submit to you, in order that you may exercise your sixteen cylinders and think about it, some figures on this subject. After all is said and done—and it is my firm belief and I am not saying it merely because you are members of this great convention, but it is merely paraphrasing the magnificent address which I heard Mr. Green deliver last night—the wage earner, whether he be in organized labor, whether he be a teacher, whether he be a grocery clerk, whether she be a stenographer, whether she be a shop girl, must feel in the last analysis that they depend largely upon the efforts of organized labor as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

Now, we will come to my suggestion briefly. I will try to put as clearly and concisely as I am able to do so the suggestion I have to make. The great confusion about machines and machinery occurs because of this one fact: I have never read or heard of any economist classifying machines. They speak of machines and machinery in the generic sense and that is where the confusion arises. I believe that machines and machinery should be divided into two general groups or classifications. The first group would include those machines which do work which men cannot do, or produce a product which man has never produced with his hands and is not able to produce with the hands.

The other group should include and comprise machines and machinery which do work which man could do with his hands, or which man used to do with his hands, or produce a product which man can make with his hands.

Before saying another word, I wish you to understand this: That I say use all of the labor-saving devices which you can use; but make them pay and with that money create new work.

For example, man cannot generate electricity with his hands. Ten million men in a large field rubbing amber with silk would not generate enough electricity to operate a street car. Therefore, the machines which generate the electricity are not labor-saving devices; on the contrary, they create a great many jobs. They create power to operate your street cars, they create power to light your cities, they create power to run your factories; but if I take that electric current and I attach it to a drill and that drill digs up the streets of the city of New Orleans, and it does the work which it took twenty men to do ten years ago, then that is a labor-saving device. Now, what should be done?

Let me briefly give you a few figures. I dare not tell you the number of men's work being done in America today by strictly labor-saving devices. But we will divide it by five. The work of more than one billion, one thousand million men being done in America strictly by labor-saving devices under my definition of what a labor-saving device is.

Now, do not misunderstand. There are not one billion men on earth. The total population of the earth is but one billion, six or seven million, but these machines, office and clerical, agricultural and manufacturing, do work that it would take one thousand million men to do if it were done by hand. Of course a great deal of that work would

not be done. But look around you wherever you go. I could stand here and give you illustration after illustration. Take, for example, on the docks at the city of New Orleans. I am informed that 25 years ago there were more men working than there are today; that they have strictly labor-saving devices that are estimated to do the work of 150,000 men; that is, they have a capacity of doing that work.

You have your cotton handling machines, your little tractors with trailers, your crane elevators, your coal elevators, and so on, the number of men constantly being decreased. Now, to come back in order that my suggestion may be made clear, in order that you may have an opportunity to think over it and give it the benefit of your intelligence.

You will say, how can you classify machinery as to whether it does or does not do work that man can do? Well, the average machine would be quite easy to classify. For example, if I walk into an office and see a bookkeeping machine that does the work of five competent bookkeepers, and I know that that machine is actually doing the work it would take five competent men to do, then I know that it is a labor-saving device.

But I would not be on a board of that character. I am not a scientist, I am not a great mechanic. But there are men in America, there are men in your organization and your affiliated organizations who could easily and readily tell whether a machine does work that man can do or whether it does work that man cannot do. For example, in America, you have scientists who have split the atom, who have conquered the air, and I think that in America there are men who can easily tell whether or not a machine does work that man can do with his hands.

Now, understand, in my suggestion the number of men's work done should not be confused with man-power; that is, taking man-power as horse power for a measure of energy. A machine with strictly no power, as a pressing machine in a cleaning establishment. An ordinary pressing machine can do the work, by actual test, of fifteen men.

That machine, measured in terms of energy, has very little horse-power, so you must always consider the number of men's work done. That machine would be taxed in fifteen men's work. Again, you very frequently would have some machines that today did work that man cannot do and tomorrow would do work that man can do.

For example, we built the great spill

above the city of New Orleans with steam shovels. The smallest steam shovel could do the work of 400 men. But that steam shovel, if it was placed to dig up the bottom of Lake Pontchartrain, near the city of New Orleans, would do work that man could not have done, because all of the men in America with shovels could not dig up the bottom of that lake.

My suggestion is this, that every machine that produces what man can produce with his hands should be forced to contribute to the national Government approximately 2 cents a day for each man's work done. That would give you, counting only that the work of one billion men is now being done by these machines, the staggering total of more than five hundred million dollars a year. And, remember, it would be an annual contribution. The more machines you would use, the greater income, the greater your income, the more new work could be accomplished.

In the doing of this new work, such as rebuilding the poor districts in cities, there could be spent seventy-five billion dollars. In New Orleans alone, five hundred million of dollars could be spent advantageously. And it would make the American cities what they should be, a paradise to live in, it would make them worthy of the American cities, and to which the American citizens, working men and otherwise, are entitled today.

You may think my figures are a little high, but I assure you that there are men in your organization who know that my figures are right. Who do you suppose is the highest salaried man in the world today? I dare say that many of you cannot even call his name. I read in *Forbes'* magazine that Joseph Watson, President of the International Business Machine Corporation, draws a salary of \$365,000 a year. It would be interesting indeed to know how many millions of clerks' work can be done by the machines alone which have been produced by that corporation. And so it rolls on and on. In the doing of new work, you have your inland waterways, your flood control, your grade crossings. On grade crossings alone you could spend fifteen billion dollars.

You have something which I am sure few have thought of, your scientific research. I have read that there are more than three million young men and women in America who desire to become scientists, but who have not the opportunity to do so. You have your chemurgical researches. Everywhere you go you need new production and new demands to be created.

How that money should be distributed I have refrained from trying

to tell you. I have done so purposely, because if you once find as to how the money should be distributed, you will stop there because every individual will have ideas of his own. But it is very easy to build a plan, whether it is on state distribution or Federal distribution, or whether this work should be done by private contractors, would be at the time that plan itself was discussed determined and adopted.

You have now in America each day a demand that is becoming less. Those words of "demand" and "supply" are generally used inaccurately. For example, unless you define what you mean by the word "demand," it means nothing. The greatest demand that has ever existed in America exists today, the demand for every possible thing and commodity which increases the comfort, the well-being of the individual. But you must, when you say "demand" include with that word its proper definition, the desire to buy, with the ability to pay.

Now, my friends, I can give you an example which was given to me by one of the officials of a great cement plant one of the largest I think in America. He said, "Judge, I believe that your plan is good. I can describe conditions to you in America today," and he gave this illustration: "Suppose in this hall it was a community of 50,000 individuals, that every individual had his particular job. The men worked in the fields, the women milked the cows, sewed, washed clothes, etc. The men were carpenters, etc. Now, suppose you mechanized that community, that you put in electrical sewing machines, electrical washing machines, and suppose that electric harvesting machines were installed, and so on, until that community became thoroughly mechanized. Three thousand men and women could do all the work, the 47,000 could remain at home twiddling their thumbs, but to whom would the ones who produced the product sell it. That largely is and has been the condition in America. What you need is a market for the sale of your products.

I do not wish you to believe that I have in the slightest degree exaggerated the present conditions. I will read briefly just a few quotations. I quote from this article which says:

"Technological unemployment is as old as the present industrial system and evidently inherent in the system. Displaced workers no longer reabsorbed in other industries since 1920 in which year employment reached its peak in the U. S. in manufacturing, mining, agriculture, transportation—Employment, despite an increase in physical production, steadily declined. No more

men were wanted in those industries and if the curves of invention and population follow their indicated course, no more will ever be wanted. (Chase—Economy of abundance—1934—page 209, coll. page 215).

"In 1918 it took one man a day to make 40 electric light bulbs; the next year came a machine that made 73,000 bulbs in 24 hours.

"In the manufacture of razor blades, one may now turn out 32,000 in the same time needed for 500 in 1913.

"There is a vast machine used for turning out automobile frames. It requires the supervision of about 200 men and turns out between 7,000 and 9,000 frames a day. The same number of men, using older methods, turns out 35 frames a day.

"In the steel blast furnaces seven men now do the work of 60 in casting pig iron. Two men replace 128 in loading it. In machinery and railroad repair shops one man replaces 25 skilled machinists with a "gang" of semi-automatic machines."

I think one of your Vice Presidents, Mr. Frey, is to be given credit for this by Mr. Walter Polakow. It is in the Survey Graphic for April 30, and says:

"If, then, we reach again in six years the production volume of 1929, we shall not need 17,575,000 workers, but only 12,300,000 workers. That assumes only the present level of applied technique. But if during the next six years of recovery we mention the current state of increase in the productivity of labor to improve machinery, we shall need only 8,610,000 workers. About half of those employed in 1929."

Now, my friends, those are not my figures, they are the figures of a great economist. But here is a startling statement, and one I hope you will remember:

"On the average \$1,000,000 worth of labor-saving equipment displaces permanently about 1,000 workers."

In an article by Mr. Garett Garrett, in the Saturday Evening Post of August 22, 1936, he says about the farm situation:

"What are the facts that create the problem? The one most simple statement of them has been resting for two years in the files of the Department of Agriculture. It was made by O. E. Baker, senior Agricultural Economist of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1934. And it is this:

"Half the farmers produced about 88 per cent of the commercial production of farm products in 1929, and could readily produce the remainder."

"That is to say, of the eleven millions of people now employed in agricul-

ture, one-half could easily produce our annual total of commercial crops; the other half simply is not needed for that purpose. Or, to put it another way, half the people now employed in agriculture must live by producing one-eighth of the total commercial crop."

My friends, I do not intend to keep you much longer. I merely wish to emphasize this particular subject to you. You have the machine with you. It is going to stay. More and more labor saving devices are going to be invented and present machines improved. There is but one solution, as far as I am able in my limited, intellectual ability to see, and it is this: that you must in some way make the machine itself create new work. In other words, you have it with you, you are going to keep it with you, and others are going to come along, and you must find some particular way in which you can make the labor saving devices serve the people and, create new work—and the amount of new work, again I say is infinite, the things that ought to be done, that can be done, that should be done—there is no limit to them.

The average working man in America today has more comforts, he lives better, he has a greater variety of food and clothing than the great Louis XIV of France ever dreamed of having. But we do not look ahead. I can tell you a little story of a great musician, a friend of mine in New Orleans, one of the best cornet players in Louisiana. He was getting \$125.00 a week for many years. I said to him five years ago at Loyola University, "You must realize that the talking movies absolutely will put the orchestras out of business. He said, "Judge, that is impossible. I have just returned from a convention in Washington, and it is impossible." I met him a year ago and he said to me, "Judge, every day of my life I think about you." I had forgotten the circumstances altogether and I said, "I hope it is good," and he said, "Well, what you told me five years ago transpired, and we are not working today."

Now let me tell you something that will astound you and the teachers. I have no fear in predicting that within the next ten or fifteen years your great Universities will be in the audition rooms of your talking movie schools, especially the professional schools. I can give you a little illustration. Last year I was invited to make a talk on this subject to the medical students of a great University, and I mentioned that in the future the talking movies would produce the greatest lecturers in the world on different subjects, and the students would sit in and listen, with specially prepared text books and an instructor to go through those text

books with them, that the course would be forty-four or fifty lectures. All of the boys, young men and women, smiled, and when my little talk was over the Dean said, "Judge, do you know why they smiled?" The other day I had occasion to look up the class in anatomy, and they were not in their regular room, but subsequently I found them in a sound room, and they were sitting there, the professor was sitting with the students, and on the screen was one of the greatest anatomists in the world, delivering a lecture for the students.

That cannot be prevented. But a plan should be adopted that every new invention must bear its proportion, and that that money must be used solely and only for the benefit of the workers, solely and only for the purpose of creating new work, work not now done and work that is not in competition with private enterprise, and above all, in the doing of that work—and I say this from the bottom of my heart, a living wage must be paid. Several of the speakers last night mentioned that fact. You can have no return to prosperity unless the masses are given a living wage. Here is a popular error concerning a living wage. You will frequently see in the magazines that a living wage is measured upon the cost of living. To my mind that is wrong. A living wage should always be determined, not only by the cost of living, but to give the working man an opportunity to buy the non-essentials, the luxuries, or the semi-luxuries of life.

I have read that in the production of the essentials, that is, the three great essentials—plain food, cheap clothing, and cheap shelter—but few millions of our American people are employed in the production of those three essentials, but there are more than thirty million now working in the production of non-essentials, and non-essentials, luxuries, or semi-luxuries are all those things which are not the three essentials.

Say we have ten million persons idle, with three to a family. That would give you an additional thirty million or forty million with practically no purchasing power, and if they have only the purchasing power to buy the essentials, this will result subsequently in a displacement of labor of those who produce the non-essentials, and yet so few seem able to understand that.

Let me give you an example. Take the man who is working on the W. P. A. I am not saying it in the spirit of criticism, because there is no man in America who has a greater respect for Franklin D. Roosevelt than I have. But one of the mistakes he made, in

my estimation, and one of the things which retarded prosperity was that the amount of relief given was not sufficient, the amount of wages paid on W. P. A. work is not sufficient, because a man with a wife and three children given \$50.00 or \$60.00 per month, which is the average wage in Louisiana on the W. P. A., is not in a position to buy anything except the three essentials of life, and though he might desire to buy he has not the ability to pay, and prosperity cannot return unless you have the money to buy the essentials.

I ask you to consider this, one of your great problems, in that you have the labor saving devices with you. They are here to stay. They will continue and there will be more and more of them made each year. Take the cotton picker. What do you suppose the mechanical cotton picker will do to the negro laborers of the South? And if the Rust Brothers, noble as they may be, refrain from putting their patent on the market, there are now other cotton pickers which will be produced and sold in competition with them, and eventually it must come, because you cannot stop progress. Progress is here. Your problem is here, how to use that machine for the benefit of the workers of the nation at large.

This tax on labor saving devices could be used always for the benefit of the workers. I have never heard an employer before, to whom I have spoken, say that he would not be unwilling to pay it if he were sure it would create a market for the sale of his goods. He has said, "Show me how to sell my goods and I will be willing to pay you a substantial portion of my profits."

I leave that thought with you. This is your fifty-sixth annual convention. It is my hope that as the years go by, each year your conventions will be more and more successful, that you will represent more and more the working masses. You have their future in your hands, whether they be skilled or unskilled. They follow your leadership.

I am going to close with a little quotation, and I think it is beautiful, especially at this time when there is so much talk about Communism and other isms.

Personally, I don't think Communism is a problem in America, but I do think that unemployment is. A man who is making \$150.00 or \$200.00 a month, with a wife and two or three children, who is buying an automobile, a radio, or a good house, you cannot talk Communism to him. But the man who is not working, whose children

are hungry, who see other people succeed, you can talk anything to him.

The American Federation of Labor, in my estimation, is one of the great bulwarks against the isms, one of the great bulwarks of the constitution of our American government.

So I will say now, and I know you will join with me:

We love every foot of her prairie lands,
We love every stone on her mountain sides.

We love every drop of water that flows
from her rivers wide.

We love every tree, every blade of
grass within Columbia's gates,
For she is the queen of the earth, is
the land of my birth, the great
United States.

President Green: I thank Judge Byrnes very sincerely for his address. You will be interested, I know, in reading it after listening to it. It will appear in the printed proceedings of our convention. I appreciate very much the fine service he rendered us in making a trip from New Orleans to bring his message to the convention.

Now the chair presents to you Secretary Frey, who will continue the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Frey, on behalf of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 261—By Resolutions Committee

Your Committee on Resolutions desires to present a statement and a recommendation for action by this convention.

More and more labor is becoming a subject for Federal and State legislation. It is evident that the wage earners will receive, or be subjected to still further legislative consideration. When legislation has been enacted, the most important consideration becomes its administration. The personnel or administrators, the substance of their understanding and practical experience, largely determines the effectiveness of the law.

An unsatisfactory law may be given

much value if its administration is in the hands of intelligent, well-informed men with a practical experience in the every day and the practical affairs of men. A perfect law, if such were possible, could be rendered largely ineffective if its administration was guided by men, no matter how high their integrity, intelligence and scholastic attainments, if they were without practical experience through personal contact with the affairs and the relationship of men in commerce and industry.

There are in the states and in the Federal Government, many commissions, bureaus, boards, and other bodies officially created by law or executive order, for the purpose of administering specific legislation. Your committee views with grave misgivings, the absence of experienced trade unionists upon those commissions, boards and other legally created bodies appointed for the administration of laws relating to labor's welfare. In the matter of commissions, bureaus or other bodies existing for the purpose of administering laws dealing with various forms of industrial and agricultural activity, administrative authority is certain to appoint members of such bodies who truly represent the interests of those affected by the law. In the United States it is notorious that labor finds it most difficult and frequently impossible to secure the appointment of responsible and experienced men of labor.

Your committee therefore recommends that this convention declare that it will not support legislation creating any administrative body to supervise and apply any legislation affecting labor, unless such legislation provides that labor shall have direct representation upon such administrative bodies.

Your committee further recommends that State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies, insist upon the application of this policy, and refuse to cooperate with any state and city administration which fails to place responsible labor representatives upon every board or commission having to

do with the administration of legislation affecting labor.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to take up with the President of the United States the subject of adequate labor representation upon every Federal board, commission, or other body created for the purpose of administering legislation affecting labor directly or indirectly.

Your committee further recommends that this convention declare itself as insisting that the day has arrived when labor will no longer remain silent or inactive when administrative bodies having the responsibility of administering legislation affecting labor are without labor men in their personnel.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I don't like to take up very much time of the convention upon this subject, but I do think that it sort of opens the door to discussion of some of the things that have been taking place in the States of our Union since national legislation has been enacted requiring coordinating legislation upon the part of the states.

In my state we have faced this problem perhaps in a little different way. In Ohio we have discovered, as was shown on the floor of this convention and the Atlantic City convention, that certain qualifications have been set up under some of this legislation which practically disqualifies members of organized labor in the states, from even taking examinations for positions under some of the social security legislation set-up.

In the state of Ohio the Ohio State Federation of Labor—and this is of recent occurrence, and that is why I mention it—you remember that last year we had the unemployment service in which we were told that no working man could take the examination for a position in the employment service un-

less he could show a high school certificate. Since then the State Federation of Labor in Ohio has taken this matter up with the Federal Government, with President Green, and with state officials, and we have endeavored to take care of the new situation which has arisen and which tries to put upon the working people an inferiority complex. In the state of Ohio for fourteen long years the State Federation of Labor battled for old age pensions. During that time the State Federation of Labor expended in the neighborhood of \$23,000 before we finally won an old age pension law by referendum vote of the citizens of Ohio.

Then comes along the social security legislation in which the Federal Government makes a grant to the state. Then comes the Federal Board and the Federal Civil Service Commission and tells the State of Ohio what the qualifications of persons shall be who are going to fill positions in the division for the aged. Among these qualifications are that any person, to fill the position of any investigator in the division of the aged must have a college course in social science or must have had three years experience as a salaried worker. As the result of that, no person in the State of Ohio, no member of the Labor movement in Ohio, can take a civil service examination for these positions, nor can they retain those positions if they already hold them unless they can show that they have taken a three-year course in the College of Social Science or have been upon the payroll of some social organization for three years.

As the result of that, the matter was taken up with the American Federation of Labor and with the United States Senators from Ohio. The matter was presented to the Social Security Board. The matter was presented to the President of the United States, and we are now having certain overtures made by which we can change that. Just while I have been attending this convention the State Federation of Labor has decided that they would go into the Supreme

Court of Ohio and stop the appointment of certain persons who took the examinations for these positions with these qualifications on the ground that the Civil Service Commission of Ohio had removed from it by orders of Washington their power of discretion.

I think perhaps it is a little bit off the program to talk in this manner, because the proposition is to have representation upon boards. We do that in Ohio. We provide for labor representation upon our Boards having to do with labor laws, and the administration of them. I think we need something more. We need to serve notice upon either the State Governments or the Federal Government that we, as working people, are not going to be turned over body and soul to the social workers of this country, to administer the laws and give the benefits that we are responsible for through our activities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Work Relief Agencies

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; Joseph V. More-schi, International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor; Edwin E. Graves, Upholsterers' International Union of North America; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.; Sidney E. Le Bow, Central Labor Union, Lowell, Mass.

WHEREAS, The revival of trade and industry and agriculture has failed as yet to accomplish the reemployment of many millions of self-respecting Americans who want to maintain self-respect as well as to secure sustenance for their families and themselves; and

WHEREAS, The emergency agencies created by the Congress upon the recommendation of the Administration have provided work of constructive benefit to the community, as well as to those thereby enabled to earn some wage for self-sustenance; and

WHEREAS, The materials purchased

for the use of these agencies has directly stimulated profits for industry and jobs for industrial and commercial wage earners; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, over a long period of years consistently opposed the penny-wise pound foolish policy of government doles; and

WHEREAS, The practice of relief at the hands of nearly bankrupt municipalities, as instanced recently in New Jersey, has achieved economy by curtailing the already meagre allotments for the poor and unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The prospects for achieving the reemployment of the millions of unemployed by absorption into private industry, in which mechanization, consolidation, and speed-up have so greatly reduced the opportunities for employment; and

WHEREAS, The spreading of work through a shorter working week seems to be the only feasible device as yet suggested for the reemployment of the eager millions and for the maintenance of the purchasing power upon which the continued prosperity of employer, employee and consumer alike depend; and

WHEREAS, Some governmental relief must be continued until the wage earners of our communities are again at work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse the continued maintenance of government work relief through the Public Works Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the Civilians' Conservation Corps and such other agencies, until such time as the thirty hour week or its equivalent, with no reduction of wages, is established on a national scale for the reemployment of the millions who are eagerly seeking self-sustaining employment in private commerce and industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions No. 91 and 139, which are as follows:

Dismissal of Dr. Jerome Davis from Yale University Faculty

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate J. F. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, Dr. Jerome Davis of

Yale University faculty has appeared in Milwaukee several times as an informed lecturer on social and economic questions; and

WHEREAS, He is known to thousands of people in Milwaukee for his brilliant research in the field of social science presented in his book "Capitalism and Its Culture"; and

WHEREAS, He is the duly elected president of the American Federation of Teachers, a recognized affiliate of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Labor organizations were the first to fight for and to secure free public school education in this country and today recognize that academic freedom is an integral part of such public education in a democratic society; and

WHEREAS, The announced dismissal of Dr. Davis from the faculty of Yale University in view of his pronounced social and economic views is a direct threat to such academic freedom and to an international labor union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council support the action of the Yale and New Haven Local of the American Federation of Teachers in urging the Yale Corporation to reconsider its action and to reappoint Professor Davis as recommended by the Board of Permanent Officers of the Divinity School; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council to the convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to present a resolution protesting the action of the Yale Corporation.

(Adopted at the regular meeting of the Federated Trades Council November 4, 1936).

Dismissal of Jerome Davis by Yale Corporation

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The Yale Corporation voted to terminate the service of Professor Jerome Davis, president of the American Federation of Teachers, as of June 30, 1937; and

WHEREAS, This disciplinary action against Professor Davis has been taken against him because of his opinions, writings, affiliations, and activities—for example, his helping organized labor in New Haven in educational work and other activities, his criticism of the Insull Utility interests of the Midwest; and

WHEREAS, Professor Davis' educational work has been outstanding as shown by (1) his own publications and his editorial work in the Social Relations Series of D. C. Heath & Co. (2) the enthusiastic endorsement of the head of his department, Dr. Douglas C. Macintosh (3) his election to the presidency of the Eastern Sociological Conference (4) his election to the Board of Editors of the American Sociological Review (5) the petitioning of the Yale Corporation by the Student Council of the Yale Divinity School to keep Professor Davis as a teacher; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth convention protests the refusal of the Yale Corporation to ratify the recommendation of the Board of Permanent Officers of the Yale Divinity School faculty and calls upon it to reconsider its action and reappoint Professor Davis as recommended by the Divinity School faculty; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to Professor Angell of Yale University, the general press and the American Federation of Teachers.

Resolutions No. 91 and 139 deal with the same subject. Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prevailing Wage Rates on Government Work

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Jas. W. Soutter, Trades and Labor Assembly, Des Moines, Iowa.

WHEREAS, Due to a depression in private business enterprises, the Federal Government has, during the past few years, and still is, expanding its participation in all manner and kinds of public improvements in particular and also in semi-public improvements by a contribution of funds; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government will in all probability continue to expand by contribution, grants or loans to states, counties, cities, school boards and all other governmental subdivisions funds for the purpose of either direct employment of men or for the letting of contracts by various governmental sub-division for various enterprises upon which employment will be found for our people; and

WHEREAS, The intention and desire of the President and the Congress of the United States in this assistance is to provide employment, besides the construction of worthwhile improvements; and

WHEREAS, In many states the sub-division of the government receiving the funds lets contracts for the construction of the projects and in so doing fails to require, as a condition of the contract, that the prevailing rate of pay in the community in which the project is to be constructed is to be paid; and

WHEREAS, The failure on the part of the governmental sub-divisions in the letting of the contracts to require the payment of the prevailing wage by contractors has reacted not only to the serious detriment of the employes on said project themselves but also to the general contracting business in these communities by furnishing unfair competition and unjust and unequitable discrimination among workers; and

WHEREAS, This unfortunate general situation regarding the wrecking of wage scales and the fostering of unfair competition and practices between contractors is unjust, unfair and un-American and contrary to the intent and purposes of the Federal Government in the giving of such aid and assistance; and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of the membership of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, through its delegates, at Tampa, Florida, on this 16th day of November, 1936, that such conditions should be corrected and the abuses discontinued and the prevailing rate of wage paid on all projects wherein Federal funds, either directly or indirectly, are utilized.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That this Convention of the delegates to the 1936 Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Tampa, Florida, hereby declare in favor of Congressional and Presidential action which will make it mandatory and obligatory that on any work, whether performed directly by the Federal Government or any governmental sub-division of any state, territory, county or city in which Federal funds are utilized, in part or in whole, by contract or otherwise, that all men working upon any of said projects shall receive and be paid for their services, both skilled and unskilled, the prevailing rate of pay in the community in which the project or the work is being performed but in no event shall such pay be less than the minimum set forth by the Federal Government heretofore in its work program; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be sent to the Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States;

Madam Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, and copies of the proceedings of this Convention containing this Resolution be sent to each and every member of both the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That it be the sense of this Convention that the officials of our organization and its sub-divisions use all possible legitimate means to bring about the necessary steps to carry out the object and purposes of this Resolution.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Representation in Administration of Federal Reserve and Reconstruction Finance Acts

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, The national labor policy of our Government is set forth especially in Section 7 and related sections of the Wagner Labor Relations Act so-called, intended to permit the workers to organize freely into organizations of their own choosing without interference of any sort from employers; and

WHEREAS, The physical agencies of the Federal Government, such as the Federal Reserve System and its member banks, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, conduct their activities in complete neglect and disregard of such national labor policy; and

WHEREAS, There should be coordination between national labor and financial policies of the Federal Government so that they shall not work at cross purposes; and

WHEREAS, Without such coordination there is ever threatening excessive fluctuation in prices and diminution of purchasing power of wages and thus impairment of the underlying agricultural and commercial assets supporting the national credit structures; and

WHEREAS, High standards of business and labor practice will guarantee stability and improve the character of national assets and resources as a basis for credit; and

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor in its Fifty-first Annual Convention assembled voted to

urge action by the American Federation of Labor to correct these conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare that it is of the opinion that organized labor is entitled to representation on the Federal Reserve Board and subordinate Federal Reserve agencies and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, equal to that accorded to Agriculture and Industry, and that such agencies shall require as a condition of eligibility for credit or other financial assistance, unless such monies are to be used in any enterprise or business that has to do with the employment of labor, that the borrower shall not conduct its business activities in a manner antagonistic to the national labor policy set forth in the Wagner Labor Relations Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to seek amendments to the Federal Reserve and Reconstruction Finance Acts in effectuation of such declaration to the end that credit and financial policies of the Federal Government work in harmony with the national labor policies and to afford due and entitled recognition to the Trade Union Movement equal to that now afforded organized management and finance and organized agriculture.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Investigation of "The Future Craftsmen of America"

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is being promoted an organization of boys to be known as "The Future Craftsmen of America," composed, according to the tentative organization plan, "of three affiliated organizations; namely, Apprentice Craftsmen of America for the apprentice group, Junior Craftsmen of America for the All-Day trade group, Amateur Craftsmen of America for the Industrial Arts group"; and

WHEREAS, While no revised plan has come to our attention, but the tentative plan carries all the indications and language of open-shop employers, setting forth, among others, as objectives "to assist the apprentice in acquiring . . . accuracy, thoroughness, judgment, quality of workmanship, speed, loyalty, safety and personal and working relationships;" membership grades and privileges being based on

the boys having productively invested from \$12 to \$100; and

WHEREAS, The organization of the Future Craftsmen of America was understood to be held in abeyance until after the convention of the American Vocational Association, December 4 and 5, 1936, the promoters nevertheless called a convention a few weeks prior at Detroit at which anti-labor employers furnished the entertainment; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement throughout all history, up to the advent of the Vocational School, has been the sole sponsor of craftsman development, and continues to be the agency most deeply concerned in industrial training; and

WHEREAS, It appears that the assertion has been circulated that the organization has the approval of labor, when, in fact, labor, notably in Wisconsin, has protested the setup as tentatively announced; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to cause a thorough study to be made of the plan of organizing the prospective craftsmen of this nation and take measures, if in their judgment it seems necessary, to prevent our boys from entering avenues which may prove hazardous to their future without proper safeguards of their economic welfare.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Union Barber Shops in Convention Hotel Headquarters of American Federation of Labor and Affiliated Organizations

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates Wm. Birthright, Anthony Merlino, John B. Robinson, Charles T. Crane and Patrick H. Regan, Journeymen Barbers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America was organized nearly a half a century ago and has been affiliated with the American Federation during its entire existence; and

WHEREAS, Its Officers and members have at all times harkened to the moral appeal of all affiliated bodies; and

WHEREAS, In times gone by very little effort has been made on the part of those who were responsible for the arrangements of Convention

Headquarters in the various Convention Cities as to whether the Barber Shops in the Hotels were unionized or not; and

WHEREAS, This same condition exists in many of the States where State Federation of Labor Conventions are held,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED That we, the undersigned Delegates to this Convention from the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America do hereby appeal to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to urge those responsible for the arrangements of future conventions to do all within their power to see that at least the Barber Shops in the Headquarters Hotel be organized under the J. B. I. U. of A.; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Council request and urge all International and State Federations of Labor to cooperate with the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, especially when having future Conventions and use their utmost endeavors to see that the Barber Shops at the Hotel Headquarters display the Union Shop Card of the J. B. I. U. of A.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Naval Construction Plans to Be Prepared by the Drafting Personnel of the Navy Department

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Naval defense of the United States requires that Commissioned officers of the Navy should be competent to design as well as command all types of Naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, Much of the designing of Naval vessels has been done by private Naval construction designers and private corporations; and

WHEREAS, The Building of certain cruisers was delayed more than a year because of the failure of private corporations to prepare the plans provided for in their contracts with the Navy Department; and

WHEREAS, It is not advisable that the responsibility for preparing Naval construction designs should be left in the hands of private designers and shipbuilding corporations; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor request the President of the United

States and the Navy Department to establish within the Navy Department a staff of Commissioned officers of the Navy competent as designers, so that the Navy Department will depend upon its own designing and construction officers instead of private interests; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all Naval construction plans in the future be prepared by the drafting personnel of the Navy Department.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vote for Residents of District of Columbia

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The un-American conditions prevailing in the District of Columbia, whereby the residents are denied all participation in their government, both local and national, is a condition of tyranny under which no American should be required to live;

AND WHEREAS, Through the denial of the right of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia, a political unit exceeding in population each of ten of the States, its people are prevented from the exercise of the most valued right of free men. The enforced absence of this large block of fully competent Americans at the recent election was an occasion of shame and humiliation to these our fellow-Americans. All other Americans throughout our country must also share in the humiliation of permitting the existence at the Nation's Capital of conditions so contrary to our fundamental principles of government;

AND WHEREAS, This community of more than half-a-million Americans is as vitally interested in all governmental policies as any of their fellow-Americans who, under the stimulus of the recent political campaign, have had their interest in public affairs heightened—as well as their desire to have this intolerable situation terminated;

AND WHEREAS, THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR has many times recorded its endorsement of the proposed Constitutional amendment which will cure this anomaly and give the residents of the District of Columbia recognition as national Americans and voting participants in the Councils of the Nation.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED,

That, in the opinion of the American Federation of Labor in its 56th annual convention assembled in the City of Tampa, Florida, this 20th day of November, 1936, the time has arrived when the Congress of the United States should immediately pass by the required 2-3 vote of both Senate and House of Representatives and submit to the States for ratification the proposed amendment to the Constitution empowering Congress to grant to the residents of the District of Columbia voting representation in the Senate and House of Representatives, the vote for President and Vice-President, and the same rights before the Courts of the United States, as citizens, as possessed by the citizens of a State. We can see no reason whatever for further delay in the righting of so great a wrong against this large body of our fellow-Americans.

RESOLVED, That the officers and proper committees of this body be and are hereby authorized and directed to petition Congress and the State legislatures and to take such other aggressive and continuous action as will aid in the early emancipation of a worthy people from the tyrannical rule under which they now live.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Charge of Labor Persecution Against
Standard Oil Company in Pacific
Coast Maritime Strike**

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate John A. O'Connell, Labor Council, San Francisco, Calif.

WHEREAS, In March, 1935, a strike was called against the Oil Tankers of the Standard Oil Company of California and other Pacific Coast Oil concerns by the Pacific Coast District Committee of the International Seamen's Union of America; and

WHEREAS, The Standard Oil Company took the most active part in fighting the strikers by every vicious means for which this Company has become notorious throughout the Nation; and

WHEREAS, During the progress of the strike nine members of Pacific Coast Maritime Unions were arrested on the public highway by Standard Oil Company private detectives, and were subsequently charged and tried in Modesto, California, on four serious counts; and

WHEREAS, The record of the trial

revealed that the arrest has been promoted and instigated by agents provocateurs, stool pigeons and detectives in the employ of the Standard Oil Company, and further that the special prosecutor, Glenn Devore of Fresno, California, was an employee of the Standard Oil Company and other Oil companies, as admitted in open court by Cleary, the labor hating district attorney; and

WHEREAS, The jury acquitted the defendants on all the serious charges and returned a compromise verdict on the least serious one, namely "reckless and malicious possession of explosives," with a recommendation for leniency; and

WHEREAS, This conviction was secured wholly on the testimony of the paid stool pigeons and private detectives of the Standard Oil Company; and

WHEREAS, The conviction was a deliberate attack by the Standard Oil Company against organized labor; and the imprisonment of these defendants is an injury to and a crime against American labor; and

WHEREAS, Edward Vandeleur, President of the California State Federation of Labor, in his report of September 16, 1935, to the annual convention, and also the convention itself, by **UNANIMOUS** vote, declared their belief in the innocence of the Union members, and pledged full moral and financial support toward their complete vindication and immediate liberation, and furthermore placed the products of the Standard Oil Company on the "We Do Not Patronize" list; **NOW THEREFORE, BE IT**

RESOLVED, that this fifty-sixth annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor is in full accord with the action voted by the 1935 California State Federation of Labor Convention, and pledges the prestige and resources of the American Federation of Labor, to bring the facts of the "MODESTO STANDARD OIL CONSPIRACY" before the people of the United States; and be it, further,

RESOLVED, That this Convention wire to our fellow Unionists at San Quentin State Prison in California assurances of support, and that it telegraph protests and demands for the vindication and immediate release of the defendants to Governor Frank F. Merriam at Sacramento, and to the State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, San Quentin, California; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That adequate publicity of this action be given and all friends of labor be urged to refuse patronage to the enemies of labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Industrial Union Charter for Electrical and Radio Industry

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Ralph Laundry, Independent Wholesale Grocers' Warehouse Employees Union No. 19572, Lakewood, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has in an arbitrary and unconstitutional manner decided on the suspension of the International Unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization which constitutes one-third of the membership of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, This action by the Executive Council is creating a split in the organized labor movement to the detriment of the organized and unorganized workers in this country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention condemn the efforts on the part of the Executive Council to split the labor movement; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor wholeheartedly endorse the aims and objects of the Committee for Industrial Organization in its efforts to organize the great number of unorganized workers in the basic industries; and, be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention declare its full support to all those International Unions, Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor in their demand that the suspensions should be rescinded and action referred to the Convention of the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention declare itself for one united labor movement and reiterate its demand for an industrial charter for the electrical and radio industry to be given to the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America, and urge the convention of the American Federation of Labor to take favorable action on this petition.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Workmen's Compensation Law, District of Columbia

Resolution No. 142—By Delegates

Frank J. Coleman, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The Workmen's Compensation Law for the District of Columbia does not in its present form give proper protection to the workers in private industry in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, The Washington Central Labor Union has had drafted a Workmen's Compensation Bill, which if enacted into law will give to the employees in private industry in the District of Columbia adequate protection; and

WHEREAS, It is the intention of the Washington Central Labor Union to have this new Workmen's Compensation Bill introduced in the next Congress of the United States; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its officers and Legislative Committee to give to the Washington Central Labor Union its fullest cooperation in having this new Workmen's Compensation Law enacted for the District of Columbia.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Amendments to Income and Other Tax Laws to Exempt Investments in Home Building and Renovation

Resolution No. 168—By Delegates John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada; J. Gavlak, United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association; P. J. Morrin, International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; J. A. Franklin, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; Wm. J. McSorley, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; M. J. Colleran, Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada; J. Mullane, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers; M. W. Mitchell, Journeymen Stonemasons' Association of

North America; Harry Bates, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America; Herbert Rivers, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; John Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.

WHEREAS, Upon thorough investigation, a large number of the unemployed are found to be in the heavy industries, which especially includes the building construction industry; and

WHEREAS, It has been generally accepted that Government building programs alone cannot solve the problem of returning our members to work; therefore a way must be found to encourage private capital to invest in home building and renovation work; and

WHEREAS, We believe that if there could be adopted a measure to exempt from the income tax of home owners, the building and renovation of homes, it would be a helpful solution in stimulating the building industry, and at the same time helpful to remove the serious situation of unemployment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make a study of the problem, and sponsor necessary amendments to the income tax and other tax laws in order to relieve the millions of workers now unemployed in the heavy industries, and especially in the construction industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Asking U. S. Government to Intercede in Lawrence B. Simpson Case

Resolution No. 179 — By Delegate George B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Florida.

WHEREAS, Lawrence B. Simpson, an American seaman, member of the I.S.U., employed on the SS Manhattan, was kidnapped more than a year ago by German Secret Police, while the Manhattan was in German port, and was held by the German government without trial for fifteen months; and

WHEREAS, Brother Simpson, after fifteen months' imprisonment, was tried and sentenced to three years in a Nazi jail on the sole charge that he was in possession, on board the SS Manhattan, of anti-fascist literature; and

WHEREAS, The formal charge

against Brother Simpson, an American citizen, was treason against Germany for this offense, a charge which cannot be held against an American citizen; and

WHEREAS, Brother Simpson was refused permission to have counsel of his own choice to represent him at his trial or in any other matter pending his trial; and

WHEREAS, The United States government has taken certain steps to interfere on behalf of Brother Simpson; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record demanding the immediate release of Brother Simpson, and petitioning the United States Government to strengthen its representation in his behalf, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and to the Hitler government.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Protest Against Labor Policy of American Optical Company, South Bridge, Mass., and Bausch and Lomb Company, Rochester, N. Y.

Resolution No. 180 — By Delegate James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council, New York City.

WHEREAS, For the past three years the American Federation of Labor has attempted to carry on an organization and education campaign for the workers in the optical industry; and

WHEREAS, At the present time there are some twenty federal labor unions located in various parts of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, These federal labor unions have created a National Council under the direction of the American Federation of Labor to continue their organization and education work with a view to building up an International Union; and

WHEREAS, There are two large firms known as the American Optical Company at South Bridge, Massachusetts, and the Bausch and Lomb Company at Rochester, New York, which practically control and furnish glass used by opticians throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, These two powerful industrial corporations, because of their control of the glass sold to the retailers through credits and other systems, exercise so much power that in every

case where unions are attempting to form in any community, these corporations either by intimidation of the retailers or through their spy system obstruct and prevent successful organization work; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse this appeal of the National Council of Optical Technicians and Workers of America, and place before the Federal Trade Commission such evidence as may be necessary to show that these two industrial corporations have a practical monopoly of the industry and by conspiracy not only prevent the rights of the workers in the industry to collectively bargain but also prevent retail merchants from exercising their business rights to deal collectively with the union without any interference on the part of these two large corporations.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Taxation

Resolution No. 181—By Delegates George L. Berry and J. Sid Tiller, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America; Jno. J. Kane, Central Labor Union, Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHEREAS, Since the modification and repeal of the war-time excess profits tax, the tax bill of the Nation steadily has increased, constituting a serious burden upon private enterprise, employment and the consumptive capacity of the market; and

WHEREAS, The continuing search for new sources of tax revenue to pay the constantly increasing cost of government—Federal, State and local—has woven into the tax base, inequalities, duplications, conflicts and grave injustices to the taxpayers; and

WHEREAS, The need for revamping the sources of tax revenue for the support of Government is of growing concern to labor and to capital in industry, and to the consuming public,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, The Executive Council undertake a study of the base and structure of taxation—national, state and local—with a view to determining the deterrent effect of present taxes upon enterprise and employment, and recommending such changes as will produce the maximum tax revenue with the minimum burden upon labor, industry and the consuming public.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Winning Youth to Trade Unions

Resolution No. 183 — By Delegate Geo. B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Florida.

Resolution passed by Federal Labor Union No. 18959 for Presentation at 56th Annual A. F. of L. Convention.

Winning Youth to Trade Unions

WHEREAS, A large number of youth have recently entered labor's ranks, finding employment in various industries; and

WHEREAS, Among these young people there is a sturdy and growing tendency to enlist in the organizations of labor; and

WHEREAS, Many efforts, such as the following, are being made to endanger Union standards: Government-sponsored NYA and CCC projects establish wage levels far below prevailing levels; special apprenticeship systems are being set up to get young people to do the work of and displace adults at apprenticeship wages; company unions are developing athletic and cultural activities with the hope of weaning young people away from the bona-fide trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Various International and Local Unions, recognizing the need of developing Union consciousness among the youth, have instituted, as a regular part of Union procedure, cultural and athletic activities, thus winning large numbers of young people to their ranks; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor now in Convention assembled, undertake a campaign to promulgate union consciousness among America's young people and raise among its members the slogan: "Win your sons and daughters for the Trade Union Movement."

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Training Youth in Trade Union Philosophy

Resolution No. 249 — By Delegates

Morris Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.; Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.; Irwin Zumach, Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, The report of the executive Council to the fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor states "Our responsibility is to make strong and powerful unions of wage earners and under-privileged groups—" We urge, therefore that organizing campaigns and educational work go hand in hand in order that new union members understand their duties and their responsibilities. We urge that the coming year provide unprecedented organizing and educational activity, for only by this way can progress for workers keep abreast of national progress; and

WHEREAS, A large number of young people have recently entered labor's ranks finding employment in various industries and are amongst the most under-privileged wage earners of our nation; and

WHEREAS, Amongst these young people there is a sturdy and growing tendency to join the ranks of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Company Unions are developing athletic and anti-labor education with the hope of weaning young people away from the bona-fide organizations of labor; and

WHEREAS, Various National, International and local unions recognizing the need of developing trade union consciousness among their younger members have instituted as a regular part of union procedure educational and athletic activities, increasing their membership considerably among the young wage earners; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled undertake a campaign to promulgate union consciousness, organization into their respective National, International and federal labor unions and education among America's young people.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Violations of Civil Liberties in Tampa

Resolution No. 189—By Delegate Geo. B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Fla.

WHEREAS, This, the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, is meeting in a city where civil liberties have been most seriously and persistently violated; and

WHEREAS, These violations have taken the form of various crimes, ranging from aggravated assault in the recent case of the breaking up of a lawful election meeting of the Communist Party, through kidnaping and systematic torture in the case of certain members of the Socialist Party and the Modern Democrats group, to actual murder in the case of Joseph Shoemaker; and

WHEREAS, These crimes are not only abhorrent as such to the members of the American Federation of Labor, but the motives and intentions behind them are in contravention of the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor is organized and functions, and in violation of the rights which make possible the existence of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Tampa, Florida, condemns these attacks against civil rights and liberties in Tampa, and demands the severe punishment of those who are guilty of these crimes.

Your Committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vigilantism

Resolution No. 195 — By Delegate Warren Brown, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20221, Stockton, California.

WHEREAS, Vigilantism is becoming more prevalent each year and more vicious in its attacks on organized labor with the aim of destroying trade unions and subjugating labor to the will of the employers, and

WHEREAS, Vigilantism constitutes a serious menace to organized labor and the terroristic methods of vigilantes prevent the peaceful settling of industrial disputes, and

WHEREAS, Law enforcement bodies frequently have failed to cope with vigilantes, and in some cases have condoned and encouraged their lawless actions, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth annual convention officially go on record as condemning the activities of such terroristic organizations that take the law into their own hands, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor set up a Committee or utilize existing local committees for the purpose of defending the rights of labor against vigilante attacks.

Your Committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Cooperation of International
Unions in Securing Affiliation
of Local Unions With
Central Bodies**

Resolution No. 213—By Delegates Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union; Otto W. Brach, Central Labor Union, Toledo, Ohio; Al Towers, Trades and Labor Assembly, Belleville, Ill.; Felix Olkives, Trades and Labor Council, Kenosha, Wis.; Gust Anderson, Central Labor Council, Portland, Ore.; James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in accord with its constitution has chartered some eight hundred city central bodies throughout the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The law authorizing the chartering of city central bodies is the result of legislation passed by delegates representing international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the American Federation of Labor and the various international unions affiliated with it frequently call upon city central bodies to cooperate with them; and

WHEREAS, Invariably these city central bodies render such service as their facilities will permit; and

WHEREAS, They would be in a position to do a much better job if a greater number of local unions, eligible for membership, were affiliated with the city central bodies; and

WHEREAS, Most of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor make it a policy to urge their local unions to support the central bodies, but there are certain of the international unions that are very poorly represented in the central bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention urge that each and every international union affiliated herewith to request of their local unions to affiliate with cen-

tral bodies; that the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor when visiting conventions of the international unions be instructed to urge such international conventions to see that their local unions are affiliated and supporting the central bodies; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall again send a letter to all international unions urging upon them the need of the affiliation of all local unions with city central bodies.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman, in connection with that report of concurrence in that resolution which asks that International Unions be instructed to have their local Unions affiliated with Central Labor Bodies and State Federations, I rise to ask a question in regard to Article 11 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor regarding local central bodies, which reads as follows:

"Section 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention."

My object in rising, Mr. President, is to draw attention to the concurrence in the resolution which is just now before the convention and to note the constitutional provisions here regarding the disciplining of central labor bodies who shall seat in their midst delegates from Unions which have been suspended. I wish to ask the question

now whether the action taken last night by this convention will be followed by advice to central bodies and state federations to suspend from their organizations representatives of the Unions which were suspended last night.

President Green: Do you make that inquiry from the chair, Brother Trotter?

Delegate Trotter: Yes.

President Green: The chair will state, in reply to the question asked by Delegate Trotter, that some time ago an official communication was sent to State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies by the President of the American Federation of Labor, advising all City Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor to maintain the status quo, to permit all local organizations of national and international Unions that had been chartered by the American Federation of Labor to remain in affiliation with City Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor. That advice was complied with, and the local Unions of all those national and international Unions involved in the decision taken by this convention last evening are represented and affiliated in Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor.

There is no intention, so far as I know at this time, to interfere with that arrangement. We sincerely wish to promote unity in the Central Bodies and State Federations, and the American Federation of Labor. We want to keep our movement united. We are going to do it if it is humanly possible for us to do so. We don't want to disturb the relations between local organizations, City Central Bodies, and State Federations of Labor.

Delegate Trotter: I desire to thank you, Mr. President, for your presentation and your answer, and I am sure that the Central Labor Bodies and State Federations will be very glad that the provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor are to be held in abeyance until further advised.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fraudulent Advertising Publications

Resolution No. 214—By Delegates Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union; Otto W. Brach, Central Labor Union, Toledo, Ohio; Al Towers, Trades and Labor Assembly, Bellesville, Ill.; Felix Olkives, Trades and Labor Council, Kenosha, Wis.; Gust Anderson, Central Labor Council, Portland, Ore.; James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity.

WHEREAS, Numerous complaints have been made that certain irresponsible and unauthorized persons have gone into the jurisdictions of central bodies and solicited advertisements and contributions for alleged labor papers, year books, souvenir books, and other periodicals, to extract money from unsuspecting business firms; and

WHEREAS, This practice is detrimental to the good name of organized labor, and it is injurious to legitimate labor papers in operation, in the jurisdiction of the central bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon all central bodies that they undertake to stamp out the activities of those responsible for the above mentioned solicitations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That local unions and central bodies be urged to support to the best of their ability the local labor press, provided the same has the approval of the central body; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor use their best efforts to protect the central bodies from the damage now being done by those responsible for the publication of such unauthorized newspapers, year books, annuals, and other publications.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Brach, Central Labor Union, Toledo, Ohio: Mr. Chairman and delegates, this resolution came from the thought of delegates representing Central Bodies, approximately seventy-five delegates being represented at this meeting. Those of us from the larger cities especially are troubled

considerably by so-called newspaper men, who come into a locality in which they write articles that are detrimental to the city in which they work. We have found in Ohio that newspaper men—so-called, again, I want to say—work upon the fact that they want lots of advertising, and the local labor paper which really carries real news within that locality is suffering through such action, and I think it is about time we called to the attention of the people, especially those who represent labor, that they should once and for all eliminate such men who tour the country from one locality to another soliciting advertisements and writing articles detrimental to the labor movement in that particular city. It is the thought of the men and women representing central bodies, and we hope that when the Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor are in contact with such a racket that they will stop it wherever possible. That is all this resolution is asking for.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: So that there will be no misunderstanding about this resolution which I had a part in framing, I want to direct the attention of the delegates to the fact that it applies not only to phoney publications that are used as advertising media, but it applies to so-called labor papers that are on the auction block and sold to the highest bidder at election time. We have been bothered in Michigan by a gentleman by the name of Norman Zolezzi, from Indianapolis, Indiana, I remember that this matter was brought before the Federation several years ago and the Executive Council was directed to investigate its activities. I have here a copy of the paper circulated in Michigan during the last campaign, and I want to call your attention to the headlines: "Labor to Back G. O. P." And on the last page is an article boosting the candidacy of Wobbly Wilbur Brucker, the candidate of the Black Legion for United States Senate. On the mast head is listed the

names of several responsible labor officials of the city of Detroit, I have in my pocket a communication from these gentlemen, signed and sealed, in which they state their names were used on this publication without their knowledge and consent, and that they never authorized these men to use their office as a headquarters of the publication. This thing has been used in Michigan on several occasions for the express purpose of trying to create the impression that labor was supporting certain candidates for public office.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there ought to be some way in which the attention of the public can be directed to this thing, and also some way in which these men can be stopped from dragging the names of certain organizations and individuals in the labor movement through a campaign of that kind, and making it appear that labor was divided. "Labor to Back G. O. P." In Michigan Mr. Roosevelt got a majority of 300,000, so it must have been the Liberty Leaguers that voted for Roosevelt if labor was voting for the G. O. P.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Might I ask the sponsors of the resolution why they confined this to Central Labor Unions?

Delegate Martel: I think he misunderstands. The resolution does not confine it to central bodies, but it asks that central bodies be protected from that kind of manipulation. The group that framed this resolution represented City Central Bodies.

Delegate Watt: I was just going to comment, as one who recalls the Jim Watson campaign in Indiana, the election of Cal Coolidge and Harding, also recalls that many of our International Unions do not come in here with clean hands.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The hour of adjournment having been reached, opportunity for announcements was given at this time.

At 12:30 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Kindred, Hefferly, Heaton, Rosqvist, Williams (E. H.), Graham (James D.), Phillips (John J.), Patterson (Dowell E.), Turnblazer, Cahill, Minton, Getchen, Mundell, McDonald (S. S.), Tracy (Wm.), O'Neill (John J.), Mayer (Richard), McClellan, Johnson (E. A.), Yablensky, Jenkins (E. R.), Dobbs, Jones (John T.), Breidenbach, Komaroff, Nischwitz, Van Patten, Will, Stackweather, Drake (Glen), Owens (John), Patton (Fred), Farrell (Chas.), German, Marchesi, Preston (E. J.), Genis, Powers (Geo.), Hansen, Hanly, Majors, Soule, Shave, Pickle, Keegan (John J.), Stoffels, Draper, Haywood, Klarish, Lisse, Hill, McCarty (M. L.), Chair, Legler, Burton (R. L.), Harrison (J. W.), Gatelee, Wood (R. T.), Glasgow, Hudak, Edmundson, Hunter (Thos.), Reed (Geo.), Saltus, Bender, Moulin, Markva, Johnson (C. W.), Schreier, Kocher, Williamson, Cairns, Fitzgerald (I. J.), Gross (W. S.), Stern (Harry), Reynolds (Robt.), Clineinst, Bellows, Finnegan (Thos.), Knopka, Merritt (F. W.), Gerhardt (Frances), Gales, Barnes (Geo.), Lee, Williams (Clemson S.), Matlin, Prior, Duldner, Lufrano, Kirby (Thos. J.).

President Green: The Chair wishes to introduce Miss Hilda Smith, a specialist in workers' education, for just a few moments. She is connected with workers' education. I will present her for a few moments. She understands that the time of the convention is limited and the committees are very busy.

MISS HILDA SMITH

Mr. Chairman and delegates: Three years ago a very interesting event happened at Washington, when Federal funds were allocated for unemployed teachers in workers' education. Since that time we have had a development which has proved of great interest to the labor movement. At present 3,000 classes for industrial and rural workers are being conducted under the Works Progress Administration, Workers' Education Department. Seventeen hundred teachers have been trained in special six weeks' courses, and 25 supervisors of workers' education have been appointed.

This program has been built up with the active support and cooperation of the organized labor movement. It cannot be conducted from Washington; it must be conducted locally, with the full cooperation of the public schools, of state universities and of the or-

ganized labor movement. We are now in a transition period. We are very eager to have this program pass through the next period of transition and come into some permanent place in our American system of education. That means in every city where there are organized labor groups, those organizations we hope will work with the public school officials, will ask for the appointment of labor advisors to sit down with those officials and see that workers' education is given its place in this great, growing work of education.

We need supervisors where none has yet been appointed. We need standards of teaching, and those standards can only be set up if the teachers get the full cooperation of the groups that are using the teachers. One of our teachers wrote from the South, and said, "What shall I do next? I am running out of economics." I think in this country we are not running out of economics. We have many complicated and difficult problems to solve. We believe we can only solve them through an intensive system of workers' education. For that we want your help, we want to get the public schools used, not only for children and for adult education, but for workers' education so that all the community can be reached and use those schools.

We hope to have Government support in this program. This will help labor to establish standards in industry, and to educate themselves to the fullest of their opportunities as citizens.

President Green: We thank Miss Smith for her address.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

Secretary Frey continued the report as follows:

International Charter for Cleaning and Dyeing Industry

Resolution No. 174—By Delegate A. Feinberg, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Union No. 19989, Los Angeles, Calif.

WHEREAS, There are in the United States thousands of workers employed in the cleaning and dyeing industry, most of them unorganized; and

WHEREAS, There exists a number of Federal Labor Unions scattered throughout the country of workers employed in the above industry which by the nature of their organizational setup and lack of coordination are at the present time unable to effectively organize workers outside of

their respective cities, although there is a crying need and demand for the organization of the unorganized in the cleaning and dyeing industry; and

WHEREAS, These already existing Federal Labor Unions of cleaning and dyeing workers if united into an international union, would constitute a firm base for the consolidation of all the unorganized workers in the cleaning and dyeing industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to grant an international charter to the existing Federal Labor Unions in the cleaning and dyeing industry.

Your committee is informed that a request to withdraw this resolution has been made, and therefore recommends that the request be granted.

President Green: If there are no objections, the request to withdraw the resolution will be granted. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

Secretary Frey: Your committee has two resolutions, No. 155 and No. 158, which relate to the issuing of an international charter to office workers.

International Union of Office Workers

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, There are a number of Federal local unions throughout the country of Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers, Accountants and general office workers; and

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to establish International Unions in the industries, professions or trades wherever possible and advantageous; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the formation of an International Union in our profession would strengthen our power immensely and serve as an added stimulus to the organization of thousands of office workers, which is a forward step in obtaining higher wages and decent conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the incoming Executive Council to consider the establishment of an International Union of Office Workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention authorize the several Federal locals to set up committees to work for this end.

Proposing an International Union of Office Workers

Resolution No. 158—Introduced by Prudencia Rivera Martinez, Delegate of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico; Laura Iglesias, Delegate, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, The 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor approved by unanimous vote a report and recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions referring Resolutions Nos. 234 and 127 to the Executive Council, such resolutions dealing with the necessity of establishing an international union of stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, accountants and general office workers;

WHEREAS, The necessity of establishing this international union is being felt every day, and such an active union would strengthen the power of the members comprised within its jurisdiction;

WHEREAS, It has been the policy of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to establish national or international unions whenever there was a sufficient number of locals to form it,

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE 56TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

That a special conference be called by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in which there will be representatives from the different locals of stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, accountants and general office workers, such conference in conjunction with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to agree upon the basis on which this new international union should be established.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That at this conference the American Federation of Labor will submit for the approval of the conference the proposed constitution for the functioning of this new international organization.

The basis of representation at this conference will be fixed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate Merrill, Bookkeepers, New York: I agree with the report of the Resolutions Committee that this should be referred to the Executive Council. However, I feel that there are several things that should be pointed out in this connection. This resolution has been introduced into the convention of the American Federation of Labor year after year, and year after year has been disposed of in exactly the same fashion. The responsibility for this falls largely upon the locals themselves.

We are delegated with the task of organizing some 4,000,000 office and professional workers in the United States. There are possibly 45 or 48 local unions of this description located in about thirty states in this Union. In New York, where I have the honor of being the president of the union, we have about one-half of one per cent of the possible membership in our union organized. We have in the past year gone through some five or six strikes which we have won. These strikes have been carried on without any direct assistance of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, because we were not in a position where we had to call upon such assistance.

We are making rapid strides in New York City. We are pleased with our progress, nevertheless we recognize that unless we are able to organize nationally, we will not continue to make the progress we are making now in that city. I urge upon the Executive Council that when it considers this resolution it permits representatives of locals to appear before it and place our arguments before them.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Spain

Resolution No. 171—By Delegate A. Feinberg, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 19989, Los Angeles, Calif.

WHEREAS, The fascists in Spain are attempting through force and violence to overthrow the legally constituted government; and

WHEREAS, Fascist nations in violation of non-intervention pacts have openly supported the rebels; and

WHEREAS, The Fascist Spanish rebels are attempting to destroy the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, A victory for fascism in Spain would strengthen the fascist nations of Europe which have already crushed the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The victory of fascism in Spain would encourage those groups in America who have as their aim the breaking of the trade union movement; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth Annual Convention go on record to aid the democratically elected government of Spain; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor throw the weight of its power into exposing the role of the fascist countries whose anti-labor governments have been supporting the fascist rebels in Spain, and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor agree to cooperate with those groups and organizations that are rallying public opinion and financial and material help for the Spanish loyalists.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Yagoda, Pottsville, Pennsylvania, Central Labor Union: Because of some happenings that have already occurred in this convention, this subject is conceived by some members of the convention to be somewhat of an embarrassing nature. I rise to speak against the reference of this matter to the Executive Council, and to request that this convention endorse the resolution as it was introduced. We have had a lot of false propaganda throughout the country recently relative to the situation in Spain. We have been told that the fight is one of the Catholic Church against anti-Christians. This is not so, and any one who has taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the facts will agree with me that it is not so. This kind of propaganda was intensified and made part of the campaign in the

Presidential election through which we have just passed. The Republican Brain Trust—and let me tell you they had a brain trust—seized upon the fact that among the electors of President Roosevelt was a man whose name ended in a “ski,” and that was enough evidence for them to infer that he was a Communist with wild whiskers and bombs in his pocket, and because of that fact, because they were able to discover that the Union from which this man came sent money to the Red Cross for the aid of the suffering people in Spain, they tried to intimate that this man was interested in the burning of churches in Spain, and therefore all good Catholics should vote for the Republicans, and against the Democrats.

What are the facts? The facts are that the Moors and the Foreign Legion, an aggregation of outlaws, have been used to attack the existing democratic government in Spain, and that government is standing today as a bulwark against the onrushing tide of Fascism. We have had some very eloquent words said in this convention about the dangers of Fascism, about the price that they are exacting from the labor movement of the entire world, and about how much we must fear them right here in the United States. These eloquent words of President Green and others I subscribe to heartily, and if we are really to express our solidarity with the victims of Fascism, if we are to give organized expression to our protest against Fascism in the United States, then we must today endorse this resolution, we must express our fraternal support of these workers in Spain, who are standing against the conspiracy of Italian and German Fascism in Spain today.

Workers like ourselves, organized in Unions like ours, are fighting the same battle that starts on the picket line, the battle which we have had to face ourselves, they are fighting that battle today and they are fighting it against the enemies of democracy, against the enemies of Christianity,

and against the enemies of all that Christian ethics have stood for throughout the centuries.

Now, Spain has come to the crossroads which I hope we will never come to—the fight between Absolutism and Fascism on the one hand, democracy, the rights of workers and orderly human progress on the other hand. We must support that fight. We cannot afford to take a back seat. Our brothers in the British Trades Union Congress have already voiced their support of that fight, and we must do likewise.

I come from a region in which the workers who are members of my Central Labor Union are to a large extent Catholic. I have endeavored to explain to them the real issues at stake in Spain, and I hope I have succeeded. About three and a half years ago in that region we had a sweat shop drive. We found little children in the shops working for \$2.00 a week, 60 or more hours per week, and when we attempted to organize them, the employers went to the local Catholic priests and tried to rope them in exactly the same fashion in which the despots of Germany and Italy are trying to rope in the Catholic church of Spain, to make them believe this fight is their fight. It is not their fight, it is the fight of the working class, the fight of democracy and liberalism which has been so well exemplified by those resolutions brought into this American Federation of Labor.

Are we to march in the path toward these goals? Are we to express unflinchingly and bravely those ideals, or are we to be scared because some of us believe there is some conflict with our religious ideals and our labor ideals? We must realize first of all that our allegiance goes to the labor movement. The labor movement in its finest expression expresses most fully the ideals for which the church has suffered and bled throughout the centuries. It is only here in the councils of labor that we find the expression of such ideas and the elimination

of creed, color, and race. Among us here sit members whose skin is darker than ours. The Christian religion taught these things and has asked that these things be fulfilled. We must support those who are standing the siege of Madrid today and begging that the world keep that torch of liberalism alive against the enemies of democracy.

It was made clear in last Sunday's Times that Germany and Italy have financed this fight from the start. We have said in this convention that we are the enemies of German Fascism, the enemies of racial minorities. President Green has said it most forcibly and eloquently, that we are against dictatorship of any kind. The fight in Spain is the fight of democracy against dictatorship. Men of labor, you must state now unequivocally that you are for democracy and opposed to dictatorship, no matter in what part of the world it raises its ugly head. I recommend that the committee endorse the resolution unequivocally and that we assembled here say to the world that the American Federation of Labor workers in America are behind the workers in Spain.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Requesting Granting of Charter to
International Ladies' Handbag,
Pocketbook and Novelty
Workers Union**

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate S. Hershkowitz, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, About seven thousand pocketbook and novelty workers are organized in twelve locals in the United States and Canada in the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union; and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union has collective and individual agreements covering the entire markets in New York City, Chicago, Jersey City, Perth Amboy, N. J., Stroudsburg and Mauch Chunk, Pa., Norwalk, Conn., Middletown, N. Y., and Toronto and Montreal, Canada; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of luggage workers and belt workers can be organized by said International; and

WHEREAS, The United Leather Workers International Union claiming jurisdiction over the pocketbook, luggage, belt and novelty trades held no convention for nineteen years, its General Executive Council did not meet for eight years, and its membership has dwindled down to about two thousand; and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of leather workers are now organized into independent organizations refusing to join the United Leather Workers International Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to issue a charter to the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union giving it jurisdiction over the pocketbook, luggage, belt, and novelty trades.

As an agreement has been reached between the parties at interest and Chairman Woll, your committee recommends that leave to withdraw be granted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Secretary of Labor to Be Member of
Federal Commissions on International
Expositions**

Resolution No. 135 — By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Through acts of Congress the Federal Government participates in national and international expositions;

WHEREAS, The Federal Commissions designated in these acts to supervise Federal participation are made up by time-honored custom of the Secretaries of State, Agriculture and Commerce;

WHEREAS, An increasingly large proportion of the citizens of the country whom these expositions are to reach are wage earners in industry;

WHEREAS, These expositions offer an exceptional opportunity for disseminating information on labor problems and labor standards;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in favor of protecting labor's interests in these exhibits and to this end that Congress be urged to designate the Secretary of Labor a member of every Federal Commission appointed to participate in these expositions.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Child Welfare

Resolution No. 140 — By Delegate Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The strength of a democratic country depends upon the physical health and mental stamina of its people; and

WHEREAS, The youth of such a nation must be cared for to the end that they may carry on their responsibilities as citizens; and

WHEREAS, The depression has through retrenchment in education, loss of employment opportunities for youth, through resultant malnutrition, and neglect of medical care seriously undermined the health and well-being of American youth; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 1936 convention urge its legislative committee and its affiliated Internationals and Federal locals and Central Labor unions, etc., to support legislation to provide:

1. Medical aid for children,
2. Adequate relief to overcome malnutrition,
3. Facilities for advanced education at public expense,
4. Work opportunities, and relief at union rates for unemployed youth.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Division of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor

Resolution No. 144—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor; R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Louis P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor; Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of labor; David C. Thompson, Alabama State Federation of Labor; George Houghton, Florida State Federation of Labor; Walter Hoyt, Central Labor Union, Miami, Florida; George Townsend, Nevada State Fed-

eration of Labor; Warren S. Welsh, Missouri State Federation of Labor; Vic Wood, Arkansas State Federation of Labor; P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Labor, Puerto Rico; J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; John B. Easton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; John Reid, Michigan State Federation of Labor; Otto W. Brach, Central Labor Union, Toledo, Ohio; Arthur Taylor, Central Labor Union, Logan, West Va.; A. P. Bower, Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pa.; George G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor; E. H. Williams, Louisiana State Federation of Labor; Bernard M. Egan, Texas State Federation of Labor; Cornelius J. Mulcahy, Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Federal Government has for many years pursued the policy of actively aiding in the establishment of standards for industrial materials and products, and has assisted manufacturers in the search for foreign markets, and has aided farmers in increasing the quantity and quality of crops;

WHEREAS, The U. S. Department of Labor has only recently added to its services to labor the functions of assisting in the formulation of practical labor standards and of providing facilities for the drafting of labor legislation and safety codes and on administrative practices;

WHEREAS, These facilities are being widely used by State Federations of Labor and local labor groups;

WHEREAS, The Division of Labor Standards by holding national and regional conferences has brought about a greater understanding and support of labor's legislative program for the improvement of working conditions;

WHEREAS, The Third National Conference on Labor Legislation, made up of representatives of State Federations of Labor and State Departments of Labor, held in Washington, November 9, 10 and 11 of this year, went on record unanimously in support of the work of this Division;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That this service to labor should be continued and to that end Congress be urged to establish the Division of Labor Standards as a permanent bureau in the Department of Labor with adequate funds to carry on its activities in behalf of the workers of the country.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Require That Commodities Shipped in Interstate Commerce Shall Bear Name of Manufacturer, City and State

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio, State Federation of Labor, and Otto W. Brach, Toledo Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The large industrial concerns are building chains of industrial plants throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, In so doing they are trying to defeat Organized Labor by going into unorganized territories; and

WHEREAS, In the manufacture of their products it is not designated on these products the place of manufacture other than U. S. A., so that it can be determined whether or not the products are manufactured under fair or unfair working conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the incoming Executive Council to make an effort to have Congress enact a law prohibiting the sale of commodities in interstate commerce which do not bear, as well as the manufacturer's name, the city and the state of manufacture.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further study and appropriate action on their part.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Disciplining Organizations That Patronize Non-Union Hotels and Restaurants

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, holding their affairs in establishments unfair to our crafts and to organized labor, are disgracing the principles of trade unionism, which they

themselves preach but do not practice; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding all the resolutions adopted in the past condemning such unworthy conduct, to this day the evil has not been eradicated; be it therefore

RESOLVED, This convention go on record to discipline any such organization for holding their affairs in non-union houses, provided a union house is available for the holding of such affairs, by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

In lieu of the resolution, your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm previous declarations calling upon trade unionists everywhere to patronize union establishments.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 185 and 186, which are as follows:

National Charter for Welders

Resolution No. 185—M. L. McCarty, Central Labor Union, Portsmouth, Va.

WHEREAS, In 1916 the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor ruled that welding was not a separate craft, but a tool to be employed by various of the accepted; and

WHEREAS, Since that time welding has developed and become so specialized as to be generally recognized as a separate craft, requiring a full four year apprenticeship and a great deal of technical knowledge as well as practical experience to be practiced proficiently; and

WHEREAS, The number of persons who are devoting their full time to this trade has increased many times over since 1916, until today there are many thousands of men throughout the country who are specializing in welding alone; and

WHEREAS, Modern conditions and developments in the art of welding have made obsolete and discriminating the twenty-year-old ruling of the Executive Council; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as recognizing welding as a distinct and separate craft, that the Executive Council be directed to rescind its decision of 1916, that steps be taken through the proper channels to organize nationally, in the respective states and locally a new union to be known as the International Brotherhood of Welders, which is to be affili-

ated with the American Federation of Labor and will be authorized to work out rules and regulations regarding membership restrictions, apprenticeships, and standards.

Welders

Resolution No. 186—M. L. McCarty, Central Labor Union, Portsmouth, Va.

WHEREAS, Improvements and advancements in the art of welding in the last twenty years have caused this class of work to become a distinct and separate trade with specialized knowledge requiring a full apprenticeship of four years to gain; and

WHEREAS, The time has come, in the opinion of the many thousands of men who specialize in welding, when they are entitled to recognition by the American Federation of Labor as a separate craft; and

WHEREAS, Because of the jurisdictional claims of some of the Metal Trades the organization of a welders union has been retarded, and today there are thousands of welders who would like to ally with the American Federation of Labor but are not willing to take a back seat in some other craft union; now

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed by this convention to appoint a committee to investigate the situation affecting those who follow the trade of welding and work out some means of providing a distinct place in the ranks of organized labor for the welders, and report as soon as possible with their findings to the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor so that the welders before the 1937 Convention will have a definite status and place in the ranks of organized labor.

Resolutions Nos. 185 and 186 deal with the same subject. Past conventions of the A. F. of L. have in every instance held that all welding apparatus are tools to be used for their purpose by the several metal working trades. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Charter For Agricultural Packing House and Cannery Workers

Resolutions Nos. 52, 127, 149, 151, 178, and 237 deal with the same subject,

the granting of a charter to agricultural, packing house and cannery workers. Your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the group of unions representing the agricultural, cannery, and packing house workers in attendance at this convention is the largest group ever represented at an American Federation of Labor convention, I believe. These unions in whose behalf I speak and other members of which will go into further detail on this request believe that our request for an international charter covering the agricultural, packing house and cannery workers, is justified. In the first place, our industry is the largest single industry in the United States. We have employed over 3,000,000 workers, and yet in a country which has already a well developed labor movement, with 111 chartered national and international unions, our industry, the largest in the United States, has not yet been granted such a charter.

In addition, the Executive Council's report to this convention indicates that our unions in the agricultural and cannery fields are the largest single groups of unions now affiliated to the American Federation of Labor without such a charter. In the last year, as the result of organizing activities conducted by individuals throughout the country interested in this problem, 22 new unions have been chartered. This indicates a progress, this indicates a growth, this indicates an interest on the part of the labor movement, on the part of the agricultural and cannery workers affected that holds great promise for the future, a promise which can only be realized in union organizations by the removal of certain restrictions and obstacles which makes it almost impossible for us at the present time to organize permanent, well

disciplined, well organized unions in this movement.

Permit me to point out one very important fact. Within the last five years the American Federation of Labor has chartered 80 unions in the agricultural field. Today only 40 of those are still in existence—a mortality rate of 50 per cent. These 40 unions have not died and gone out of existence because their members were not good trade unionists or because they did not have fairly competent leaders, because they did not conduct fairly intelligent activities. These unions went out of existence because the federal form of organization under which we must organize is not and cannot be adapted to the special problems and special needs affecting our industry.

Permit me to point out another fact. Last night, as the roll call was read, a striking thing struck me. Out of 86 international unions represented at this convention, 33 of them have a smaller membership than the federal local unions covering the agricultural, cannery workers and packing house field, now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Thirty-three out of 86 international unions in this convention have less members than we have today. Fifteen locals, aside from the CIO local unions, did not send delegates, and at least half of them did not send delegates because their membership was so small and their treasury so low they could not afford the expenses.

Our problems have in the past several years received a great deal of favorable support and comment from all sections of the population. Two State Federations of Labor, New Jersey and California, have gone on record requesting the Executive Council to grant us an international charter. Several central bodies have taken similar action. Madam Perkins, in her remarks to this convention, for the first time recommended that we of the low income group, the American Federation of Labor should in the future pay

special attention to the agricultural workers and those workers engaged in share cropping, and so forth. Our industry has certain problems peculiar to agriculture which perhaps many delegates here are not familiar with, problems which make it almost impossible, as I said before, for us to organize permanent unions under the Federal local form.

For instance, the average monthly wage of these 3,000,000 farm workers throughout the United States is something like \$35 a month, without board or room. This makes it impossible for us to go out and ask \$2.00 initiation fee and \$1.00 a month dues. It makes it impossible for us to organize unions and expect them to pay 35 cents per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor. As a result, in order to keep our membership, we have to pay to the Executive Council on far fewer membership than we have in the field.

Then, too, we have the problem of being unemployed two, four, or five months each year. We have to go out and undertake activities to increase the relief appropriations, to get WPA jobs for our workers, and we find certain discriminations against the agricultural workers in certain sections of the United States, certain discriminations against our men having relief jobs.

Then we have jurisdictional problems, and that is why we ask for jurisdiction of all field workers working in the field. They work for a couple of months in the field, then they go into the sheds for a couple of months, and then they go into the canneries for a couple of months, and we say unless such a broad charter is granted our members will have to join two or three international unions to protect themselves.

We come to this convention, not asking for material aid, not asking for financial aid, we ask for the removal of certain restrictions and obstacles which make it impossible for us to organize the agricultural workers

under the Federal local form. We ask this convention to give us an opportunity to go out and organize these workers who are ready to organize and whom we cannot organize permanently under our present form of organization.

This morning I was down on the picket line in the Del Monte cannery, where a strike of 800 workers occurred. These workers struck yesterday afternoon without a union, without leaders, and they have only one demand—a 25 per cent increase in wages. These instances happen hundreds of times in hundreds of parts of the United States, because the central bodies, the state bodies, and the Executive Council have not adequately handled our problems, and when they have they have been confronted with situations so strange, so new, and so peculiar that they could not successfully handle them.

Our problem in the agricultural field, affecting as I said approximately 3,000,000 workers, is not our problem alone. The low wage scale existing in our field has the effect of adversely affecting the wage scales of crafts and skilled workers throughout the United States, and of this there can be no question among labor people. The experiences of many representatives of international unions attending this convention have demonstrated that organization in rural areas throughout the United States is extremely difficult to maintain, largely because the largest sections of the rural population are the agricultural workers. They get such very low wages that you can't establish a high wage scale, and these unorganized workers, untrained in union experience, in union organization, can be utilized to scab and to break strikes.

In conclusion, let me say that we have introduced into this convention a resolution naming the situation that exists in Federal and state legislation as it affects agricultural workers. The neglect and the discrimination which we have suffered in the past in the trade union field has been carried over to the

legislative field, with the result that almost every piece of Federal and state legislation within the United States specifically exempts and discriminates against agricultural workers.

We hope that this convention will take favorable action on that resolution, but if we are going to correct the shameful situation that exists in our legislative structure as it affects the workers and progressive legislation, we are going to need a strong trade union movement in the states and the nation to do it. We cannot build such a movement unless we are given the opportunity to establish a national organization adapted in its organizational form, in its dues payments, in a great many other organizational matters, to the peculiar needs and problems of these people.

My remarks will probably have no influence and no effect on the decisions of the convention. However, we do want to recommend to the Executive Council that at the very earliest moment, if possible before this convention adjourns, we ask President Green to appoint a committee from the Executive Council to meet with the delegates from our industry at this convention, at which time we can sit down and discuss our problems and perhaps arrive at certain agreements regarding what action the Executive Council will take on this resolution, what we might expect from the presentation of these many resolutions asking for such consideration by this convention.

Delegate Cowan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: The California State Federation of Labor in July of this year inaugurated a campaign to organize agricultural workers in the state of California. Our State Federation of Labor has spent approximately \$10,000 attempting to organize these agricultural workers. Immediately upon the launching of that drive in our state, the employers decided to offset our influence and prevent any progress on the part of the workers.

All the delegates here know that only

a few weeks ago there was a bitter struggle in the Salinas field, where tear gas, machine guns, and other things were used to crush the strikers in that town. A few months prior to that the citrus workers in the southern part of California went into a strike against the system which prevails in that industry. The same thing occurred there, the organizers of the State Federation of Labor were arrested the moment they entered that town. After six weeks of bitter struggle, the strike was lost.

The State Federation of Labor called a conference of the independent unions in the southern part of the state. There are some 8,000 members organized in the agricultural workers' organization. They have their own federation through which they work. After the conference was called, I suggested to them that it would be proper for them, and their interests would be better protected, were they to affiliate themselves with the American Federation of Labor.

The conditions in the agricultural industry of this country are not favorable to an organizing campaign. For that reason they will have to go out and become active in their organization. They came to us and said they would be more than willing to affiliate themselves with the American Federation of Labor. I know that in the Salinas strike they contributed generously to that strike, nevertheless the problems confronting agricultural workers are not thoroughly understood and appreciated by the Executive Council.

Men who work in the industry, men who can bring cooperation and cohesion and coordination in the membership will be the men to organize. They are the lowest paid workers and the most exploited workers in the United States. I remember when we were told in San Jose that if we attempted to break down the last vestige of slavery, we must do so through our organization.

We must have an international character. In our last convention at Sacramento, a resolution was introduced increasing the per capita tax 1 cent per

member for organizational activities in the state of California. We are willing to tax our organization so that this work can be carried on, and I say, as the previous speaker said, that we are not asking for financial assistance, but we are asking that the machinery be set up through which this work can be effectively and efficiently carried on. We have in the state 350,000 agricultural workers and only a handful of that number are organized. Organizing agricultural workers is different from organizing workers that remain in one place all the time. In the agricultural industry men move from place to place.

I urge upon the Executive Council to give this matter very serious consideration. If that charter is issued, you will see one of the largest organizations this country has ever seen.

These men are recruited during strikes from the agricultural areas, and it is necessary that we organize them in self-defense and give every assistance possible in the development of organization in the agricultural field.

Delegate Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, New Jersey: I will be very brief, because two people have already spoken. We are concerned with the recommendation presented by the Resolutions Committee referring this resolution to the Executive Council, because last year a resolution was passed unanimously by the convention at Atlantic City, promising an organization campaign for agricultural, cannery and packing house workers. Now the conditions in this field are peculiar. Most of the trade unionists in the United States are concentrated in cities. The Executive Council has had, particularly during the past year, many disturbing problems. They are not acquainted with the special trade union problems in this field. We are afraid this same thing will happen to this resolution that happened a year ago. The American Federation of Labor, with the many problems they have, and the state federations of labor and the central bodies, with the prob-

lems they have, do not know how to handle this question.

In this field there are a large number of organizers who have developed in the past few years. We are asking, as the first delegate said, for you to remove certain obstacles that prevent us from crystallizing and organizing the trade unions in this field.

There is an honest doubt in the minds of many delegates, as well as the Executive Council, whether or not there is a sufficient financial basis, whether or not there is sufficient leadership.

Sixty-two agricultural and cannery workers' locals have been reported, with 7,600 per capita tax paying members. I know that the figure of 7,600 is underestimated because of the peculiar problems, the low income and the high per capita tax that is to be paid, and the ratio between those paying per capita tax and those regular members is approximately one-tenth.

The second delegate mentioned the independents. I personally know many of these independents. I know, on a very conservative figure, that there is an additional 25,000 of dues-paying organized members in this field that would affiliate to the American Federation of Labor if they were in an international. Some have asked for an international. The thing that some of you may have to worry about is not that we would not be able to hold an organization together, but that it would be a very large and influential organization in the American Federation of Labor.

It may be on the mind of the Executive Council—I hope it is—to take a forward step; that is, the setting up of a national council, as has been done in other fields. There has been an informal national council in the past year that has established two newspapers, one in the Spanish language for the Mexican and Spanish people in that locality, another in English. This committee has done the work of the national council in the past year. The experience is that the council is inadequate.

The same problems of developing an adequate national leadership that can cooperate officially in the American Federation of Labor, the problem of developing a dues-paying system, cannot be achieved by a national council. We would be the last to refuse the setting up of a national council under any leadership. On the other hand, it does not meet the problem.

We want to urge on the Executive Council that it meet with the delegates here, that it take their experience and their suggestions, and then as rapidly as possible establish an international union. Make it possible for the central labor bodies to tackle this problem. They cannot do it alone. If it is done, we will be in a position to go to them and assist in organizing the rural regions that surround them.

I don't believe the various resolutions on Fascism have been reported out yet. It has been my good fortune to have spent the most of the last year organizing in rural regions. I have had a chance to become acquainted with the attitude and feelings and the thinking of these people. If Fascism ever gets a foothold in the United States, it will get it first in the agricultural regions. Most of the demagogues, like Huey Long and Father Coughlin, have appealed to these rural regions.

President Green pointed out that the main thing that will prevent the establishment of a dictatorship is the trade union movement. I hope the Executive Council will not only act favorably on this resolution, but will act soon and will see fit to grant an international charter in this field.

Delegate Marcella Ryan, Cannery Workers, Oakland, California:

Mr. Chairman and Sister and Brother delegates:

As a delegate from a Cannery Union in California I would like to make a few remarks to urge this convention to have the recommendations of the Resolutions Committee reconsidered.

I would like to recall to your minds a remark made by Madam Perkins, Secretary of Labor. She stated that there is a very solemn obligation this body shares to whole groups of wage earners in the U. S. A., including agricultural workers. When the intolerable conditions of the agricultural workers are recognized by an official of the Government, I think it is due time that this convention should take a more favorable position. Not only more favorable, but that definite steps should be taken to guarantee the formation of an international organization to facilitate the organization of this group of men and women.

In California the agricultural industry is the largest single industry in the state—employing 250,000 in the fields and approximately 50,000 in the canneries and packing houses. There are eight thousand workers organized independently and would be more than willing to come into the folds of the A. F. of L. providing the dues and initiations would meet with the requirements according to the nature of the industry.

I could go on indefinitely if time would permit to cite example after example of the intolerable conditions these men and women and children are subject to. In the canneries the employers do not hesitate to violate the Industrial Welfare Codes in that industry. They get around the 8 hours and minimum wages for women, because the product is a perishable one. Since the most a cannery worker can make throughout the year in California is \$600, it makes it necessary for children of cannery and more so of agricultural workers, anywhere from the age of 12 to 16, to enter the industry and suffer the same privations of the adult workers. Many government investigations have been made in this industry in California and to date no adequate adjustments have been made. In most states this group of workers are exempt from any social security benefits, therefore it is not an unrea-

sonable request on the part of the agricultural workers to want an international charter.

There are many obstacles in the way of organizing the agricultural industry in the present set-up of Federal locals. First of all the seasonal nature of the industry and the low wages paid while working cause a hardship upon those entering the unions to pay the \$2.00 initiation. Secondly, it is pretty difficult to pay the required \$1.00 a month for dues. In many cases where this requirement cannot be met and the per capita must be forwarded to the National A. F. of L. office it leaves the locals short of funds and quite unable to meet other expenses for organizational purposes such as literature, hall rent, postage and other items. In most cases organization has gone ahead despite these obstacles but not to the advantage of thousands upon thousands of the workers engaged in agriculture. In some localities because of our financially poor situation we are a burden to the local organized labor movement insofar as soliciting for funds and other necessary assistance to further our organization in this field.

If we could get an International Charter we would then be in a much better position to meet the requirement of the agricultural workers as to dues, initiations, organizations, strike benefits, all these things which are most necessary and we haven't the benefit of in our present set-up. I would like again to recall to your minds another statement made by our Secretary of Labor, Madam Perkins. She urged that we look into the problems of the agricultural workers and others. She mentioned that the Department of Labor in the last few years have gone outside of their original considerations in taking an interest in what happens to the agricultural wage worker. She said we must raise the standard of living of the unorganized something comparable to the American standard of living. With the granting of an International Charter

this would be one step forward in attempting to eliminate the organizational difficulties and giving us an opportunity to extend organization and benefits derived from organization where till now we have never been able.

The California State Federation of Labor has considered this problem very carefully and today they have assumed the responsibility to the extent that they have placed a per capita of 1c for every member in a union affiliated to that body to go into a fund for the express purpose of furthering organization among the agricultural, cannery and packing house workers.

We agricultural workers would like to see that the national leaders of the A. F. of L. assume the same responsibility towards us and then we could really organize among the 3 million workers employed in agriculture.

Delegate Hawthorn, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20224, Camden, New Jersey: I would like to ask permission to recite a little incident that happened today here in Tampa, to prove our argument that we should have an international charter.

When I read in the paper this morning that the workers in the California Cannery plant were on strike, I went out there. When I arrived I saw a group of strikers in front of the plant. Some of them were under the trees, some were in a bunch; there was no picket line, no leader, the workers merely felt that they were not being paid enough and so walked out of the plant.

I started to talk to a few of the girls. As I talked others gathered around. I asked their conditions, and they said the maximum wage is about \$10.00 a week. They asked what union I represented. I told them, and I told them of the conditions we had in our plant, which are much better than they have here. Then others gathered around. One of the girls said, "Be careful! There is a detective behind you." I looked around, and there was a detective. Another girl said, "Be careful! There is another detective beside you." In a moment two big husky fellows came

to me and said, "We want to see you."

I was taken out of the crowd. Then the huskiest of the two came close to me and said, "You either get out of this area in five minutes or we will put you out." He threatened to club me. As I tried to respond another brushed against me and threatened to beat me up. There was a policeman there and he took me to the Chief of Police. I explained that I represented a cannery union from New Jersey and was a delegate to the A. F. of L. convention. A big detective pulled me across the street. There were about ten detectives around me.

A trolley car came along, and they said, "This is where you leave." One girl said the strike leader wanted to see me. I explained to her that the police had instructed me to take the trolley and go. Down the street a car came along and a girl waived to me. I got into the automobile. There was a police car following. She pleaded with me to have us do something for the cannery workers.

The conditions of the cannery workers are terrible. That is true of the cannery workers throughout the United States, they are deplorable. I said we would see what we could do for the agricultural workers, the cannery workers, and the packing house workers. She said a meeting would be called. We will be there. She said if the American Federation of Labor did not grant them a charter the deplorable conditions in the cannery industry will continue.

I urge that the Executive Council set up a committee to confer with us and see what we can do to get an international charter in order to increase the standards of living of the cannery workers, agricultural workers, and packing house workers of the United States.

Delegate Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers' Union, San Francisco: Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters and delegates, I come from the state of California. I am a delegate from my

union for a good many years. Coming here today to attend this convention I still represent the Alaska Cannery Workers, one of the youngest organizations in the American Federation of Labor today. I am a member of the Longshoremen's organization, but know the conditions that have existed in the farm labor field for many years have been terrible. We organized 2,500 men for the first time in 85 years.

Figures have been given about the potentiality of the organization of cannery workers. In Seattle the cannery workers and the farm workers have a membership of 3,000. We do have a potential membership of 25,000 people who are engaged throughout the year in the state of California in these industries. A charter is necessary. Like a former speaker, I would go far afield to help those workers who have been exploited for years and years and years. They work under terrible conditions. If we have an international we can work all throughout the United States and standardize wages and conditions and take care of those workers who need help so badly.

Delegate Warren Brown, Federal Labor Union 20021, Stockton, California: I am not a banker, lawyer, or anything of that kind. I put twelve and one-half years in the agricultural field, and I was sent here by a local to back up the proposition to get an international charter. Knowing the conditions that existed in the agricultural field in California, I wish to speak for the agricultural workers. The conditions are not what they appear to be in the newspapers.

Two weeks before I came here, being an organizer, we went out to negotiate with the celery industry, which is in existence today in the state of California, which employs 4,000 workers at the present time, working for 20, 25, and 30 cents an hour, living in town and paying their own board. They sleep on the cement because they haven't sufficient money to pay board and room rent. If we can only get an international char-

ter we can take in thousands of workers in the state of California. I have a slip in my hand I got from our Secretary-Treasurer in Stockton, which says that we put out a 10-point demand. They are raising the wages 10 cents an hour. The men who are getting 25 cents are supposed to get 35, and those who are getting 30 cents an hour are supposed to get 40 cents.

People do not actually know the conditions in the agricultural field. They read the newspapers and hear that the average scale of California is \$2.40 a day, which is a damnable lie. The average worker in the agricultural industry only makes \$1.50 a day for 10 hours, and they board themselves in town. They come to town with big trucks and load men into them and take them 30 and 40 miles to work. Some of the men have to pay 15 and 20 cents for transportation, which we are trying to eliminate through our organizing campaign.

Our organization is very young. We are paying per capita tax to the State Federation of Labor on 100 members. We have more members than that, but the agricultural workers have not got the money to pay the full initiation fee. Many of those poor workers come in and lay down 20 cents, 30 cents, and 50 cents, to get organized. We will have to have the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and the State Federation of Labor of California.

I have been organizing for seven and one-half months on a measly salary of \$10.00 a week and paying my own expenses. We have put in three locals in Bakersfield. We have the first charter that ever existed in California for agriculture. I urge you to vote for the resolution and give us an international charter so that we can organize in the state of California.

I thank you.

Delegate Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colorado: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I, an agricultural worker in the

beet fields of Colorado, was sent here by the Beet Field Workers' Union to plead with the American Federation of Labor to grant an international charter to the agricultural workers of the United States in order that we can organize and get better wages and better conditions. Out in Colorado there are 35,000 beet field workers who can be members of the American Federation of Labor. The dues we have to pay are very high. Until the agricultural workers of Colorado are organized in an international union, the trade unions of the American Federation of Labor will have to dig down into their treasuries, because these beet field workers cannot afford to pay the dues that are paid to the American Federation of Labor.

The workers of Colorado, especially the beet field workers, only work about six months in the year and they only make about \$200 in the whole year. Then they will cut them off relief, and what will they do? Only through the help of the organized trade union movement of America are the agricultural workers in the beet fields of Colorado hoping to raise their wages and better their conditions. So I hope that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will take this matter into serious consideration and grant an international charter to the agricultural workers of the United States.

President Green: The Chair desires to make just this brief explanation. The American Federation of Labor has interested itself in behalf of these low income workers, the agricultural workers of the nation. As a result of it we have organized more than sixty federal labor unions composed of agricultural workers. Now I know that those local unions do not pay the American Federation of Labor per capita tax upon their full membership. They pay on a nominal number. The balance of the money collected is used for their purposes, and that is one reason why the membership of these sixty or more agricultural workers' unions

is on a much lower basis than it should be. But we do not find any fault with that because we realize that they are face to face with difficult problems. The Executive Council always takes into consideration the ability of federal labor unions, organized into a national or international union to sustain that international union if a charter is granted. The organization of federal labor unions is the preliminary step to the establishment of a national or international union. But the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council always want to feel reasonably certain that if an international charter is granted the international union thus chartered would be self-sustaining. It is a serious matter, the issuance of a charter to an international union. It is no light, inconsequential matter.

The beet field workers of Colorado, low paid, exploited workers, have challenged our interests for months and years. We established an organization among them recently. The same is true among the agricultural workers of Colorado, New Jersey, and elsewhere. About two weeks ago the American Federation of Labor sent a contribution of \$5,000 to striking cannery workers at Salinas, California. We are aiding and assisting them in every possible way.

In addition to requiring reasonable assurance that an international union would be self-sustaining before a charter can be granted, we take into account the type of leadership of these agricultural workers. We want to be sure that they are agricultural workers and represented by real, bona fide agricultural workers. All of these facts must be taken into account and will be taken into account by the Executive Council when considering the resolution providing for the issuance of an international charter. I deem it proper, in view of the discussion which has taken place, to make this brief explanation at this time.

Delegate Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers' Union No. 20195: Mr. Chair-

man, I appreciate your remarks with reference to sustaining an international charter, and I believe I can speak in behalf of the agricultural workers and say that they would be satisfied to have this convention or the Executive Council set up nominal heads to govern these agricultural and cannery workers throughout the entire United States until they are reasonably sure that they could take care of themselves.

From my contact with men and women who have been identified with agricultural and cannery work, we have very many bright minds among them, and I am reasonably sure, and I believe I can guarantee that you will find men and women who are capable and qualified to handle this most important matter in a business-like way, and in a manner that will redound to the credit of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Trade Union Boycott Upon German Products

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, your committee has had referred to it five resolutions dealing with the Intolerant dictatorship of Nazism and Fascism. These resolutions, among other things, request that our government should do nothing which would assist Germany and Italy because of their present form of government. None of these resolutions have any reference to the action taken by the Washington convention three years ago.

At that convention there was a detailed description given to the delegates of the various forms of persecution which had resulted, first, in the destruction of the German trade union movement, and secondly, in a particularly vicious, inhuman persecution of German Jews in Germany. It was pointed out that men who were the descendants of Jewish families, who had lived in Germany for many generations, whose ancestors had played a prominent part as Jewish citizens, as

mechanics, as inventors, as scientists, as soldiers as officers of the Army and Navy, had been disqualified from any further enjoyment of their rights as German citizens.

Germany has continued its attitude toward the Jews of its own people. They have held that to have Jewish blood is officially a taint. The Jew has been disqualified. He cannot receive the protection in the courts that other German citizens enjoy, and for that reason conventions since the Washington convention have reaffirmed the action of our trade union movement in placing a boycott upon all goods coming from Germany and upon German ships.

As no resolutions calling for the reaffirmation of our previous position were introduced, I now want to move that this convention reaffirm the action of previous conventions in placing a trade union boycott upon all German products until such time as all Germans, Jews or otherwise, are given full citizenship rights.

I move that we reaffirm the action of previous conventions in placing a boycott upon Germany because of her continued persecution of the Jews.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and carried by unanimous vote.

Fascism or Nazism

Resolutions Nos. 11, 26, 67, 196 and 223 relate to Fascism or Nazism. They condemn the destruction of human liberty under both these forms of dictatorship. In lieu of these resolutions your committee recommends that this convention reaffirm the previous declarations of conventions, which called attention to the destruction of human liberty and a democratic form of government by Fascism, Nazism and Communism.

Dictatorship under any one of these forms of government is still dictatorship, the denial of men's right to a free press, free speech, voluntary associations for the advancement of mu-

tual welfare, and the destruction of those forms of legal and judicial processes through which the rights of the accused are as fully protected as those of the accuser.

Under Fascism, Nazism and Communism political differences of opinion are held to be treason. The world has witnessed the political assassinations and the so-called judicial verdicts by which those in opposition are done away with. The examples are recent and impressive.

Our country has just passed through a Presidential election in which there developed strong feelings and vigorous criticism throughout the campaign. Each group of candidates were given every opportunity to attack their opponents. A majority vote decided the election and determined who should represent the people in Congress, and in the White House. Those who were unsuccessful as candidates are as safe in all of their citizen rights as though they had been the victors. There will be no retaliation. There will be no infringements on any one's liberties and rights because of the part they took in the campaign, for this is a country of free men enjoying the freedom and guarantees of human liberty protected by democratic institutions.

Where Communism is in control, differences of political opinions, opposition to the administration, are not tolerated. Only recently outstanding leaders in the Bolshevik revolution who desired a change in the policies of their country, were charged with treason for doing what is every American's right. They were found guilty and executed as a warning to others that there can be but one political party under a dictatorship, and opposition to it means death.

The existence of Communism, Fascism and Nazism, the existence of dictatorship in any form, is a definite threat to human liberty and to peace, for its aim is the subjugation by force and bloodshed of all those within the nation who may differ,

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Osman, Dry Goods Employees Union No. 19932: I want to commend the committee for re-affirming its stand against Fascism throughout the world. I think we can thank the American Federation of Labor for the fact that the word "Fascism" is in bad repute in this country, that that word is so much in disfavor, that the proponents of Fascism find it necessary to resort to other names under which to masquerade and behind which to plot against the democracy, against the liberty of the American people. I need not bore this Federation with detailed accounts of such organizations as the Crusaders, the Silver Shirts, etc. Brother Martel can tell you about the Black Legion in Michigan. Other delegates can tell you about the Vigilantes in California and elsewhere. Plenty of the delegates here are familiar with the Fascist activities of the Ku Klux Klan, and right here in this city of Tampa we are faced with the horrible sight of the atrocity, the flogging, of three liberty loving individuals, and the murder of one of them, Shoemaker.

The last election has brought to the attention of the Nation some of the Fascist organizations in America—the so-called American Liberty League—liberty—liberty to starve, liberty to slave, that is how they represent themselves and how they masquerade as a Liberty League. Their agents, the stooges of William Randolph Hearst, those are the people who showed their true colors, their Fascist tendencies, in the last election. Then there are the demagogues on the American scene, the Father Coughlinites, the Gerald Smiths, the Townsends, and the others who appealed to the sentiment of the needy and aged in order to betray them, in order to get their confidence, and then sell them out, as they have sold out to Hearst and the American Liberty League during the past election campaign. We very well know

how much assistance these old people, these needy, the farmers, and the workers would have received had the Republican party been in possession of the White House today.

I need not repeat that these organizations, these Fascists' agencies, will not hesitate to stir up racial prejudice and stir up religious prejudice, stir up nationalist feeling of one group of people against the other in order to divide and rule, in order to deceive for their own selfish interests.

While we are grateful that Fascism is not yet in the saddle in America, we must not ignore the fact that the danger of Fascism is very, very real. We must not fail to notice that definite action must be taken to make it impossible for Fascism to gain a permanent foothold in the United States of America.

It has been repeated here, on numerous occasions, that Fascism means the end of organized labor, that it means death to the labor unions, as we understand them your trade unions as personified in the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor is against it. We have every reason to be against it.

We also know that the very philosophy of Fascism requires the destruction of democracy, the resort to war. The situation in Ethiopia, Manchuria and Hitler's pronouncement about his hunger for the Ukraine and the Urals is concrete evidence that Fascism is not confined to the boundaries of any one country. It is international in scope. Fascism means a disregard for such things as international law.

This morning we heard a report about the Simpson case in Germany. I don't know much about Simpson, but I do know one thing, he is an American citizen and he was seized on board an American ship by German authorities, because evidently he did not approve of Fascism. Fascism has utter contempt for the rights of other unions and for the sovereignty of America over its own citizens.

Any remarks about Fascism cannot be complete unless we take notice of the fact that Spain today is suffering because of an inadequate defense against Fascism or because of the fact that some people failed to realize that Fascists will resort to anything under the sun to gain control over a peace-loving country. Fascism today has invaded a democratic nation and has resorted to bloodshed. It has spilled the blood of working men and women. It has massacred trade unionists, their wives, and their children because they stood up in defense of their principles, because they stood up in defense of their right to organize, because they stood up in defense of democracy and liberty.

What shall we do? Merely resolving to be against Fascism is not sufficient. It is commendable, of course, but we must decide on definite action, we must support the struggle against Fascism. We know that organized labor is the greatest bulwark against Fascism in the world. We know that if it were not for the American Federation of Labor we would have Fascism here in the United States now. We know that Fascism will come to the United States unless we prepare actively to fight that menace, unless we begin organizing the unorganized. We must swell the ranks of labor. We must strengthen the army of the workers against the threat of Fascism in the United States, and when that threat comes we must not forget that the success of our struggle against Fascism in this country may, in a very large degree, depend upon the support that we, the American labor movement, will receive from liberty loving people, from organized labor, in other parts of the world.

That is why it is important that we enter the battle against Fascism wherever and whenever the ugly head of Fascism is reared, whether it is in Spain or elsewhere. Wherever liberty is being attacked, wherever democracy is in danger we must support those people, we must tell them "brothers

and sisters, we are supporting you, we are with you, we are helping you with every ounce of strength, because we know that you are fighting for those ideals which are dear to us, for those principles which we cherish."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Administration of Walsh-Healey Bill

Resolution No. 97—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Laurence Foley, The Granite Cutters' International Association of America; M. W. Mitchell, Journeymen Stonecutters' Association of North America.

WHEREAS, The enactment of the Walsh-Healey bill establishes the principle that those who enjoy the benefits of substantial contracts from the Federal Government, must assure to their employees the privilege of working conditions of at least a minimum American standard; and

WHEREAS, The effective administration of this Act has been delayed by the lack of a suitable appropriation; and

WHEREAS, The successful operation of this Act can and should substantially benefit the working people of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the provision of sufficient funds for the vigorous enforcement of this Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Department of labor be requested to establish regional offices for the more effective administration of the Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Department of Labor be urged to provide for the appointment of accredited workers' representatives to serve on the Staff or advisory committees of the Department and of each of its regional offices, so that the working people may have a voice in the administration of this Act enacted in their behalf.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

At this point Delegate Ornburn, sec-

retary of the Committee on Legislation, was given the floor to make a report on behalf of that committee on the same subject.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Government Contracts

(Page 124, Executive Council's Report)

Delegate Ornburn, secretary of the Committee on Legislation; Mr. Chairman and delegates, the Committee on Legislation had referred to it that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "Government Contracts," which will be found in the second day's proceedings, page 124. I regard as the outstanding achievement of the American Federation of Labor at the last session of Congress the passage of Senate Bill 3055, and therefore I am going to read to the convention the report of the Executive Council and the committee's report.

Government Contracts

S. 3055, passed by Congress and signed by the President, provided that after September 28, 1936, all specifications and contracts involving the purchase of \$10,000 or more of supplies, or loans or grants, will contain provisions that the prevailing rate of wages must be paid; employees must not work more than eight hours in any day or forty hours in any week, and boys under sixteen years of age and girls under eighteen years of age or convict labor, must not be employed. All work must be done in sanitary buildings and decent surroundings. Sweatshops and homework will be eliminated so far as these government contracts are concerned. Contracts can be canceled if any of the provisions are violated. Payments on contracts can be withheld when contractors engage in "kick-back" practices or other violations. Such payments shall be made to the Secretary of Labor who will return it to the defrauded workers.

The Comptroller General will prepare and distribute to every depart-

ment making purchases a list of contractors who have violated any provision of the law and they will be debarred from further bidding for three years. The law makes it impossible for what are known as "bid brokers" to bid. Their plan is to submit low bids and then peddle the contracts to sub-contractors at prices that make the payment of decent wages impossible.

The law does not apply to construction work. The Davis-Bacon Act only applies to buildings. But there is much other construction work that does not come under that law. Every effort was made, but without success, to have the law cover all construction work.

The passage by Congress of the Walsh-Healey bill came only after persistent agitation. The Walsh bill passed the Senate in the first session of the 74th Congress. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House where it slumbered for many months. March 2 Representative Healey introduced a bill having the same purpose as the bill passed by the Senate. No action was taken on this measure for some weeks. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor were persistent in urging action. Members of the committee were interviewed and fourteen of the twenty-five pledged themselves to vote to report the bill favorably.

The sub-committee to which the bill was referred also was not entirely in favor of the measure. After much pressure the sub-committee reported to the full Judiciary Committee. The latter on April 30 voted to lay the bill on the table by a vote of eleven to seven. This aroused the representatives of Labor who immediately began a persistent attack on the members of the committee to reconsider their action.

During consideration in Congress of the measure, the President of the American Federation of Labor several times called upon affiliated organizations throughout the country to appeal

to their respective members of Congress to vote for the measure. This agitation was kept up until June 2, when the Judiciary Committee voted to report the Healey Bill favorably to the House. The bill was reported to the House favorably June 5 and was placed on the calendar. As days passed it was apparent that plans were being laid to see that the bill would not be passed. Strenuous efforts were made by the legislative representatives in Washington to have the measure considered. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor took the matter up with Speaker Bankhead and through his influence the bill was passed. Stringent penalties are provided for violations of the law.

Prior to the passage of the bill by the House of Representatives and after it reached the White House, the Navy Department and shipping interests entered strenuous objections. Representatives of every chiseling contractor furnishing supplies to the government also urged the President to refuse to sign the measure. However, the first act of President Roosevelt on his return to Washington, June 30, was to approve the measure.

While the law does not cover all contracts made with the government, it is believed that the benefits obtained will be so great that further amendments will be made in the future to include all construction work and reduce the amount of contracts from \$10,000 to a lower figure. The bill had the approval of the President of the United States who gave every aid in its passage.

This section deals with progress made with respect to legislation compelling proper working conditions on Government contracts. The enactment of the legislation in question is a source of gratification, especially when the marshalling of anti-social forces against it is realized.

The Committee recommends that the Senators and Representatives prominent in this fight be extended still fur-

ther evidences of the gratitude of labor.

The Committee recommends that the Executive Council pursue its declared intention of seeking amendments which will reduce the amount of the minimum contracts covered to below the present figure of \$10,000 and strengthen it in other important particulars. It is further recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to give attention to the whole subject of fair conditions in government contracts and that it endeavor to strengthen existing legislation and, if necessary, to secure the introduction and enactment of further statutes for this purpose.

Finally, we recommend the Executive Council be instructed to cooperate with the Secretary of Labor, with a view to presenting to the President the necessity of adequate funds and widened facilities of administration of the Walsh-Healey Bill.

May I make just a few observations and review the activity of the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor in securing the passage of this legislation at the last session of Congress? As stated in the Executive Council's report, the bill was tabled by the House Judiciary Committee by a vote of approximately 2 to 1 in the last days of the Seventy-fourth Congress. The three Departments of the American Federation of Labor, the Building Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, the Union Label Trades Department, joined together in cooperation with the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor in appealing to our friends in Congress to do everything possible to report out the Walsh-Healey Bill favorably from the House Judiciary Committee, where it was then resting on the table. The Executive Council visited the President of the United States and laid before him the importance of the passage of this bill, in that our Government is one of the largest employers of labor in our

country, and, as stated in the Executive Council's report, the Comptroller General had ruled on previous occasions that the lowest responsible bidder must be awarded the contract.

Who were the lowest responsible bidders? In almost every case the lowest responsible bidder was a chiseling contractor, a chiseling employer working labor long hours and for a mere pittance in the way of wages. They had no respect whatever for conditions of employment in their establishments. In addition to that, there were any number of bid brokers roaming around Washington, with only a room in a hotel as an office. They would bid for this Government work and then submit it to other manufacturers and contractors throughout the country. We had a national disgrace, in the early part of the last session, as a result of one of these bid brokers getting the business of the Federal Government.

The President of the United States assured the Executive Council of his sympathetic cooperation. There was a meeting called in Washington of over 40 members of the House of Representatives, and the President of the American Federation of Labor laid before these legislative members the necessity of the passage of this bill, and, with the aid of the three departments and the legislative representatives of every national and international union in the District of Columbia, they were successful in taking the bill off the table in the House, passing it in an amended form, and then sending it to the Senate on the last day of the Seventy-fourth Congress, where we were confronted with a filibuster.

With the aid of Senator Pittman, of Nevada, it became possible for us to secure the passage of the Walsh-Healey Bill just 45 minutes before the Senate adjourned, and to Senator Pittman and other members of the United States Senate goes great credit for their support of this legislation.

I have stated to you what the bill

provides. It limits hours, it establishes a minimum rate of wage, it prohibits the employment of children. It prohibits the purchasing of supplies from the prisons of our country. In the House of Representatives, where we were compelled to accept an amendment which provided for the administration of this law by the Secretary of Labor, the Senate concurred in that amendment. In its original form the bill provided for an independent Board of Administration, but the Senate accepted the House amendment and passed the bill providing for the administration of this Act by the Secretary of Labor.

My friends, our complaint is that there is yet no administration of the Walsh-Healey Act. The only official act in the administration of the Walsh-Healey Bill is to exempt certain industries for a period of 90 days from the provisions of this Act, and if we are to have these exemptions under this Act, such as we witnessed under the NRA, we might just as well repeal the Act at the next session of Congress.

We ask the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to work with the Secretary of Labor in presenting to the President of the United States the necessity of the enforcement of this Act. You will find that the large employers of labor doing business with the Federal Government are operating in the lowest wage communities in the United States. Now, this bill does not carry all of the provisions that we desire. It is upon the statute books. It is helpful, it will be effective, if we can only prevail upon the Secretary of Labor to give it proper enforcement.

I move you the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of Committee on Resolutions: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Resolutions surrenders

the floor to the Committee on Building Trades.

President Green: The Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions is not through, he has a lot more, but he gives way for the moment for a report from the Committee on Building Trades. I now recognize Chairman Williams.

Chairman Williams: The report of the Committee on Building Trades will be presented by Delegate Bleretz, a member of the Electrical Workers' Union and Secretary of the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate Bleretz, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee considered Resolution No. 128 printed on page 279 of the proceedings of the second day of the convention. This resolution was adopted by the Building Trades Department and introduced in this convention by Delegate Williams, President of the Department. It reads:

Proposing Examination Board Under WPA for Skilled Workers

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate J. W. Williams, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Under the so-called "Security Wage" many local officials under the WPA, either through a lack of understanding or favoritism have attempted to advance men into trades without the proper care so necessary to the training of apprenticeship for skilled craftsmen; and

WHEREAS, In the haste of many of these local officials in a false hope of producing mechanics for the work at hand are through their efforts destroying the orderly apprenticeship system of the skilled trades which has come up through many years of the building industry and found so necessary to good and safe construction; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., submit this resolution before the A. F. of L. in its regular session and ask that the same join in with the Building Trades in the submission of protest before the heads of the WPA Administration and insist

that they remedy and desist from further loose practices which all tend to wreck the standards necessary for safe construction in the building industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in employment of all skilled workers under the WPA there be a bona fide board set up for the examination of such mechanics as employed, into the fitness of these mechanics for the prospective assignments and that such Board consist of one (1) member of the craft so examined, One (1) employer of recognized standing in the community and one (1) representative of the WPA service engineering department, and that only men passed by these be employed on skilled work to the end that the government receive the proper grade of work in its respective endeavors.

Your committee recommends adoption and compliance with the request contained in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee jointly considered resolutions numbered 231 and 251 printed on pages 317 and 325, respectively. The subjects titled in the resolutions are "Scott Housing Bill" and "Wagner Housing Bill." They read:

Scott Housing Bill

Resolution No. 231—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical and Research Employees Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, A resolution on a public housing program was unanimously adopted at the fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City in October, 1935, which outlined the conditions necessary to make a housing program acceptable for labor support, such as, (1) a guarantee of a union scale of wages on all public aided housing projects, and (2) that there be bona fide labor and consumer representation on all housing authorities and (3) which outlined steps to further the realization of such a program through the setting up of local labor housing committees, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner-Ellenbogen Bill supported by the administration and the American Federation of Labor, failed to pass the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, The Housing Bill, (H. R. 12835) introduced in Congress by Congressman Byron M. Scott, June 19, 1936, more faithfully follows the letter

and spirit of the aforementioned resolutions, providing for adequate housing at \$5 per room maximum rental, trade union wages, making mandatory the construction of 10,000,000 dwelling units during the next ten years, limiting tenancy to income groups, and

WHEREAS, Enforcement of existing Tenement House Laws will result in the expenditure of millions of dollars and create jobs for alterations and repairs; and

WHEREAS, housing and labor conditions have not improved;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the Scott Bill be adopted for endorsement; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor memorialize Congress to pass the Scott Bill; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention go on record for the strict and immediate enforcement of the existing Tenement House Laws, in all states; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That local functioning labor Housing Committees be set up to cooperate with and aid in the formation of tenant groups who have as one of their principles the strict enforcement of the existing Tenement House Laws.

Wagner Housing Bill

Resolution No. 251—By Delegate Leif Dahl, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 19996, Bridgton, N. J.

WHEREAS, More than three million dwellings occupied by American wage-earners and their families today have been found to be unfit for human habitation and in need of immediate replacement; and

WHEREAS, A large portion of the most unsanitary and dilapidated housing is found in rural areas and is inhabited by agricultural wage-workers and their dependents; and

WHEREAS, In order to meet this acute nation-wide need in the interests of health and welfare of American workers a prompt enactment of an adequate long-range program of low-rent housing is imperative, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the incoming Executive Council to make every effort within its power to secure the enactment by Congress of the low-rent housing program embodied in the Wagner Housing Bill; and

RESOLVED, That such program contemplated in this Bill be supported by adequate financing for Federal subsidies and include specific provisions for replacement of blighted rural areas

by planned communities for low-income groups; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the administration of the program contemplated by said Bill full provision be made for Labor representation on local, State and Federal administrative agencies.

The committee finds that legislation embodying housing proposals of diversified forms is under consideration by friends of Labor in Congress and believes that serious consideration of housing policies should not be handicapped through a too previous commitment of this Federation as a national institution to the various housing laws of the several states or the features of the Wagner Housing Bill which failed of enactment. The committee is of the opinion that the importance of Federal Housing measures is sufficiently vital to labor to justify the consideration of all proposed suggestions without limitation through commitments involved in the adoption of these resolutions.

However, recognizing the merit contained in each it is recommended that both resolutions be referred to the Incoming Executive Council to be considered in the efforts of the Council to promote proper construction of adequate housing.

The committee recommends adoption of its report on the resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Housing for Wage Earners

That portion of the Executive Council's Report captioned "Housing for Wage-earners," pages 173 to 178 of the report was referred to this committee. After serious consideration of the significance of the referred-to portion of the Executive Council's report, the Committee recommends that the convention approve and direct a continuation of the vigilant and constructive effort of the Executive Council to promote through legislation the durable construction of housing for wage earners, with particular emphasis upon the importance of substantiability of housing to be purchased as homes.

The committee moves adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Low Cost Housing

That portion of the Executive Council's Report titled "Low Cost Housing" pages 126 and 127 of the report was referred to the committee. Because of the similarity of need for and identity of purpose included in, the substance of this subject with the objects to be promoted by this convention through the application of effort by the incoming Executive Council in behalf of "Housing for Wage Earners," the committee offers the same recommendation.

The committee moves adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

The final matter referred to this Committee is a portion of the Executive Council's Report captioned "Building Trades Department" on pages 106 and 107 of the printed report. It reads:

Building Trades Department

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City in October, 1935, an agreement was reached by the representatives of the nineteen national and international organizations comprising the building crafts and a committee was appointed to work out a reorganization of the Building Trades Department. D. W. Tracy, Harry Bates, William L. Hutcherson, M. J. Collieran, William J. McSorley and L. P. Lindelof, all international presidents of their respective organizations, constituted this committee. It was the duty of the committee to work out a reorganization of the Building Trades Department and to set up machinery to settle jurisdictional disputes arising in the building industry.

The Reorganization Committee called a special convention of representatives of affiliated organizations which was held in Washington, D. C., March 25, 1936. A complete reorganization of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor was consummated. Officers were elected in accordance with the constitution of the Department and a policy and principle for settling jurisdictional disputes were adopted. However, it was decided that this policy and principle would not be effective until a referee,

which was provided for, was selected. The matter of selecting a referee was left in the hands of the Reorganizing Committee.

On September 29, 1936, Secretary-Treasurer M. J. McDonough and President J. W. Williams were called into a conference with this Committee together with Dr. John A. Lapp, who had been selected by the Reorganization Committee to act as referee, as per the action of the special convention. The officers of the Building Trades Department were officially notified that Dr. John A. Lapp had been selected to act as referee and was to take official charge of his duties beginning October 1, 1936. The rules of procedure as adopted by the special convention of March 25, 1936, were placed in the hands of the President of the Building Trades Department and Dr. Lapp, the referee. This procedure for dealing with jurisdictional disputes is now in full force and effect.

Peace and harmony prevail in the Department since its reorganization. The Department is now functioning for the benefit of its affiliated membership and to the best interest of the affiliated national and international organizations and its state and local building trades councils and with greater cooperation from all sources to the satisfaction of those whom it serves. The Department is one hundred per cent in affiliation and is prepared to meet issues whatever they may be with perfect confidence and security.

The Committee is convinced that the portion of the Executive Council's Report just read exemplifies the solidarity of the American Federation of Labor in that it proves the understanding of values accruing through unity constitutes a greater influence upon our judgment than does sentiment engendered by differences of opinions. President Green, Secretary Morrison and the members of the Executive Council are to be commended for the achievement of purpose illustrated by the harmony restored in the Building Trades Department through the introduction and encouragement of measures producing the result, and the American Federation of Labor is indebted to Executive Council Member, George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, for his patience, perseverance and consistency which provided the basis for understanding and thus permitted the success recorded in this report.

The committee recommends adoption of the report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: I just wonder whether the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention fully comprehend and appreciate the significance and importance of the report just read to this convention. The report sets forth in a mighty convincing way the progress that was made in bringing about a consolidation of the Building Trades Department. It represents a real achievement. I know of no event that has taken place in the history of our movement during the past years that represents in any more definite and concrete way a real achievement for the American Federation of Labor. It shows that the American Federation of Labor possesses a resourcefulness that serves as a challenge to every situation which may arise.

The bitterness that had developed as a result of the division within the Building Trades Department has been supplanted by good will and understanding and perfect cooperation. Perhaps the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor will be better and stronger because of the experience through which it has passed. These lessons, learned at a great sacrifice, perhaps, prove to be most helpful and effective to labor. All of those who made a distinct contribution toward the development of unity and harmony and cooperation and good will within the Building Trades Department are to be commended and congratulated.

Do you not recall the division at San Francisco and at Atlantic City, and how our hearts were heavy because of that division, and how attempts were made to take advantage of the division that had been created by those who sought to promote their own personal ends? I rejoice over the outcome of it all. I am exceedingly happy. I am pleased beyond measure.

I congratulate the officers of the

Building Trades Department upon the ability they have shown to settle their own troubles within the family of organized labor. It is a happy day and a happy event. We are proud to be able to report to this convention this outstanding achievement.

The Chair recognizes President Williams, of the Building Trades Department.

President Williams, Building Trades Department: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I think I can speak in behalf of every one of the affiliated international organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department. It is true that we did have for quite a while a serious controversy in the Building Trades Department. I can safely say that we approve of what President Green has just said. However, I think it is one of the best things that ever happened, because it has brought us closer together, as exemplified by the convention that we held last week, which has been described as the most harmonious convention held in the thirty odd years of the Building Trades Department.

We had at that convention men who have attended every convention since the institution of the Building Trades Department, and they said it was the most harmonious, the most constructive, the most cooperative convention that they had attended in those 30 years.

I want to express our appreciation to President Green, to Secretary Morrison, to the Executive Council, and to Vice President Harrison, for the assistance rendered and for the patience exhibited in bringing a settlement in the Building Trades Department. I assure you now that we are 100 per cent in affiliation, in cooperation, and, as we have been in the past, we are going to remain one of the strongest departments of the American Federation of Labor, supporting its Executive Council at all times.

And I want to thank the delegates again that were patient at the San

Francisco convention and at the Atlantic City convention, for permitting us to settle this dispute in our own ranks, without calling in any outside bodies whatever.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes the report of the committee, and it is respectfully submitted and signed:

J. W. WILLIAMS, Chairman.
E. D. BIERETZ, Secretary
JAMES J. RYAN
WILLIAM MCCARTHY
J. M. GAVLAK
GEO. H. LAKEY
JOS. V. MORESCHI
M. W. MITCHELL
W. J. MCCAIN
WM. E. WALTER
JOHN W. JOCKEL
WM. J. MCSORLEY
Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: The hour of adjournment having arrived, I move that we stand adjourned until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

President Green: The committee's report is before the convention now.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Delegate Weaver calls to the attention of the Chairman the fact that the hour of adjournment has arrived. Delegate Weaver is correct. Are there any announcements before we adjourn?

Secretary Morrison read several announcements of meetings of different bodies.

Delegate Lane, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen: Last night when the vote was taken on the resolution before the house, we were here and voted in the negative. We would like to be recorded in that roll call as voting in opposition to the committee's report.

President Green: It will be impossible for us to change the roll call, but your statement can appear in the records of the convention if so desired.

At 5:40 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, November 25.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Tampa, Florida,
November 25, 1936.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Kindred, Hefferly, Williams (E. H.), Graham (James D.), Marcic, Phillips (John A.), Rosqvist, Patterson (Dowell E.), Turnblazer, Cahill, Minton (Wm.), Getchen, Mundell (Curtis), McDonald (S. S.), Tracy (Wm.), O'Neill (John J.), Mayer (Richard), McClellan (T.), Johnson (E. A.), Yablensky, Jenkins (E. R.), Dobbs, Jones (John T.), Breidenbach, Nischwitz, Will, Van Patten, Stackweather, Drake, Owens (John), Patten (Fred), Augustino, Farrell (Chas.), McKenzie, Marchesi, Thompson (Kenneth), Preston (E. J.), Powers (Geo.), Hansen, Hanly, Majors, Soule, Shave, Pickle (E. L.), Keegan (John J.), Stoffels, Draper, Hayward, Klarish, Lisse, Kane (John J.), Hill (W. F.), McCarty (M. L.), Cahir, Legler, Price, Burton (R. L.), Harrison (J. W.), Gatelee, Wood (R. T.), Glasgow, Hudak, Edmundson, Edwards (John A.), Hunter (Thomas), Reed (Geo.), Saltus, Bender (Frank J.), Moulin, Markva, Johnson (C. W.), Schreier, Kocher, Williamson, Cairns, Fitzgerald (I. J.), Stern, Reynolds (Robt.), Clineinst, Bellows, Finnegan (Thos.), Knopka, Jackson (Geo. B.), Merritt (F. W.), Gerhardt (Frances), Gales (Dan), Barnes (Geo.), Lee, Williams (Clem S.), Matlin, Prior, Duldner, Lufano, Kirby (Thos. J.).

INVOCATION

(Rev. Walter Metcalf, Pastor,
First Congregational Church, Tampa)

Almighty God, we pray Thy blessing upon us as we gather together today. We thank Thee for all creative thought, for all creative endeavor. We thank Thee for labor, labor of the hand and labor of the brain and labor of the soul, and we pray as we gather here that we may feel that Thou dost lead us upward and onward. Our thoughts go out today to those in need. We are thinking about the one who has led this country, in our imagination, crossing the ocean. We wonder about Lindbergh today, and our sympathies go out. We also wonder about the thousands of millions of people who are also in need, and we pray that we may extend to all people a sense of our sympathy, of our understanding. May we all labor together for the advancement of the common people of this country and of the world. Bless

this convention, those who lead it, those who are here. Bless us all, we pray Thee. We ask it in the Father's name, Amen.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the secretary of the Committee on Legislation for submission of its report, Secretary Hyatt.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Secretary Hyatt continued the report of the committee as follows:

Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The United States Civil Service is a protection to Government employees against undesirable working conditions, and safeguards their positions against unfair labor practices and lay-offs; and

WHEREAS, During the past several years temporary, non-civil service employees have been introduced into the postal service; and

WHEREAS, This condition, because it tends to limit the number of regular civil service employees, is a menace to the entire civil service system; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Unions have gone on record as being opposed to the use of these non-civil service employees except in emergencies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to the use of non-civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies.

This resolution is signed by the delegates from the postal unions. It repeats a request for support in the elimination of non-civil service workers from the postal service except in emergencies. Resolutions of this char-

acter have been unanimously passed by previous conventions. Inasmuch as it is in conformity with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor in protecting and extending the civil service, it is recommended that this action be repeated.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Appreciation of Fair Labor Policy of U. S. Post Office Officials

Resolution No. 162—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, Engineers and Draftsmen; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, Postmaster General James A. Farley, Acting Postmaster General W. W. Howes and other policy forming officials of the Postal Service have repeatedly declared themselves as recognizing the right of organization by the employees and of spokesmanship through their duly elected representatives; and

WHEREAS, This policy is one inaugurated by the present administration of the Post Office Department and is an innovation and marked change from previous personnel relations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor extends its appreciation to the officials of the Post Office Department for this liberal reform; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that these officials take energetic steps to impress upon their subordinates in the field the duty and responsibility of observing and furthering recognition of the unions and the sincere practice of collective bargaining with respect to administrative matters; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That we express the sincere hope that this example will be followed by the extension of the above principles to the entire government service.

This resolution is an expression of gratitude of all the government workers unions because of progress made during the present administration of the postal service in the establishment of cordial relations and collective bargaining. While such relations have existed in the past with individual officials and bureaus, the present administration of the postal service is the first to officially recognize and deal with the unions as a whole. It is understood that the resolution in no way refers to or recommends changes in the present methods of setting wages and hours whether by statute or agreement.

The committee recommends that the convention endorse the sentiments expressed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Administration of Civil Service Retirement Law

Resolution No. 163—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, Engineers and Draftsmen; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Retirement Law is one of the most efficient statutes for the protection of superannuated workers; and

WHEREAS, The administration of this law carries responsibility for more than \$300,000,000 largely contributed by the employees, and for individual accounts and records of more than 400,000 workers, thus requiring high specialized knowledge and administrative efficiency; and

WHEREAS, Duties and responsibilities of such character carry with them the necessity of executive independence and undivided responsibility; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the position of the delegates from civil service unions that the administration of Civil Service Retirement law be placed in the hands of an independent establishment responsible directly to the President.

This resolution is in line with the consistent policy of the civil service unions, manifested by resolutions endorsed by previous conventions, for the administration of laws of peculiar interest to them by independent government establishments. A resolution of this character, referring to the Federal Compensation Commission is contained in the report of the legislative committee.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 163 be referred to the Executive Council with the direction that the Council consult with the unions having membership under the Civil Service Retirement Act as to the handling of the subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Employees Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 164—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, Engineers, and Draftsmen; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the

urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering government employees, and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in an humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bipartisan commission; and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within Federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and the manner in which it has administered the laws under its jurisdiction; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Resolutions have been introduced in several conventions expressing the desire of the government workers that the U. S. Employees Compensation Board be continued as a separate establishment. The administration of this highly important workmen's compensation law has been such as to lead the employees to look with disfavor upon its absorption into some larger and less specialized establishment. Previous conventions have endorsed this policy. The committee recommends that this action be repeated by endorsing the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Thirty-Year Option Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 165—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, Engineers and Draftsmen; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service, and provisions made for widows of deceased annuitants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law and a widows' annuity.

This resolution refers to a liberalizing amendment of the Civil Service Retirement Act long sought by the workers under its jurisdiction. It advocates the privilege of retiring after 30 years service. Provision for retirement after a specified period is common to many retirement systems with, in some cases, lesser years of service.

The committee recommends that the

convention repeat its endorsement of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 166—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, Engineers and Draftsmen; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements, the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and the extension of the civil service system with the respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter work week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefitted thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the

effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model to those existing in the most advanced establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

The introduction of a blanket resolution, setting forth the aims and objectives of the civil service workers, has been an established practice in previous conventions. The conventions have invariably endorsed these resolutions. Inasmuch as the objectives cited are all in accord with the program of organized labor and have received its support in the past, it is recommended that the resolution be again endorsed by this convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Amendment of Social Security Law

Resolution No. 217—By Delegate Donald Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Law enacted by the Administration is a step forward in social legislation, but is totally inadequate to protect Labor against unemployment; the main weakness of the law being that it provides for only a limited amount of benefit for a limited period of time for a small section of American Labor and compels employed workers to bear the burden through taxation of payrolls, which is passed on to the wage earner in the form of higher prices, and in many instances in the form of wage cuts, Therefore Be It

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Tampa, Florida, favors an amendment to the Social Security Act, which embodies the following essential features:

1. All unemployed workers to enjoy the benefits of the Law;
2. Payments to begin with commencement of unemployment and to be paid for the entire duration of unemployment;

3. Funds to be raised by taxation upon incomes of more than \$5,000 a year, accumulated wealth, inheritances, gifts, profits and dividends, but in no case to be raised by sales tax or tax upon the wages of workers receiving less than \$5,000 a year; and it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the Executive Council prepares this amendment for the incoming session of Congress.

This resolution extols the Social Security Act as a step forward. It, however, claims defects in the way of a limited term of insurance against unemployment, inadequate payments, exclusion of large groups, etc. It further objects to the method of financing the Act as throwing the burden on many who do not benefit. It advocates extension to all unemployed workers and for the entire period of unemployment. It further advocates methods financing through taxes on high incomes, inheritances, dividends, etc.

The committee feels that the subject of Social Security legislation is of such breadth, importance and technical qualities as to make necessary an intensive study by the A. F. of L.

It therefore recommends that this and other resolutions before this committee having to do with amendment of the Social Security Act be referred to the Executive Council for such study and action.

Delegate Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.: I agree with the recommendation of the committee. However, I would like to make a few brief remarks. All of us recognize that the passage of the Social Security Act is a major victory for labor. Even though the Act has defects, the passage of it is a major victory, the first time we have taken a step in the direction already covered by many European countries. However, as the resolution points out, there are defects. All of us regret that it does not cover the agricultural workers, the marine workers and domestic workers. I don't think the agricultural workers have been similarly discriminated against by other leg-

isolation. We also regret the size of the benefits and the duration of the benefits, as well as the amount. We also regret that the actual raising of money to pay the benefits is done in such a way that part of it is a tax on the workers themselves.

I want to briefly mention a few of the most obvious defects of the Act. The benefits, so far as the employment compensation features are concerned, are based on the amount earned by the workers. This means that young workers, underpaid workers, can be discriminated against. They will also, because of their lower incomes, feel the contribution they have to make more seriously. The number of dependents an unemployed worker has, while unemployed, does not affect the size or the amount of the benefits. An unemployed worker with a dependent of one will receive the same amount as if he had five or six dependents.

It does not cover the millions of poverty stricken farmers and small business men who, during certain periods of the year, are likewise without income and faced with the problem of unemployment. Many employers will pass their portion of the cost of the Act on to the workers and consumers, in wage cuts and increased prices on their products. In shops and factories where there is no organization of labor to protect them, the employers will attempt to pass their part of this cost on to the wage earners. Wherever it is possible to raise the price of the product, the employers will pass this on to the consumer.

The Act does not give us a system of Federal unemployment compensation. The Act provides certain help to those states that have laws for unemployment compensation. The Social Security Board that has been set up has to approve the legislative provisions of the states. If, in the minds of the Social Security Board, the thing is approved, Federal support from the Government is forthcoming. In thirteen or fourteen states laws have been

approved so far. If we look into them, we will find the abuses I have mentioned take place in such legislation.

Eligibility as shown by the state law is bad. New York requires 90 days' unemployment during the year to be eligible. Another state requires 26 weeks a year to be eligible. The waiting period in many states is too long. In some states it is three to five weeks before you get benefits. If you wait for the benefits, it is too long. In most states it is one week for each month you have been employed. Even in New York, it is one week of insurable time of unemployment, and not more than 16 weeks in one year.

The important point is this: We all want to have the Act cover as many unemployed workers as we can get it to cover. We all want the Act to be paid for by taxation on the shoulders of the employer. We want the Act to be as adequate as possible as to when the payment begins and how long it continues.

I hope that in the near future the Executive Council will make a thorough study, will send out adequate publicity outlining the policy indicated in this resolution, and as soon as possible a clear, simple statement of the road along which all of us will have to travel.

Delegate Weintraub, Photographic Finishing Employees' Union No. 19893, New York: I want to speak on this amendment to the Social Security Act. I think it would make it easier if all the delegates would turn to Resolution No. 217. The first clause of this amendment, you will notice, claims that although the Social Security Act is a step forward in social legislation, it still does not cover very large groups of American labor. The first group it does not cover are those at present unemployed. This Act applies only to those who will be unemployed in the future. I say, my friends, what about the ten million unemployed at present? Are they not looking down to us here to help them? Isn't it true that if those

unemployed are not shown that we are behind them, that they will accept low wage standards, they will even go to the extent of scabbing when we try organization? We must here show that we are behind them. We must establish bonds between ourselves and these ten million unemployed who can act against us if we don't do that.

There are other groups, the non-profit groups. That even includes our union. I heard a delegate here say while the film was being shown on the Social Security Act, "My God, I am not eligible as an officer under this Act, and what about the little girls in my office?" They, too, are out.

But there are larger groups. What about the agricultural workers? There are three million of them. Should we not also set a fund for them, showing that we think of them, too, so that they will not act against us when the time comes?

The second clause deals with when payments should begin and end. The Social Security Act provides for only sixteen weeks of payment, and I ask you again, looking on your very rolls in the books of your union, isn't the average length of unemployment much longer? Aren't there men in the building trades that have been unemployed more than a year? What will happen to men in your union and outside of the union when they reach the end of this sixteen weeks' payment? Are they not driven into accepting lower wage standards than those which we fight for? Dare any delegate here go back to his membership and say he was not whole heartedly in favor of an amendment of this type, which would provide unemployment after sixteen weeks' period?

With regard to the third clause of this amendment, where is this money to come from if we are to provide for the ten million unemployed at present, if we are to extend this period of unemployment for full time when a man is unemployed? I say to you, my friends, if it comes from the pockets of labor, then it is a farce, it has no bearing, and it

is of no benefit to us. Can you imagine a more ridiculous picture than a man taking money out of one pocket and placing it in the other and imagining that he has been benefitted by this?

It is true the Act provides that some should be paid by the employer, but I say it is only just and fair to labor that every bit of this should come from the income brackets above the \$5,000 group.

Therefore, I recommend that our Executive Council take some very positive action within the coming year. This amendment to the Social Security Act can be the basis of other amendments, which can grow and extend to all labor. I am well aware that there are delegates in this convention who did not think it possible that a Social Security Act could be passed. They are the type of delegates who sit around the convention hall and say, "What's the use, what's the use?" I say that man is a symbol of the spirit of pessimism that prevails in the American Federation of Labor. I say that man is slowing up our movement, and I say let nobody try to throw a wet blanket on this amendment because it is impractical. Labor must use it. Labor must go ahead.

President Green: I want to deny your statement that the spirit of pessimism prevails in the American Federation of Labor. That is not true.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Russell-Kramer Bill

Resolution No. 218—By Delegate Marcella Ryan, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20099, Oakland, Calif.

WHEREAS, The Russell-Kramer Bill has been protested by labor bodies, liberals and legal authorities on the grounds that its passage would seriously curtail the rights of free speech, free assemblage and free thought; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth annual Convention condemn the bill and make all efforts to prevent the re-introduction of the Russell-Kramer Sedition Bill either in original or amended form and to prevent the introduc-

tion of similar bills at the next session of Congress.

This resolution refers to a specific bill introduced in Congress known as the Russell-Kramer bill. The committee does not have a copy of this bill at hand and has been unable to secure a copy in the short period available.

It is stated that the bill threatens to seriously curtail the rights of free speech, assembly and thought. If this be the case, it is in diametric conflict with the entire program and urgings of organized labor.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to study this measure. It is believed that such instruction will be all that is necessary to invoke the most vigorous opposition to such invasions of rights as the resolution states are contained in the bill.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Social Security Law for Seamen

Resolution No. 245—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Ivan Hunter and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Recently enacted Social Security Laws do not affect seamen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in 56th annual convention assembled that we endorse an adequate Social Security Law for seamen and direct the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee to render every assistance in the prompt enactment of such legislation.

This resolution refers to the exclusion of seamen from the Social Security Act. The committee recommends that the convention express its continued warm sympathy with the struggle of the seamen for the levelling upward of their conditions.

With respect to the specific recommendation contained in the resolution, the committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for the most sympathetic attention in connection with its consideration of the whole subject of Social Security legislation.

In this connection, the committee desires to register the statement of the delegates from the Seamen's Union. This statement, made to the committee, calls attention to the peculiar situation of seamen in that they have no state designation and thus must come under Social Security legislation in a manner different from that of workers who have definite residence in the different states.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Classification Act of 1923

Resolution No. 259—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Classification Act of 1923, as amended, embraces certain trades and other workmen particularly in the Custodial Service, whose wages have not kept pace with those employees coming under the "Wage Board System"; and

WHEREAS, These employees were excepted from the general provisions of the Classification Act of 1923 which excluded the skilled trades from the operation of that Act; and

WHEREAS, It is now proposed to extend the Classification Act to the field service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, that an effort be made to remove these employees from the purview of the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and to have them placed under a Schedule of Wages not less than that prevailing in the navy yards service; and to confer upon them the benefits of the 40-hour week, without reduction in weekly earnings; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, endorse the principles of the Ramspeck Bill, H. R. 7578, introduced May 3, 1935, and instruct the incoming officers to endeavor to secure its enactment.

This resolution calls attention to practices by which custodial employees with low wage scales are detailed to skilled work but are not allowed the pay for such work. It suggests remedy of this situation by placing such employees on not less than the wages in the navy yard service. It is further

desired that they be included in the forty-hour week law for postal employees. Endorsement of the Ramspeck bill, H. R. 7878 for these purposes is requested.

The committee recommends endorsement of the resolution with the further suggestion that the Executive Council assist the employees concerned in securing the union rates of the various trades practiced by them.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Kelley, Firemen and Oilers: Mr. Chairman, our organization is very much interested in this resolution because of the disastrous effect that has resulted in comparing wages paid in the Government service to the men in the custodial branch with the wages paid to our men in private industries. They pay men the laborer's rate in custodial service in the Post Office Department and let them do our work. In cities like Chicago, where we have a high rate in private industry, they are paying men for firing at the Post Office less than \$1,500 a year. The sooner this can be straightened out, the better it is going to react to all of the crafts involved. I would suggest that the incoming Executive Council take some action at their first meeting.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Silicosis

Chairman Ornburn: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Legislation, with the exception of that matter called to the attention of the convention yesterday by Delegate Watt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, with respect to that portion of the Executive Council's report which was referred to our committee under the caption "Silicosis."

I move you, Mr. Chairman, that we reaffirm the action taken by the 1935 convention in Atlantic City with respect to this question.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Chairman Ornburn: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Legislation, as amended.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Chairman Ornburn: This report is signed by:

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman
GILBERT E. HYATT, Secretary
EMANUEL KOVELESKI
B. M. JEWELL
C. L. ROSEMUND
J. FRANK BENNETT
JAMES M. DUFFY
RICHARD J. GRAY
JAMES T. MORIARTY
JOHN DONLIN
CHARLES I. STENGLE
THOMAS V. GREEN
JOSEPH DRABY
M. T. FINNAN
ARNOLD S. ZANDER
CHARLES W. FRY
EDW. W. KAISER

President Green: If there are no objections, the report of the committee as a whole, as signed by all members of the committee, will be adopted by the convention. Hearing none, it is so ordered. The Chair wishes to thank the committee for the service rendered.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary John P. Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee, as follows:

Protesting Use of One-Man Street Cars, Washington, D. C.

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia has recently authorized the Capital Transit Company of Washington, upon the latter's application and against the opposition of the Washington Central Labor Union (expressed in oral testimony and written briefs filed by the attorney for said Central Labor Union), to extend the operation of one-man street cars by putting on twenty such cars converted to one-man operation in addition to the one-man operated cars and one-man operated buses already in use on the streets of Washington; and

WHEREAS, Said Public Utilities Commission has more recently denied a petition for a rehearing filed by the said Central Labor Union through its attorney and by the Federation of Citizens Association of the District of Columbia and by the People's Counsel of the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, The opposition to the further use of one-man street cars in Washington, expressed in the hearings in testimony offered by the Central Labor Union and the Federation of Citizens Association and in the briefs filed by the attorney for the Central Labor Union and by the People's Counsel of the District of Columbia, showed (1) that because of the extremely difficult traffic conditions in Washington owing to the exceptionally large number of automobiles, to the street plan of the city, and to the size and crowding of the street cars, the extension of one-man operated street cars under such conditions would be very hazardous and would likely increase the number of deaths and injuries from automobile accidents in Washington, already unusually large, (2) that the slowness of traffic in Washington would be increased by the addition of one-man street cars, owing to the additional time taken for the ingress and egress of passengers when the motorman has to act also as conductor and take up fares as passengers enter and cannot start the car until all passengers boarding have been taken on and have paid their fares, (3) that the use of one man to do the work formerly required of two necessarily will add to unemployment already very great in the District of Columbia as well as in the nation and is a policy which should not be adopted at this time by our transportation and public utility systems, (4) that the finances of the company, which are in excellent condition, do not require such drastic economies as are implied in having one man do the work now required of two in the operation of street cars; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the Capital Transit Company are organized into a union, Local Division No. 689 of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and their ranks will be decimated if the use of one-man cars on this system is extended; and

WHEREAS, The principle involved in the substitution of one-man street cars for two-men cars harmfully affects all labor;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the further introduction of one-man street cars on

the streets of the capital of our nation be condemned as unnecessary in the interest of economy, as dangerous to the riding public because of the exceptional traffic conditions in Washington, and as extending a policy of adding to unemployment at a time when every possible effort should be made to end unemployment; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That in view of the fact that the workers constitute the great body of street car and bus riders, not only in Washington but in every American city, the Capital Transit Company and other transportation companies be advised that the American Federation of Labor has gone on record as opposed in principle to the dangerous and unwise policy of using only one man instead of two in the operation of street cars and buses through our crowded streets; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Capital Transit Company of Washington and to the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Marine Transportation Department,

A. F. of L.

Resolution No. 222—By Delegates Michael J. Dwyer, International Longshoremen's Union; F. A. Fitzgerald, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, It is apparent that there is an existing need for a closer relationship between the organizations comprising the marine trades of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the interests of the workers in this group can best be served and protected by the establishment of a department composed of the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are engaged in marine transportation service; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in its constitution, has made provision for the establishment of such a department when necessary, and has created the laws necessary for the proper safeguarding of the affairs of such department after it has been established; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such a department can at this time be of a material assistance in developing the marine trades and the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its 56th convention, go on record as favoring the establishment of a department to be known as the Marine Transportation Department of the American Federation of Labor, as provided by article XV of the constitution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a committee, composed of delegates of the organizations affected, together with a representative of the American Federation of Labor who is experienced with the maritime industry and who shall be designated by the President of the American Federation of Labor to serve with said committee in an advisory capacity, shall be appointed to draw up the constitution and by-laws of such a department and present them to this convention or the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor for approval and adoption.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the request to arrange for a conference with the International Unions interested.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Advocating Cooperation with Unemployed Groups

Resolution No. 175—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical and Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, At the start of the eighth year of the depression, there are according to the American Federation of Labor figures, still more than 11,000,000 unemployed; and

WHEREAS, All indications show that until there are far reaching social and industrial changes, a large standing army of unemployed will continue to exist; and

WHEREAS, The welfare of organized labor is bound up with the welfare of the unemployed, and the protection and advancement of their interests; and

WHEREAS, President William Green has recommended that the "interests of labor can be furthered through close cooperation with the unemployed groups;" and

WHEREAS, The neglect of labor to interest itself in the unemployed produces dangers in the words of President Green . . .

"There are evidences that the unemployed are developing some of the characteristics of group solidarity. If

the unemployed are made to feel they must depend wholly upon their own group . . . the chasm between them and the employed workers will become fixed. We must face this problem. . . . The labor movement must keep open its contacts with the unemployed to prevent divisions in the ranks of the workers"; and

WHEREAS, The organization of the unemployed under responsible leadership can serve to strengthen the labor movement and provide a source of new recruits to organized labor should the unemployed return to private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 56th convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we approve of the efforts of the unemployed to organize to secure better standards upon relief and work relief, and for social security for themselves and their families, and we urge the closest possible cooperation between the local, state and international unions of the American Federation of Labor and the organized unemployed in order that the social and economic interests of both groups may be promoted and advanced.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Meyers, Technical and Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago: Mr. Chairman, although I agree with the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee, it is necessary to say a few words in regard to the unemployed condition in this report. With the election of President Roosevelt, there is a spirit of optimism, it appears, among the ranks of labor, and it appears also that the eleven million who are still unemployed are quite hopeful. We know with the industrial development and technical improvement in the industries there will be forever a greater number of unemployed who will be unable to find any jobs in this country. At the present time, in spite of all this talk about prosperity and the return of prosperity, the American Federation of Labor reports that there are eleven million persons unemployed. These eleven million persons have been in many cases unemployed for six years, and

many of them are brothers and sisters of ours who have lost membership in trade unions simply because they could not afford to pay the dues required. Some of them have managed to pay these dues and retain their membership.

But in the interests of those persons who are unable to get employment, in the interests of those who have had no trade union affiliation in the past but who are now showing an interest in affiliation, who are showing a group solidarity, often expressed by President Green, of the American Federation of Labor, as indicating progress and something that we must recognize and must assist, I say in the interests of these people it is the duty of the American Federation of Labor to speak for these under-privileged people. I say that these people are looking to the American Federation of Labor for guidance. In their unemployed organizations they are adopting the tactics of the American Federation of Labor to gain their end. They want to be friends of labor. They can be enemies of labor, and they have not as yet been. These unemployed are anxious to work, and unless the American Federation of Labor takes a hand and aids them, they are likely to compete with us for employment at lower rates of pay, providing a competition that will undermine the standards of wages in the United States. There is no indication that they are going to do this. As yet they have not been a threat, but there is a possibility.

We are here to speak for the weak as well as the strong, as I have heard so often mentioned, and I think when the Executive Council takes this matter up, we should expect some tangible support to the unemployed organizations who are looking to us for aid.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**A. F. of L. Daily Newspaper—
Resolution No. 48**

The committee reported jointly upon

that section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 186, and Resolution No. 48. The section of the Council's report and the resolution are as follows:

By Resolution No. 150, the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor considered the application for the establishment of a daily newspaper. President Green was authorized to make a thorough investigation and submit a report to the Executive Council.

This report disclosed that roughly estimated the daily cost for an issue of 30,000 copies, both for editorials and production, would be approximately \$550. This estimate does not take into consideration the increased cost of office personnel.

Taking all of these matters into consideration, it seemed absolutely impossible for the Executive Council to arrange for the financing and publication of an A. F. of L. daily newspaper.

Until and unless the membership of the American Federation of Labor provides the necessary funds with which to launch the publication of a daily newspaper, the Executive Council is of the firm opinion that it would be impossible to carry out the recommendations of Resolution No. 150 which was referred to the Executive Council by the Atlantic City convention.

Chain of Labor Papers

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor in its struggle for a more just share of the product of its toil and a fuller, happier life finds itself more and more hampered by the lack of avenues of publicity; and

WHEREAS, The press has proved to be one of the greatest barriers to a clear understanding of the problems and expressions of labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 1936 convention of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee to study this important question of the labor press with a view to ultimately establishing a chain of labor papers.

In connection with that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption A. F. of L. Daily Newspaper, your committee notes the question of the necessary funds which is involved. This portion of the Executive Council's report should receive the consideration

of all those interested in the subject. Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report, and in connection report on Resolution No. 48 with the recommendation that the Executive Council continue their cooperative activities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Affiliation of A. F. of L. with
International Federation of
Trade Unions**

Resolution No. 173—By Delegate A. Feinberg, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 19989, Los Angeles, Calif.

WHEREAS, The unity of labor not only nationally but also internationally is most essential in order that labor shall defeat the forces of war and fascism, and continue to make steady progress towards its goal; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council to the 1935 AFL convention stated that the International Federation of Trade Unions has become the "spearhead of the free trade union movement in Europe" recounting its activities especially in disarmament action and the agitation against war, in the fight against reaction and Fascism, in workers educational work and in trade union work among women, and

WHEREAS, The last Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions has decided to enter into negotiations with the trade union movement of the United States, Soviet Russia, Australia and other countries still unaffiliated; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for affiliation to the IFTU and that the Executive Council take immediate measures to carry through affiliation in shortest possible time, so that labor can through united international action meet the great problems confronting it at this moment.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Coopers vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union of North America has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for forty-five years and has always had jurisdiction over cooping and issuing of Charters to the men and women engaged in the various branches of the cooperative trade; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, have taken into their organization men and women engaged at cooping, namely in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington; Portland, Oregon; and Eureka, California, under the guise of Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Officers of the Cooper's International Union of North America have tried to adjust these encroachments on their trade with the Executive Officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at Indianapolis, Indiana, and Atlantic City, New Jersey, without success; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-six Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to make investigation and adjustments of the complaints of Cooper's International of North America.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Condemning Fingerprinting of
Workers**

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, It has been the custom in the United States of America to fingerprint only felons; and

WHEREAS, Certain Magistrates have stretched their own powers by having pickets charged with disorderly conduct, finger-printed; and

WHEREAS, Many employers have instituted a drive to privately fingerprint all workers, for the purpose of setting up a vicious strike-breaking blacklist; and

WHEREAS, It is a direct violation of our civil liberties to be forcibly finger-printed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates here assembled go on record against the finger-printing of workers arrested in labor disputes and that we go on record against any form of finger-

printing of workers for civil reasons, and that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor hereby is instructed to introduce national legislation to this effect at once.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

School Ships

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate J. J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, There exists in the United States of America certain School Ships maintained either by State or Joint State and Federal aid;

AND WHEREAS, The ostensible purpose of said School Ships is the training of cadets and officers for the American Merchant Marine;

AND WHEREAS, Many young men accept the training merely to secure an education and speedily abandon the sea;

AND WHEREAS, Marine organizations regard these School Ships as undemocratic since the rank and file of men actually working on ships toward a marine career seldom receive appointments to same;

AND WHEREAS, Past experience has proven that this method of training has neither produced top notch officers nor permanent officer personnel for our Merchant Marine;

BE IT AND IT HEREBY IS RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Tampa, Florida, record itself as opposed to the continuation of said School Ships since it regards same as an inefficient waste of taxpayers' money and a source of discouragement and discredit to those young men who are painfully and patiently working their way to marine officers' status, either in deck or engine rooms of our Merchant Marine, because of their natural desire for a seafaring life and their willingness to master their jobs in the real training school for mariners, viz., starting on the bottom rung at sea aboard a real ship amid real seafaring men;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this Convention support the resolution herewith outlined by its affiliate, the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, and use its legislative and legal resources to secure the abolition of said School Ships as unjustifiable public expenses

which do not return service for the taxpayers' money expended upon same.

Your committee recommends the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further study and such action as this study may warrant. In connection with this examination of the subject, we recommend that attention be given to the extent, if any, to which the Maritime organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. are given a place on the Advisory Board of such schools.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Legislation Providing for the Use of National Guards in Strikes

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Tydings-McCormick Bill has been protested by labor bodies, liberals, and legal authorities on the grounds that its passage would seriously curtail the rights of labor in protesting the use of the National Guard in strikes and in opposing war, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its fifty-sixth annual convention condemn this bill and make all efforts to prevent its re-introduction either in original or amended form, and to prevent the introduction of similar bills at the next session of Congress.

Protesting Use of National Guard in Strikes

Resolution No. 205—By Delegates John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor; E. H. Williams, Louisiana State Federation of Labor; John Reid, Lansing, Mich., Federation of Labor; Redmond M. Burr, Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council; D. C. Thompson, Alabama State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Guard is used against organized labor in time of strike; and

WHEREAS, It has been called out 60 times in the past three years to break strikes; and

WHEREAS, Money is being appropriated out of the United States war budget for the further enlarging and arming of the National Guard, which

would be unnecessary if the National Guard were not called out for strike duty; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled record itself in opposition to the further granting of government funds to the National Guard unless it is provided by law that the National Guard may not be called out in strike situations.

National Guard

Resolution No. 243—By Delegate Frank Marek Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Ill.

WHEREAS, The National Guard is used primarily against organized labor in time of strike, and

WHEREAS, It has been called out sixty times in the past three years to break strikes, and

WHEREAS, Money is being appropriated out of the United States war budget for the further enlarging and arming of the National Guard, and

WHEREAS, These appropriations can in no sense be interpreted as being used for national defense; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its legislative lobby to oppose the further granting of government funds and, more specifically, war funds to the National Guard; and, be it finally

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States of America and Congress be notified as to the adoption and contents of this resolution.

Resolutions Nos. 119, 205 and 243 relate to the same subject. Your committee is informed that the Executive Council has successfully taken up with the proper governmental authorities the use of Federal equipment by State Militias in connection with industrial disputes. Your committee is of the opinion that the advisable action by this convention is to refer these resolutions to the Executive Council with the request that they continue their efforts until there exists no cause for complaint that State Militias are used in the guise of maintaining public order, but in reality for the purpose of intimidating workmen and breaking strikes.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Possession of Weapons of Offense by Employers

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate George Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.

WHEREAS, It is known that corporations and managers possess and maintain arms, such as machine guns, gas bombs, rifles and other war equipment, solely for the purpose of intimidating, threatening and even killing industrial and other workers when strikes, walk-outs and other labor disputes occur; and

WHEREAS, Such war equipment should only be possessed by constituted authority such as the police, State militia and the United States Army; and

WHEREAS, Possession of such arms by a private corporation and associations other than constituted authority of the United States, constitute a menace to society and peace within our nation, as well as undermining the democratic institutions of our government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Tampa, Florida, go on record as being emphatically opposed to such private possessions of arms; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention shall stand pledged to advocate and promote legislation, both State and Federal, which will make it unlawful for any corporation or industrial management to possess any weapons of offense, such as rifles, machine guns, gas bombs or any other weapons designed to do bodily harm to any citizen of the United States.

Protesting Issuance of Bomb and Machine Gun Permits to Employers

Resolution No. 199 — By Delegate Darrell Eddie Sams, Central Labor Union, Indiana, Pa.

WHEREAS, Employers and operators are increasingly resorting to the use of force and violence against organized labor in industrial disputes by means of tear and vomit gas bombs and machine and sub-machine guns; and

WHEREAS, In many States under the present laws for transportation and possession of such bombs and machine guns permits may be granted to firms, to store, transport or sell gas bombs and guns without public hearing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth

Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor set up a Committee, or use existing facilities to demand public hearings for the granting of permits, and demand that previous permits granted become matters of public record.

Protesting Granting of Permits to Employers for Possession of Bombs and Machine Guns

Resolution No. 250—By Delegate Sue Adams, Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colo.

WHEREAS, Employers and operators are increasingly resorting to the use of force and violence against organized labor in industrial disputes by means of tear and vomit gas bombs and machine and sub-machine guns; and

WHEREAS, In many States under the present laws for transportation and possession of such bombs and machine guns permits may be granted to firms to store, transport or sell gas bombs and guns without public hearing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor set up a Committee, or use existing facilities to demand public hearings for the granting of permits, and demand that previous permits granted become matters of public record.

Resolutions Nos. 153, 199 and 250 deal with the same subject. In lieu of these resolutions your committee recommends that the Executive Council make a thorough study of the practice of employers to accumulate what may properly be termed munitions of war, and which are used not for the protection of property, but to attack workers on strike, and that the Executive Council as a result of such investigation promote and support appropriate legislation which will prevent the existence of arsenals in private hands, and which will further provide that no arms of any character for the purpose of protecting property shall be in the possession of employers, except when permit has been granted by the legally constituted authorities, and such permit made a matter of public record.

Delegate Martel, International Typo-

graphical Union: I don't know that leaving in the hands of duly constituted public authorities is going to extend to us the protection that is sought, because in so many localities we find that the authorities are, in fact, the agents of the industrialists. I may be mistaken, but I think that sheriffs and governors who will use the armed forces against strikers will misuse such permits.

Secretary Frey again read the report of the committee, and said:

The committee was of the opinion that as private citizens are entitled to the possession of arms by the public authorities, it would be impossible to distinguish between the right of the individual as an individual or as an employer. The committee was of the opinion that if, when such permits are issued, they must be made a matter of public record, the publicity would prevent the abuses the trade union movement is endeavoring to prevent.

Delegate Martel: I do not agree with the committee. To advertise the fact that they are having guns, bombs, and gas will not make them less dangerous. Allowing the sheriffs to give the permits will legalize it. I hope that some way can be found to cut that part out of the committee's recommendation, because to me it isn't protection.

If you are going to have that kind of a situation, the only answer that can come, so far as the working people are concerned, is to fortify every union. This would allow the employers to arm themselves and use these arms whenever they see fit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Green: We will interrupt the report of the committee for the purpose of presenting to you the Commander of the American Legion. I wish to explain to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention that Commander Colmery comes to us in response to an invitation extended to him by the President of the

American Federation of Labor, and the Executive Council. In addition, it has always been the custom, beautifully preserved with unbroken regularity, to exchange fraternal delegates between the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor. This has continued ever since the formation of the American Legion following the close of the World War.

I attended the convention of the American Legion which was held in Cleveland during the month of October. I was extended a most cordial welcome. I addressed the convention of the American Legion. I enjoyed my visit there, and I found a most sympathetic attitude and a most friendly feeling on the part of the officers of the American Legion to the American Federation of Labor.

It might be of interest to you if I would just explain that in some instances where in communities feeling runs high as the result of an industrial conflict and men's judgment, including members of the American Legion, locally, are inflamed by passion and feeling, that in each instance where we have taken the matter up with the officers of the American Legion, any complaint we make is promptly adjusted. They have always responded in the finest spirit and in the finest manner. There are thousands of members of our organizations of labor who hold membership in the American Legion. They are serving their interests there. We cooperate in the promotion of child labor laws, of civic improvements, of the maintenance of our democratic institutions.

I have found that our fraternal relationship with the American Legion has been mutually advantageous and has served to promote understanding, cooperation and good will.

Commander Colmery came all the way from Indianapolis to bring his greeting to this fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor. In your behalf and in your name I extend to him a most cordial welcome. I ask him to be our guest during his

stay in this city. I know he will enjoy his visit here and you will appreciate the warm message which he will deliver.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you the distinguished Commander of the American Legion, Mr. Harry W. Colmery, of Wichita, Kansas.

MR. HARRY COLMERY

(National Commander, The American Legion)

Mr. Green, guests of the convention, members of the American Federation of Labor, and friends: To come here before this assembly of a great American organization, and appearing in behalf of the American Legion, is an honor and pleasure to which any man might well aspire, and which he might cherish, no matter how high his position or how lofty his name. I am glad that the opportunity is mine today to come here and return the kindly visit Mr. Green made to our convention in Cleveland.

And in passing I might say to those various representatives of the American Federation of Labor who almost every year, almost without exception, have represented the organization in my own state of Kansas, that we appreciate their presence.

I am here again to extend a greeting, or rather say hello in behalf of a million Legion membership in America and to renew our pledge of comradeship and friendship.

Frankly, to one who is not accustomed to using a manuscript, but finding myself in a position now where I am told from every side, "You have got to do it," I rather feel like the incident related of a father who bought his kid a pony and cart. Driving down the street, the kid met Mary Smith, and said, "Hello." Mary said, "Uh-huh." He said, "Will you take a ride?" She again said, "Uh-huh." He drove about a block and said, "Mary, will you tise?" Mary said, "Uh-huh, I will get out."

In another block he met Susie Jones, and said, "Will you take a ride, Susie?" "Uh-huh," she said. After driving another block, he said, "Susie, will you tise?" Susie said, "Uh-huh." Then the kid said, "Well, what the hell do I do now?"

To come before this convention of The American Federation of Labor is a pleasant and happy occasion, which any man—no matter how high his station or lofty his name—might cherish. I am grateful that the opportunity is mine to return the visit of President Green to our National Convention in Cleveland last September, to

say "hello" to you on behalf of one million Legionnaires, and to pledge anew our continued friendship and cooperation in the many interests our two organizations hold in common.

Ours is a nation of workingmen. The Legion places no restrictions of race, creed, political affiliation or means of livelihood upon the right of membership. We have only one yardstick for measuring eligibility, that is whether the candidate served honorably in the military or naval forces of the United States during our active participation in the World War, between April 6, 1917, and Nov. 11, 1918.

It is but natural that in such a thoroughly American organization there are a great number of men who earn their living in the various crafts, etc. which make up your organization.

There is no rank, no caste, in The American Legion. Every member stands on the same level—the producer, manufacturer, distributor, broker, butcher, baker and candlestick-maker; the banker, doctor, lawyer and preacher; employer and employee, farmer and laborer, miller and miner, conservative and liberal—and every voice carries equal authority.

It follows as a matter of course, therefore, that such an organization would find much in common with The American Federation of Labor. Sometimes we may choose different roads by which we seek to reach our objectives; occasionally we may differ as to opinion. And, after all has been said and done, we find that all of our roads converge and meet at the one big objective—the welfare and progress of the American people and the safe-guarding of what we know as America.

The welfare of our government and the welfare of our people are synonymous. There can be no democratic government where the people are not free—free to express their opinions in the open forum, free to peaceably assemble, free to work out their individual destiny limited only by the mutual welfare of all society, and free to organize and through legitimate exercise of united action to protect their right to a just share in the good things of life. And by the same token, if this freedom and these good things in life are to be perpetuated, we must safeguard the institutions which make them possible—our government.

We are an American organization. So are you. We believe in America. So do you. We have faith in the ideals and principles of America. So do you. We believe that this Nation was founded on freedom and dedicated to the

principles of liberty, and that those principles should be safe-guarded under a system of constitutional democracy. So do you. We are opposed to any form of governmental philosophy which harks back to the days of arbitrary absolutism against which the English people rebelled in the 13th Century and to protect against which modern enlightened people have set up such constitutional democracy as we have in America. So are you.

Thus, by the mere process of discussion itself, we arrive at the question which we in The American Legion call by the name "Americanism," and I want to discuss it with you frankly and freely, as citizens should discuss things.

However, before entering the discussion, may I analyze, in a practical manner, the situation in which we find ourselves?

You and I are interested in enjoying the greatest measure of happiness in this short span of life. That is the goal of human existence. Under the American system, the fulfillment of that hope and ambition depends on political freedom, economic opportunity, and political and economic security. Political freedom is that status which makes it possible for you to act for yourself, think for yourself, and believe in yourself. Economic opportunity—the cornerstone of political freedom—is that avenue through which, as an honest, self-respecting person, you may enjoy a competent livelihood, in order that you can provide yourself and your family with food, clothing, shelter and other necessities, and a reasonable share of the luxuries of life. And by political and economic security, you are protected in your freedom of belief, thought, action and opportunity and in the rewards of your earnings, whether they come by brain or hands. These are American principles.

As each seeks to work out his own destiny in his own way, he either chooses or is pushed into the lane in which he runs the race of life. And there he casts his lot with others having a common interest in breaking the tape in the contest for the things which make life comfortable and happy. And so we have the producer, manufacturer, distributor, broker, warehouseman, butcher, baker and candlestick-maker; the banker, doctor, lawyer and preacher; the employer and employee, the farmer and laborer, the miller and miner, men and women; militarists and pacifist, the railroad, bus, airline and shipping companies, the press and radio, the church, the conservative and liberal, and the veteran—scores upon scores of groups of

the citizenry classified according to their common interest. Each seeks by cooperative action to get every advantage it can for its own group. Each is selfish in its own right and it has a right to be. Ours is a free representative government under which both the individual and his group are entitled to pursue their own happiness, protected in so doing by the hand of government, but subject always to whatever restraint it is necessary to impose under the law and the Constitution to bring about the greatest good for the greatest number. And each minority has a right to plan its own strategy, call its own plays, and carry its own ball toward the goal of achievement sought for its own group. Labor does it. The farmer does it. Business does it. The veteran does it. Unless each does, it will be thrown for a loss, because the field is so crowded with the teams of other groups with their trainers, ingenious coaches and triple threat men, that, unless it plays the game hard and fast and to win, it won't even make a first down, let alone score. The play is supervised—the government acts as the referee, and through its executive, legislative and judicial branches, endeavors to take into consideration the needs, desires and rights of all groups, and frame such a set of rules, and make such decisions, as will produce the greatest good in the common interest. Thus we have a government of conflicting minorities.

Business men constitute one or several. The farmers constitute another; labor another; veterans another—and so we might go on.

Today I appear here under the sponsorship of The American Legion. It has made mistakes. So have you. Who hasn't? Others want to appraise us on the basis of 100% perfection. No individual and no group can stand the test of appraisal on that basis. But knowing its ideals and objectives, and its work, I espouse and defend the integrity of The American Legion, with pride in the nobility of its conception, the unselfishness of its courage, and the record of its accomplishments.

In these days of adversity and uncertainty it is well to go back to these words which defined the American Philosophy of government.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights * * * that for the protection of these rights governments are instituted among men."

Prior to that time society was directed from above. There was no private enterprise as we know it.

The individual was not free to strike out on his own. He was a servant of political power; and as such, he took orders. Everywhere it was conceded that there was on earth a class of men ordained by Providence to rule, and that the vassal's obedience was the inheritance of the many. Men fought to remove oppression; to overcome distressed conditions,—but always only to ask something of the grace of the sovereign, and no one denied his absolute power to grant or withhold it, as he would. But the colonies threw down this defiance to the world: that there was no heaven-ordained class to govern men; that man by virtue of his existence, by reason of his creation, was a sovereign in his own right, and that all just rights were derived, not from the rule of the ruler, but from the consent of the people who were governed. Individual right is America's contribution to the science of government. And the constitutional system set up to protect them transferred democracy from a dream to a reality, and by its system of checks and balances, separating the executive, legislative and judicial powers, it created a barrier to the tyranny of the demagogues and political majorities which had ruined the popular governments of the past, guaranteed to the individual the fruits of his labor and genius, and gave a stability to the status of a citizen never attained under any government, before or since.

And under this system, the whole world has looked on with envy as we have gained in population, wealth, power, both material and spiritual—with corresponding comforts and happiness to the individual citizen, unexampled in the annals of history.

The American Legion is satisfied with America's system of constitutional democracy. We are opposed to the encroachment in this country of any type of arbitrary philosophy of government, call it Communism, Hitlerism, Fascism, or what have you—which is destructive of representative government, freedom of speech, the press, religious worship, right of assembly, or which promotes class hatred or deprives the individual of his right to work, earn, save, and own, and protection in the rewards of his own earnings.

Our democracy has lived and thrived for more than a century and a half; it was created out of the idealism and materialism of those stout-hearted men and women who had the courage to desert home and fireside to blaze a trail through the wilderness of a strange land in search of freedom and liberty. And here, my friends, out of that wilderness, they carved this great democracy whose guiding principles are both freedom and liberty.

Our democracy does not depend upon the life of one man; our strength is not precariously vested in the mailed fist of a military dictator. Our's is the strength of one hundred and thirty million loyal, free, liberty-loving citizens, and long after these other theories of government have passed away with the dictator who created them, the democracy of America will live on, pointing the right way to all civilization. So let's be vigilant in our determination to preserve and perpetuate the blessings of citizenship under our form of government—but let's be sure that our vigilance is tempered by common-sense and that thoroughly American quality, tolerance.

We are living in changing times, my good friends. I find nothing in the process of change in this country which gives me cause for alarm. I think we are moving forward to the destiny that was intended for our great democracy. Elsewhere in the world there are theories of government which are repugnant to American principles. We should be vigilant to keep them from being forced upon us; we of The American Legion shall be vigilant, and in that effort I know that we will have the great strength of the American Federation of Labor standing shoulder to shoulder with us. But I am not afraid they will gain a foot-hold in America unless our people are led by a misguided few to acts of violence and suppression which will undermine the principles of true Americanism.

The founders of this government did not intend that America should stand still. With the wisdom of Providence itself, they saw the march of civilization; they saw civilization going forward toward the ultimate liberation of all mankind from the shackles of tyranny and slavery; and as we review their work it seems as though they envisioned the problems of this generation. So they gave us a Constitution which is the foundation of our government and the protector of our liberties, and within that charter they wisely provided for changes to meet changing conditions. As long as our change follows the orderly methods laid down by our form of government, we shall have no reason to fear that freedom and liberty will be destroyed.

Probably the most American thing about our Constitution is that section which guarantees freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to safeguard these fundamentally American principles the Constitution declares that Congress shall not make any law prohibiting or abridging the free exercise thereof. Without these provisions we would have had no democratic

government; indeed, history tells us that we would have had no United States of America. Our Union became an accomplished fact only after they had been incorporated in the national charter.

Now what do we mean by freedom of speech and the right of the people peaceably to assemble? Do we mean that every individual or group is to determine for himself what his neighbor may say, and if he happens not to agree with his neighbor to use force and violence to silence him? Do we mean that you, as the representatives of labor, can assemble here only upon the condition that you suppress your statements to meet the ideas of organized industry? Or, to turn the same question around, that organized business and industry may meet and discuss their problems only as long as they agree with your desires?

There is one answer, and one only, to all of these questions. The constitution of the United States guarantees freedom of speech and the right peaceably to assemble, and we, the organized representatives of labor and the organized representatives of the veterans of the World War, stand firmly together on that common ground. We do not deny the right of free speech and peaceable assembly to any person or any group, or use force to suppress those whose theories or statements we despise.

We have every reason and right to be concerned about those who would use the Constitution as a protecting screen behind which to advocate the overthrow of this government by force or violence; the Constitution was intended to preserve our government and no person has the right to claim its privileges while seeking to destroy it. We have a right to be concerned about any minority group which oversteps the bounds of liberty and uses it as a license to violate the rights of others, disturb the peace, or defy constituted authority. We must be alert to repel every attempt to destroy liberty in the name of order, or order in the name of liberty, for the alternative of one is despotism, and of the other, the mob. But even in such instances, citizens have no right to assume police authority. The law draws the line between freedom of speech and treason. It is the function of the executive branch of the government to enforce the law, and to uphold it is the function of the courts. If the laws are not adequate, it is our right as free citizens to petition the legislative bodies to strengthen them within the Constitutional limitation which forbids any such body to abridge the rights of free religion, free speech, a

free press and the right of the people peaceably to assemble.

The American Legion, as with the American Federation of Labor, has faith in America and in our form of government. We do not oppose progress in government. We recognize the right of the people to make changes, proceeding in the orderly Constitutional way, reserving to every citizen the right to support or oppose such changes as his conscience may dictate.

But we must have faith in the common sense and loyalty of the great mass of American citizens. This nation will not be blown away by the windy ranting of a few deluded radicals whose following represents a mere fractional percent of the whole population. "Revolution flourishes only in the country where freedom or liberty have been strangled by suppression." So true Americans cannot countenance the anarchy of mob rule, or cheap or gaudy nationalism. Instead, let's stick to the American way. If I had my way, I would propagandize through the press, advertise in the magazines, sell over the radio, the struggle of the human race for liberty. I would carry to every farm house and school, farm and factory, the American Plan. I would place on the same platform in the same town, within a week after each speaker who advocates systems inimical to America, a well known, well informed person to tell the American Story.

While we shall remain vigilant in our opposition to the forces of subversion, by whatever name they seek to undermine our free institutions, we shall continue, as you do, to rely upon the sure weapon of education, confident in the belief that as long as our people have a proper knowledge and appreciation of the benefits of American citizenship, their faith in America and American principles will not be undermined and our form of government will not be overthrown.

During these years the American Legion has been attempting to lay the foundation for a proper appreciation of the substance of justice, freedom and democracy, with the hope that it might be made so secure that changes in form will never affect a change in substance, and that a liberty loving people, whose record of progress is the envy of civilization of all time, may continue to enjoy and pass on a proud heritage.

It is to that end that last year we administered direct emergency relief to 402,271 children at a cost to us of \$2,570,607.02, and cooperated with other agencies in removing fertile breeding places of crime and disloyalty

by striving to eliminate underprivileged childhood.

That is why we have reached out and given active support to the Boy Scout movement, having added last year 1,000 Legion sponsored Boy Scout troops to the 2,100 of the year before, because we believe that it builds manly, courageous young men who will be willing and able to accept responsibility when responsibility comes.

That is why we have builded up a nationwide American Legion Junior Baseball program in which 500,000 boys engage—because we wanted to devise a plan to occupy the leisure time of boys in a helpful and constructive way, and because the great game of baseball gives the boy the chance to match his skill and cunning against that of the other boy in a contest through which the learning of the principles of good sportsmanship will lay the foundation of good citizenship.

That is why last year the Legion conducted more than 1,800 citizenship schools, teaching foreign-born residents the proper respect for our laws and customs, history and rights.

That is why the Legion launched National Education Week and has supported it as an annual observance; manned and maintained schools; launched the American Legion School Award plan in which 1935 saw us presenting 7,027 medals; outlined an 18 weeks' course on flag history and etiquette, which has become a part of the regular course of study in many schools; and cooperated to meet the emergency in education to the end that the education of boys, and girls, would not be sacrificed unfairly in the interest of economy. Thousands of terms were continued, schools kept open, and appropriations maintained through the efforts of the Legion—Why? Because we believe in education; that the common schools have been a vital force in the rapid rise of America to National greatness; and that the success of our popular government depends upon our people being intelligent enough to study the questions affecting their welfare and that of the country and to understand them if they hope to continue to live under a free government and a flag which pledges to them freedom, opportunity, and security.

Obviously, it is not possible to encompass all of our program in a single discussion without trespassing upon your good nature and doing the program an injustice by understating it. But I do want to discuss the Legion's interest in maintaining peace and the duty of the country to protect itself from aggression.

First Peace at home. In the wake of the World War, grown from years of misery, hunger and carnage, came a lust for power, a passion to tear down the forms of free institutions, and a greedy appetite for personal and national aggrandizement. From out of the dark ages stepped the resurrecting sceptre of rule by force. Bolshevism engulfed Russia; revolution consumed Germany and the dismembered Austria-Hungarian empire; and Fascism was raising its mailed fist in Italy. Bolshevism, revolution, assassination and dictatorship were the four horsemen who raked the highways and byways of Europe. Everywhere there was uncertainty, fear and panic. Freedom and liberty hung shackled to the chariot of force as ten centuries of progress lay prostrate in the welter of war's aftermath. Throughout Europe the established order was crashing and new concepts were rising from the ruins to enslave a stunned civilization. There was fear as to what the men of the American Army would do. But just as organized labor has brought great credit to itself in these trying times of unemployment by being orderly and having reason triumph over emotion, so that men of the World War came back got jobs as best they could, helped their more unfortunate comrades and absorbed themselves back into the civilian pursuits of America without danger to her institutions. And The American Legion has been a great factor in that stabilization. We believed in America when we marched off to war; we believed in America when we returned. We believe in America today; and we shall believe in America so long as we have the strength to lift our eyes to the Stars and Stripes, which, in a world that is burdened by oppression and hatreds, still remains the symbol of freedom, liberty and friendship.

No thinking person can view conditions in Europe and Asia without genuine alarm. Eighteen years after the end of the World War we find much of the world preparing for another. God grant that the conditions we view abroad may prove to be nothing more than sabre-rattling by a few dictators drunk with the strong wine of their own power. But if war does come, then we of The American Legion say that America has no place in it, and we propose to take steps to keep our country out of it. And I know that labor stands one hundred per cent with us on that front.

My friends, the World War was a mere sham battle compared to the horror of another general war. We have some small conception of what to expect by reading accounts, and these are drastically censored, of the present

civil war in Spain. There will be no battle front; your home and my home will be just as much a target for enemy aircraft as an arsenal filled with munitions or a trench full of troops. Women and children will be spared neither from airplane bombs or the choking death of a poison gas attack. The objective of the enemy will be to terrorize the civilian population into subjection while the troops are vainly fighting at the front.

The American Legion believes in peace; it believes our country can be spared the tragedy of another period of bloodshed.

While there is yet time, we must take the necessary steps to protect the peace, without sacrificing the honor, prestige and rights of America, as a great sovereign nation. So I come to you with a program which we of The American Legion, who have seen something of war and want no more of it, believe will safeguard our country insofar as it is humanly possible to do so in the presence of existing world conditions. We are asking the adoption of three immediate steps by our government.

First, we request an adequate national defense. We do not want our government to join in the armaments race that is underway in Europe and has resulted in more men being under arms today than in 1914, immediately before the World War drenched the nations with blood. We want only sufficient for defense, and rapid progress is being made toward that accomplishment. We shall fight to complete an adequate program and then to maintain it.

It is not a program for offense; it is strictly for defense; it is not to foster war but to prevent it. It represents not maximum needs, but minimum needs. When completed we shall still be weaker than many small nations which had no national identity when the Armistice was signed in 1918. Obviously, it is not a perfect plan. It is our national fire, theft and life insurance obtainable at a mighty low premium rate when we consider the vast store of happiness, wealth and resources it is designed to protect. It will not only protect us against aggression, but will make less likely the commission of overt acts of sufficient gravity to require us to defend our national honor. At this point, may I make this observation? The people set up the government to protect individual rights. The first duty of that government is to maintain itself in sufficient strength to protect these rights. Every citizen owes a reciprocal duty to support and defend his government in that effort. No one has a right to live under it and

accept its benefits without sharing the responsibilities. That means any service necessary to protect its integrity. That means paying taxes,—or bearing arms in its defense. Unless these things be done, there can be no democratic government, and if any group, for moral or other reasons satisfactory to it, can arrogate to itself the right to determine whether it will or will not render service to the government by the same token, others may do likewise and completely paralyze the government. I am reminded of a radical pacifist pageant entitled "The Unknown Soldier Speaks," in which at one point the Unknown Soldier says, with reference to his services:

"Then, blamed fool that I was, when the call came from Washington, I answered. Yes, sir, I answered. I didn't have the guts to say no, the way some of the men did. But just like a nice little puppy dog tied to a string, I went trotting along. And the flags waved, and the bands played and all the stay-at-homes shouted and screamed and I said good-bye to Ruth, and I patted myself on the back for a hero. And here I am—just a dead coward—a man who was too proud not to fight. Let me tell you, there's only one sure way to stop war, and that is to refuse to fight. Those conscientious objectors had the right idea."

It is strange indeed how these thoughts spring from teachers of that Christian faith which won its way westward by the sword, which has always needed a symbol of power to protect freedom of religious thought and worship, and who, under any form of absolutism, would be the first to be ground beneath its despotism.

Second, we request a well defined policy of neutrality, firmly enforced, in foreign wars to keep us out of other nations' quarrels. We know from experience that we cannot get into a war on the economic front without putting ourselves in a fair way to being dragged in on the military front sooner or later. Only a fool would try to carry buckets of gasoline through firelines, and if any people in this country are so foolish, let them take their own chances. American doughboys must not be sent overseas to pull their financial chestnuts out of the fire.

The American Legion will not enter into the highly controversial field which results from a policy of stifling American business with consequent unemployment and the abandonment of the traditional policy of freedom of the Seas. But we do suggest that

if war materials and supplies are sold to belligerent nations, for "cash on the barrel head"—make them come to our ports and get them; outlaw loans and extension of credit for that purpose; and deny the protection of The American Flag to either shipments or passage on vessels of belligerents, that the largest part of the potential field which brings neutrals into other nations' wars will have been removed.

Third, The American Legion believes that if war meant something definite by way of service, something personal by way of sacrifice, that there would be much less danger of it. So we advocate a Universal Service Act, to the end that war shall mean "Equal Service for all—special privilege and special profit for none." Let me make some things clear in connection with The American Legion's point of view. The Legion is thoroughly American; it believes firmly in private enterprise, individual initiative, the sanctity of private property against seizure without due process of law, and the right of the citizen to profit from his work and ability. These things are vouchsafed by the Constitution of the United States and we uphold and defend that great and sound charter.

Our proposal is to enact legislation which will give the President in the time of a national emergency, the power to determine what resources are needed for the national defense, and to stabilize the prices both of what the government and the citizenry buy. It does not contemplate the elimination of profit—only unreasonable profit; it does not advocate military conscription of labor.

In time of war, the nation is fighting for its very existence, for your home and my home, for your property and my property, and for the principles which have permitted us to live in comfort and happiness as a democratic people. War is a Community effort. The greatest army ever assembled would soon be dissipated were it not for the greater army back of it. Food stuffs must be grown and conserved. Raw materials must be manufactured; all must be fed in a constant stream to the front. It takes soldiers and sailors, farmers, labor and capital, to conduct a war. It is a partnership enterprise. And it is not fair by force of law, to require man power to serve at the front for a living wage, and to permit the man power which serves behind the lines to accumulate great fortunes from exorbitant profits.

Then again, war throws out of kilter the law of supply and demand—and prices skyrocket. That tremendous

inflation, followed by the consequent deflation, brings on public distress, which can be averted by the stabilizing of prices. It will also prevent the cunning and avaricious, who do not create wealth, from capitalizing on the misfortunes of those who are compelled to serve and the great common people.

The law proposed is American and fair. Liberty must give way to authority when the common good is at stake. It will not cost a dime; will become operative only upon declaration of war, and will cease to operate when peace is restored. Investigations as to Munitions, Industry, taxes, cost of war, are all beside the point—and it is time that men in high places get their eye on the ball and set this great people on the road to security and peace.

And now, my friends, I thank you for the gracious spirit in which you have received me, and for the valuable support and cooperation given us in the past. We will have our differences of opinion, no doubt—but standing as we both do, upon a common ground for free institutions, and the guaranty of individual rights, and the freedom to exercise them, we cannot be or get very far apart as two great American organizations, if we but exhibit open-mindedness, common sense and self restraint. This I pledge you. My office is open to you. When we are wrong, I am not afraid to admit it. We will be alert to correct mistakes. The important thing is that the bonds of friendship and understanding between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion shall be strengthened to the end that nothing shall draw us away from the ideals for which the flag is emblematic, and that we may build to a new and yet higher peak, faith in America and faith in American institutions.

We know that democracy depends upon the fulfillment of the will of the people and that there can be no fulfillment of the will of the people unless the people understand the problems of government, to be able to put their fingers upon them and solve them according to their own ability and their own way.

Now, I want to mention one other thing to you in which we are both interested, because we believe in America, and that is what we call the peace program of the American Legion. You probably have heard all about it before, but I want to give you a different slant upon it. It is a three-way program, a policy of neutrality definitely determined and strictly enforced and a universal policy of na-

tional defense, that is not to be militaristic, but the contrary. Its purpose is not to fulfill the full portion of the National Defense Act, it is to put ourselves in a position to protect ourselves from aggression from without, and to the end that others will not permit overt acts. In the matter of neutrality, a very debatable field, I think it is time some people, especially in high places, were getting down to brass tacks.

The American Legion, endeavoring as it must, because of the cosmopolitan character of its membership, will not enter into discussion as to whether or not the traditional policy of freedom of the seas shall be abandoned or whether American business shall be stifled in the production of materials for war; but there is a point to which we can safely go in an affirmation of a definite policy; that is, if nations are required to buy their materials for cash and come to American ports to get them, and if the protection of the American flag be denied to belligerent vessels in the shipment of war materials or carrying passengers, the danger will be removed, or at least, I think, about 70 per cent of it.

The time has gone by when American boys are going out to foreign shores to pull other nations' chestnuts out of the fire.

Now, if I may make the last point on universal service, as to which there may be some difference of opinion, Mr. Green talks frankly to us when he comes, and that is the only way I know how to talk.

The universal service program of the Legion, advocated since 1921, is based upon the proposition, fundamentally, that if in a time of national crisis war meant something definite by way of service and something personal by way of sacrifice to every individual and every group, then there might be established something which would have a guarantee of peace. It is generally stated, "Equal service for all and special privilege and special profit for none." I want you to note the "special profit." War is a community enterprise. Foodstuffs must be grown and processed, raw materials must be manufactured, there must be a constant stream from behind the lines up to the lines. The man who carries a rifle on his back is only a representative of tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands behind the lines. It takes the farmer, it takes industry and the doughboy to conduct a war.

If you and I can, by power of a democratic government, be called upon to go to foreign shores and have our

wages fixed for us and even deny us our constitutional rights of trial by jury and freedom of speech, then business and industry, not only as a matter of right—and, mark you, this has been gone into very carefully by some of the best lawyers of the nation at the request of the Legion—but industry, not only as a matter of power of government, but as a matter of justice and right, should bear its share of the load and be ready to stand its share of the sacrifice.

The American Legion's plan is what other people rant about in the paper. It does not remove profit. It only asks that unreasonable profit be curbed, to the end that as the law of supply and demand is thrown out of kilter, and there is a consequent inflation and after it deflation, with public unemployment and distress, that there be given to the President of the United States power to do these things only in the time of emergency and to cease when that emergency subsides, to determine what materials are to be used in defense of the nation's security and to stabilize prices, both of what the Government must buy and what the citizenry must buy, to the end that we may not win a war on a military front and then later lose it on an industrial front.

The Legion plan does not contemplate the military conscription of labor. That isn't in it. Nor does it, as some business and some editorial writers not fully informed have said, adopt a program of Communism, because the American Legion believes in private property, the right of private contract and the right to be protected in your possessions by due process of law.

When the good of the nation or the public good interferes, liberty to some extent must give way to the general good of society as a whole. Just as the Government for all time has had the power to legislate business and industry for the public interests, just so, in time of war, freedom of contract, of business and industry must necessarily, in the common enterprise and for the public good, give way for the benefit of the public welfare and the general citizenry of America.

I appreciate your kindness in listening to me here. We have had some differences of opinion in the past. I have found, as Mr. Green has told you, in the short experience of my tenure of office, that these complaints and differences of opinion do come across my desk. I have found in looking back that the National Commanders of the Legion have, as shown by the correspondence, made a diligent ef-

fort to straighten out conflicts and differences which have arisen between organized labor, and not only members of the Legion, but other groups in various communities. I have also had three or four myself in the short period of two months' time. I merely ask that you judge us as you would like to be judged; not judge the Legion as an organization as a whole by what may have happened here and there in single instances. Get all the information and all the facts, and I am confident you will agree with the good faith of the Legion.

My door shall always be open during the year, as it has in the past. We shall welcome constructive criticism. I am not afraid to meet fair criticism at any time. I look forward, in the light of the fine and friendly relationship that has existed between us, to a continuation of that friendship in the future. We have stood firmly shoulder to shoulder on common ground in realizing the necessity of protecting the rights and interests of the country and of the individual citizens. There is no reason why we should not continue in a common bond of friendship and build up to a new high faith in America and American institutions, and take the lead in leading the American people to a new and more brilliant destiny, which yet awaits them.

I thank you.

President Green: I express to Commander Colmery your very deep appreciation of his visit to our convention this morning and of the submission of his most interesting and brilliant address. I know I can assure him for you that the great American Federation of Labor will closely cooperate with the great American Legion organization in the preservation of our common heritage, a free government, administered by a free people. It is well indeed to touch upon the subject in such a masterful way as did the Commander of the American Legion this morning. We accept the free air we breathe, the free water we drink, as commonplace service and commonplace supplies. We would only change our opinion regarding these common supplies if they were curtailed and denied. Then we would put a new value upon the air we breathe and the water we drink. And so it is with freedom and liberty, involving as it does the priceless exercise of freedom of speech, freedom of

press, the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of our conscience, and freedom of assembly. We begin to realize the value of freedom in America by comparison. It is when we see in other nations the substitution of a form of government dictatorial and autocratic, which in operation denies to the people the exercise of these blessings of freedom and liberty that we begin to appreciate fully the value of free America, a democracy, and its free institutions. And because we get a new meaning and a new understanding and a new comprehension of the value of this priceless heritage is the reason why we rise in our sovereignty and our majesty in common defense of those principles.

It has been well said that in the exercise of freedom of speech we may not agree with a single word or a single statement by the person who invokes for himself or herself the right of freedom of speech. But under our democratic form of government we have a right to make any service necessary in order to protect any man in the exercise of free speech.

It is indeed interesting to observe many times that those who preach a subversive doctrine, who would if they could substitute for our form of government another form which embraces a philosophy in direct opposition to the blessings and freedom of democracy, are the first to invoke the protection of our free institutions in order that they may exercise the right of free speech and free assembly. I may not agree with a word they say, but in the language of the philosopher who uttered it, I would die to see him exercise the right of free speech. That is the spirit of America. The blessings of liberty and freedom are no longer commonplace affairs. They are special blessings, the common heritage of a free people, and I can say to you, Commander Colmery, that this great democratic institution, the American Federation of Labor, will stand with the American Legion in defense of Amer-

ica and American institutions until the death if necessary.

I ask you to remain with us as long as you can, and be our guest and enjoy pleasant association with our officers and delegates.

Thank you so much.

I now present to you for just a moment a representative of the Credit Union. That is a subject in which you are tremendously interested. He is going to tell us in just a moment something about the Credit Union, and I am sure you will appreciate it very greatly. I present to you our visitor to the convention this morning, Mr. H. W. Culbreth, of the Federal Government.

MR. H. W. CULBRETH
(Credit Union Section, Farm Credit Administration)

Mr. Green, delegates, and guests: The vast majority of workers are vitally interested in the development of credit unions, because credit unions offer them the means of retaining control over the money they earn.

To what extent does the American worker have control over the dollars he earns? Isn't his lack of control indicated by his constant struggle to stretch his dollars to make both ends meet?

He knows that the first step in making both ends meet is that of saving some of his dollars out of each pay. However, a recent report of the Brookings Institute revealed that on the average workers with incomes of \$25.00 a week or less saved nothing in 1929. The average worker spends his entire income. He thereby relinquishes all control over the dollars he earns.

The second step any worker must take to make both ends meet is that of keeping out of debt. But how many of them are able to do it? Without savings or other cash reserve the best many of them can do is to live from hand to mouth. Sickness, or any other unusual need for cash often forces them to borrow money. Many of them borrow from loan sharks, one of whose interest rates was found by the Kansas Legislative Council to be as high as 14.100% per year. Others buy necessities of life on installment at carrying charges which are in many cases excessive. As a result of borrowing money from loan sharks and buying on installment the great majority of workers are deeply in debt. Many of them are forced into debt through no

fault of their own. This happens to steady, reliable workers who have far more than average integrity and honesty. It happens because these men and women have no control over the credit and installment market places in which they are forced by circumstances to deal. However, thousands of American workers have definitely learned and are learning more rapidly today than ever before that they can with their own savings provide money markets for themselves over which they have full control. Such markets are known as credit unions.

In a credit union workers help one another save money. This pooled savings provides a fund from which fellow members may borrow money at reasonable rates of interest. Each credit union is controlled by its own members.

By what procedure can workers obtain credit union services?

The first step in this procedure is the selection of a group of one hundred or more persons who have a definite bond of association, occupation, or residence. This necessary bond of association has been found by experience to exist in churches, trade unions, industrial plants, many fraternal organizations, and among farmers in small areas.

The second step, since the credit union is a form of bond, is that of obtaining a credit union charter. Seven or more persons in the group may apply to one of the 41 states, the District of Columbia, or to the Federal Government, each of which has special credit union laws, for the charter. When it is granted it will specifically limit the operation of the credit union to those in that particular group.

The governmental agency which grants the charter examines the credit union periodically and effectively supervises its operations.

Upon request, the Credit Union Section of the Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D. C., which issues charters under the Federal Credit Union Act, will furnish full information and assist with the details of organizing credit unions.

The third step in the procedure is the election of officers. These consist of a board of directors which determines general operating policies, a credit committee to approve loans and a supervisory committee which makes quarterly audits of the credit union's books. One of the directors serves as treasurer. He accepts deposits and keeps the credit union records. He must be bonded.

After the organization is completed, any person within the specified group may become a member of the credit

union by depositing at least 50 cents with its treasurer. He is given a pass book and is thereafter encouraged to save as much or as little as he can afford every pay day. This method of encouraging thrift has proved very effective.

American workers now have savings in their credit unions which total 75 millions of dollars. Every cent of this money belongs to them. It is under their full control. They may withdraw their savings for their own needs. Instead, they are using these millions of dollars to protect their fellow credit union workers from loan sharks and high cost installment sellers.

A credit union's funds may be loaned only to its own members. Each loan has to be approved by the credit committee. The members of this committee either know or can easily find out how long the applicant for the loan has been in their group and the record he has made for honesty and fair dealings with his fellow workers. This committee is permitted by its credit union's charter to approve loans for as much as \$50.00 on the faith it has in a borrower's signature. This fundamental provision of credit union operation provides the market place where a worker may borrow small sums of money on the basis of his character alone. Security is required on loans of more than \$50.00. The most widely used form of security is endorsements by the borrower's fellow credit union members. They, in this way, guarantee the character value of a borrower who is well known to them.

Loans are repaid in pay-day installments with an interest charge which may not exceed 1% a month on unpaid balance. This is a reasonable rate of interest for small personal loans.

Interest on its loans gives the credit union an income. After deducting operating expenses and putting 20% of the remaining net earnings into a reserve as protection against losses on bad loans, the balance of net earnings are paid out to members as dividends on their savings.

Dividends in a Federal credit union are limited to 6% per year. They are frequently one or two percent higher than the interest rate paid by local banks on savings accounts.

Thus credit unions enable workers to provide for themselves complete thrift and credit services. In them, workers save money which is used to make loans at reasonable rates of interest to fellow workers and all earnings are divided equally among

members in proportion to their savings.

These services are provided on a truly democratic basis. Each credit union serves a definite group of persons who have a common bond of association. Credit union membership is open to everyone in the group, regardless of color, class or creed. Each member has one and only one vote in the management of his credit union regardless of the amount of his savings. This insures democratic management.

Now that we are familiar with the operation of credit unions, let us look at the record they have made.

Credit unions first started in this country 27 years ago. They are well established. Today there are 5,000 of them varying in size from that of the New York City Municipal Employees Credit Union which has 17,000 members and two millions of dollars in assets, to credit unions with only 50 members and less than \$1,000 in assets. In every state, they are providing effective services for all types of workers; professional, industrial, and agricultural. In them, one million workers have 75 millions of dollars in savings. With these savings, loans of more than 100 millions of dollars were made last year to fellow workers with losses which averaged less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per cent. The involuntary liquidation of a credit union is extremely rare.

This is truly an amazing record. In these credit unions we have a form of banking institution which is owned and operated, not by supermen, not by experienced bookkeepers, not by highly educated people, but by average working men and women, by workers who labor at their trades and earn their dollars by the sweat of their brows. Men who had never seen the inside of a bookkeeping system have become proficient credit union treasurers. Laborers who never get the grime out of their hands and who have never had a penny of their own to invest have served on credit committees which have invested thousands of dollars in small personal loans to credit union members—loans which have been repaid with far smaller losses than those of many other lending institutions in the United States. What does this record prove? It proves two things.

First, this record proves that American workers need credit union services. In every group of 100 or more wage earners there are some who are deeply in debt and who are paying exorbitant interest rates for credit. Others in these groups can save and would like to use their savings to

help lighten the debt burdens of their fellow workers. The credit union provides the business-like medium through which such help may be given with satisfaction to those who save and without destroying the self-respect of those who borrow.

Second, this record proves that American workers have the abilities to control their own money. In credit unions they are providing money markets for themselves which had not formerly been provided for them. They have learned how to accurately handle large sums of deposits, how to keep complete records, and how to safely invest millions of dollars in small character loans. In accomplishing these things they have pooled far more than their dollars; they have pooled their desires to better themselves, to help one another, and to share benefits gained with those who work and live with them. Out of this pooling of human resources they have developed the latent abilities to control their own money for their own use.

President Green: We thank Mr. Culbreth for his address.

Credit Unions

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman, if it is not out of order I would like to make a motion in regard to this address. My reason for doing so is that I intended to present a resolution on the credit union, but I was late in arriving at the convention. I desire to make a motion that the address presented by Mr. Culbreth be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to make a careful study and prepare a statement on the credit union and its policies, and that this information be sent out to the various organizations affiliated, instructing these organizations on the advisability and the possibility of establishing credit unions for the protection of the workers throughout the country.

We have established a number of them in our organization throughout the country, and not only are they working successfully, but they are bringing about great relief to our people. To my mind it is one of the important things, and if I am not out of

order I desire to offer that motion at this time.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee, as follows:

Secretary Frey: Some of the delegates interested have informed the committee that they must leave the city soon, and the committee presents its report now on Resolution No. 84.

The Scottsboro Boys

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Scottsboro boys have become a symbol of American persecution and torture of the American Negro, since these nine boys have been sentenced to die in the electric chair, despite overwhelming evidence to establish their innocence of the crime of which they have been accused, and have languished in prison for more than five years, with a recent tragic and unhappy attack upon one of the boys by a guard; and

WHEREAS, Every respectable national Negro organization, religious, civic, economic, political and social service, have endorsed the fight for the release of these boys, and a National Committee, headed by Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City and Colonel William J. Schiefflin, treasurer, with a large number of outstanding citizens, have examined the evidence in the case and are convinced of their innocence; and

WHEREAS, The continued imprisonment of the boys and their death would tend to injure the cause of working class solidarity between the black and white workers, and since a large section of white workers in Alabama desire the boys' release, and since the case of the boys will come up for trial in the courts some time in January; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled, in Tampa, Florida, go on record as condemning the cruel persecution of these boys, and call for their unconditional freedom.

In lieu of the resolution your committee finds that despite the action taken by the Alabama Courts in these cases, that the Supreme Court of the

United States has, on two occasions, reversed the procedure and the law as applied to them, an action clearly indicating that the nation's highest judicial tribunal was active and definite in protecting the constitutional safeguards of every citizen, regardless of color or of membership in a minority group.

As a result of the United States Supreme Court's decision, these cases are to be brought to trial again in the Courts of Alabama.

In view of this impending trial your committee is of the opinion that this convention should not inject itself upon a due process of the law, unless it becomes evident that the defendant's legal and constitutional rights are being invaded.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the convention, I do not think that the reasons assigned by the Resolutions Committee for its refusal to affirmatively concur in the resolution are sufficient. As a matter of fact, there are cases that have come before the convention before that were similar to the Scottsboro case and they were before the courts, and yet resolutions favoring those cases have been concurred in—for instance, the case of Tom Mooney.

Moreover, the convention has not followed that policy in relation to measures pending before the courts of law. Take for instance the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill, and the Railway Retirement Act. If we follow the policy of not taking any action upon a case until that case has had final action in the court, the implication of that position is that we will not do anything about the matter until the individual is convicted. That certainly does not seem to be a sound policy for the American Federation of Labor.

On the matter of the due process of law aspect of the resolution, that es-

pecially is inadequate in relation to the Negro in the South. All of us know that the Negro in the south has no rights in the courts of law. As a matter of fact, the Negro is convicted upon his color when he appears in court. The Negro has no right to secure proper representation by way of counsel.

This case of the Scottsboro boys is a case of mob rule, of lynch terror. There are some outstanding facts in connection with it. For instance, when the case was being tried there in the court they had a condition which was calculated to create an emotional outburst against the boys. The attorneys against the boys appealed to the basest passions of the jury. They attempted to inflame and stir up the people against them. Threats were made against the boys. As a matter of fact, it was a shot gun, lynch law atmosphere in the court. The Judge himself virtually slobbered vengeance against the boys, and they had absolutely no proper and fair consideration in the court. There was a bloody shirt spirit against them.

This is one outstanding reason why this convention should take some action on this case. Second, one of the girls who it is alleged the boys had attacked testified to the innocence of the boys, and yet there was no disposition to seriously consider that testimony by the court.

Third, the United States Supreme Court has reversed the opinion of the lower courts and remanded the case back to them, but that certainly is not going to have any great effect upon the courts of Alabama in relation to this case. Nothing but mobilized public opinion can save the boys.

We find, for instance, another important aspect of the case, and that is the torture and the terrorizing of these boys in prison. They have been tormented in a barbarous and inhuman way by the guards. In one instance one of the boys had part of his face shot off by one of the guards. This

is a case of terrorism against the helpless and defenseless boys, and therefore it seems to me that this convention, composed of working men who themselves have been victims of persecution, should take an affirmative position on the resolution.

In connection with this case we have a national committee composed of prominent citizens throughout the country seeking to bring about the liberation of the boys. The head of the committee is Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church of New York. There is also Colonel Schiefflin, who is Treasurer of that committee. Colonel Schiefflin is the Chairman of the Citizens Committee of New York and head of one of the largest drug companies in New York.

Now, my friends, in view of the fact that practically every outstanding Negro organization has endorsed the plea of these boys, knowing that they have no right before the Alabama court, it seems to me this convention ought to take some action in their behalf. This case involves the whole question of liberty and democracy for Negroes in the South, the liberty and democracy, not only for the Negroes but also for the White workers.

This terrorism and the attitude of hostility against the boys is transferred to practically every institution in this section. For instance, since myself and my colleague, Brother Webster, have been here in Tampa, Florida, when we went to the Floridian Hotel to register one of their uniformed representatives stepped up and said, "Now we will conduct you to the place where you register." In other words, they did not want us to ride up on the elevator. We did not give them any attention. We stepped on the elevator and rode up. But there is this studied and deliberate attempt at discrimination, insult and humiliation which is characterized in the persecution of the Scottsboro boys.

I hope the convention will vote down

the report of the Resolutions Committee, I don't cast any reflection upon the spirit of the committee. I think the report of the committee does not reflect the logical analysis which we ought to expect from the able leadership of that committee. It seems to me that the report is skimpy and nondescript and fragmentary. It does not meet the issue. I don't know why we should be afraid to face this thing here because we are in the south. I hope the convention will see the great importance of this case and take the proper action. If these boys cannot plead with the American Federation of Labor for help, where will they go? There are high forces in the south opposed to the liberation of the Scottsboro boys, the best people, the capitalist people. Let us give the workers of Alabama some encouragement in fighting for these boys.

You know what the attitude generally is when there is any question raised with respect to lynch laws. Whenever that matter is raised on the floor of the Senate, somebody steps forward and raises the doctrine of state's rights and in the name of the liberal traditions.

The best capitalist people, as a matter of fact, do not participate in lynchings, they do not soil their hands in the blood of the black victims, they do not listen to the screams at the burning of the negro. They stand in the background. They go to their churches and they listen to the preacher say "Blessed are the poor in spirit for they shall see God." They make their contributions to foreign missions and such as that. No, they don't soil their hands in the blood of the black victims, but they soil their souls, and I hope the American Federation of Labor will not soil its soul by pandering to the sentiment of the lynch spirit of the south, in not taking an affirmative position upon this resolution.

Delegate Watkins, Fire Fighters' In-

ternational Association: Mr. Chairman, I regret very much that it becomes my duty to speak on a subject so foreign to what should be considered in this convention, but before I go into that matter I desire to state that I am speaking as a delegate to this convention and not as a representative of my international union. It is my privilege to concur in the report of this committee. I want to congratulate the committee on its decision. I think it has acted wisely in non-concurring in the resolution.

I regret that this resolution should have been brought here by someone who does not recognize the right of democracy. The Alabama State Federation of Labor has held conventions annually for the past five years in which this case has been under trial and in course of disposition by the court, and in not one instance has the Alabama State Federation of Labor seen fit to intervene in behalf of the Scottsboro boys. There has not been a resolution before that convention. Neither has there been a resolution sent from that State Federation to the American Federation of Labor. I believe that the Alabama State Federation of Labor is capable and has sufficient courage to protect the rights of any citizen of Alabama, and I believe, as they believe, that if an injustice is being done in this case they would have appealed to this body for some support.

Mind you, my friends, in the last two conventions of the Alabama State Federation of Labor at least one-fourth of the delegates have been negro delegates, and they, too, have not up to this time made any mention of the fact that there has been an injustice done to these Scottsboro boys. I believe they have sufficient courage and sufficient intellect to appeal their case to the American Federation of Labor if the colored delegates in the state of Alabama to the Alabama Federation convention had felt there was an injustice being done.

Not a single one of this group of boys is a member of the American Federation of Labor. It is a matter entirely without the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor until such time as the courts of Alabama have tried these men and found them guilty or not guilty, and if the American Federation of Labor feels that an injustice has been done.

It has been mentioned here by the previous speaker that a negro has no right of representation in the courts of Alabama. I deny that fact, I deny that emphatically. It is not a fact and it is made, not in the interests of justice to this or any other case, but to prejudice the minds of this convention against the courts of Alabama. These negro boys had their representatives. The American Defense League of New York sent Count Von Lubowitz down there and spent much time and money in this case in an attempt to give these boys justice, when, as a matter of fact, in my opinion, they did not want justice, neither do they want these cases disposed of. They want to exploit the negro of the entire country.

I have in my mind a general subscription being taken up all over the United States for the defense of these negro boys, and that is true as far west as California, and you heard the man say it had been done in New York. So why is all this? They have had their counsel. I make the claim to this convention that the continuous interference with state's rights of Alabama is not doing the Scottsboro boys any good, and it will in the end do them an injustice. I feel that this convention, in the name of democracy, in the name of the courts of Alabama, in the name of justice, should concur in the report of the committee.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, the committee had referred to it a resolution. After examining the whereases and the resolves, the committee was of the opinion that approval was im-

possible. But the committee was unwilling to bring in a report of non-concurrence because then the action of the committee would have been misunderstood and would have been misinterpreted. Now the action of the committee was to bring in a report in lieu of the resolution which would make it clear that this convention intended that if there is any evidence at the next trial of these Scottsboro boys, or any action by the authorities which indicated an invasion of their rights as American citizens, then we would interfere. But the committee called attention to the fact that the case now is about to proceed under orderly forms, that the Supreme Court of the United States on two occasions, because of questions raised, had referred the case back to the Alabama courts.

The committee, in defending this report, had no intention of examining the record or of making reference to some of the unfortunate instances which are happening. Certainly we intend to make no reference to what preceded the shooting of one of the Scottsboro boys, because he is still on trial for his life. Let me call your attention for a moment to what this resolution asks us to do, and what it says. First of all it tells us that every respectable national negro organization and others have approved of the purpose of this resolution. No evidence has been submitted to your committee that such is the case. Then another whereas says that the continued imprisonment of these boys and their death would do what? Injure the cause of working class solidarity between the black and white workers.

Your committee was unable to see anything in connection with the case, anything in connection with the alleged injustice and the miscarriage of justice which in any way had any bearing upon the relationship between white and colored workers, and particularly in our trade union movement.

Then what does the resolve ask this

convention to do, in view of the fact that this case is about to go on trial in the duly constituted courts of Alabama? It asks us to prejudge what that court will do and to declare now and here in convention that we, having no confidence in this court, intend to determine what the result must be. I want to read the language to you. I am sorry that it is necessary for your committee to go into the body of this resolution, so unfortunately and ineptly drawn, if I understand the purpose of those who introduced it. Listen to this language:

"That the flxty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Tampa, Florida, go on record as condemning the cruel persecution of these boys, and calling for their unconditional freedom."

This convention is to prejudge what the court is to do itself and take action before the court again has heard this case, and as an American Federation of Labor, commit us to the proposition that we now, before that trial, demand their unconditional freedom.

It seemed to your committee that the American Federation of Labor, never having put itself in such a position before, should not now attempt to set aside due process of law and substitute the opinion of this convention. And so your committee presented a report to you which we think adequately safeguards the rights of these Scottsboro boys. It puts itself on record as supporting the action of the United States Supreme Court in referring the case back twice to the Alabama courts, and then it concludes with the statement that if anything in that trial should indicate that these boys have been denied every right of citizenship, we will then again voice our opinion.

So I hope that the committee's report will be heartily supported.

The report of the committee, was adopted.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:00 o'clock.

Absentees—Kindred, Hefferly, Williams (E. H.), Graham (James D.), Marcic, Phillips (John A.), Rosqvist, Patterson (Dowell E.), Turnblazer, Cahill, Minton (Wm.), Getchen, Mundell (Curtis), McDonald (S. S.), Tracy (Wm.), O'Neill (John J.), Mayer (Richard), McClellan (T.), Johnson (E. A.), Yablensky, Jenkins (E. R.), Dobbs, Jones (John T.), Breidenbach, Nischwitz, Will, Van Patten, Stackweather, Drake, Owens (John), Patten (Fred), Augustino, Farrell (Chas.), McKenzie, Marchesi, Thompson (Kenneth), Preston (E. J.), Powers (Geo.), Hansen, Hanly, Majors, Scule, Shave, Pickle (E. L.), Keegan (John J.), Stoffels, Draper, Haywood, Klarish, Lisse, Kane (John J.), Hill (W. F.), McCarty (M. L.), Cahir, Legler, Price, Burton (R. L.), Harrison (J. W.), Gatelee, Wood (R. T.), Glasgow, Hudak, Edmundson, Edwards (John A.), Hunter (Thomas), Reed (Geo.), Saltus, Bender (Frank J.), Moulin, Markva, Johnson (C. W.), Schreier, Kocher, Williamson, Cairns, Fitzgerald (I. J.), Stern, Reynolds (Robt.), Clineinst, Bellows, Finnegan (Thos.), Knopka, Jackson (Geo. E.), Merritt (F. W.), Gerhardt (Frances), Gales (Dan), Barnes (Geo.), Lee, Williams (Clemson S.), Matlin, Prior, Duldner, Lufano, Kirby (Thos. J.).

President Green: The Chair recognizes the secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, Secretary Frey.

Industrial Cooperation

Your committee has had referred to it by the convention, the address of Major George L. Berry, President of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants Union of North America, and Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation.

Your committee has also had an opportunity of studying and profiting by the reports made by the Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation to the President of the United States.

Your committee is also acquainted with the National Conference of Representatives of Employers and of Labor, called under the direction of the Coordinator.

President Green and many other trade union officials, including several

members of your Committee on Resolutions, participated in this National Conference.

The reports made and accepted by the conference, reflect in a large measure the aims and the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

This first conference, called in an effort to bring management and labor together for the joint study of their problems and the joint formulation of programs and policies, indicated a large measure of practical usefulness.

Your committee therefore recommends the endorsement of this conference, and continued cooperation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Flogging Cases, Tampa, Florida

Resolution No. 235—By Delegate J. F. Friedrick, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, On November 30th, 1935, in Tampa, Florida, there was a kidnapping, flogging, tarring and feathering of Joseph A. Shoemaker, Eugene P. Poulnot and Dr. S. J. Rogers, which resulted in the tragic death of Joseph A. Shoemaker; and

WHEREAS, The only crime of the above victims was their consistent efforts to aid and assist their fellow workmen in improving their living conditions; and

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, other interested organizations and prominent individuals the public was thoroughly aroused which resulted in an investigation leading to the indictment of eleven men, including the Tampa Chief of Police, six other policemen, and several Klansmen from Orlando, Florida; and

WHEREAS, The first trial held, for the kidnapping of Poulnot, resulted in conviction of five of the defendants and sentences of four years each at hard labor, although these convicted men are now free on moderate bail pending decision on an appeal to the Florida Supreme Court; and

WHEREAS, Several of the indicted men have not yet had to stand trial on the charges against them and the most serious charges of murder have not been set for date although the

crimes happened almost a year ago; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and all progressive and democratic elements of America consider this violation of civil rights as a serious and vital challenge against the liberties of a freedom loving people and the proper handling of this matter will tend to serve notice on the elements in the Black Legion and other fascist-minded organizations that such terrorist methods will not be tolerated by organized labor;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as urging prompt and vigorous prosecution of the balance of these cases to the end that full justice may be obtained and that such action shall serve as a warning to all terrorist groups intent on destroying our fundamental American liberties.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Support of Labor Press

Resolution No. 238—By Delegates Frank Martel, International Typographical Union; P. J. Morrin, International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

WHEREAS, The union labor movement everywhere recognizes the need of the local labor press in supporting the various trades and giving proper publicity to all of their activities and

WHEREAS, There are only two sources of revenue that the legitimate labor papers can rely upon, namely, subscriptions and advertising; and

WHEREAS, The weekly labor press is not receiving twenty-five per cent of the union membership as subscribers which serves as a handicap in procuring advertising from their local concerns,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, The Labor Press Association appeal to the National and International Officers to advise their local unions to subscribe in a body for the local labor paper and where none exists, to join with the nearest city which has a labor paper; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we petition the American Federation of Labor to write to various State and Central Bodies asking them to refrain from sponsoring Year Books and Souvenir Programs which take volumes of advertising from the local labor paper which is struggling for an existence.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cuba

Resolution No. 241—By Delegate R. E. Van Horn, Cigarmakers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Since 1898 organized labor in the United States has extended its support to the workers of Cuba in their efforts to organize and to extend their liberties, and

WHEREAS, Our movement was cheered by the downfall of the Machado tyranny in Cuba, under which workers had been imprisoned and assassinated because they dared to organize, and

WHEREAS, We have hoped for a strong Cuban labor movement to work in co-operation with us through the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The gains made by labor in the first few months after the fall of Machado were destroyed by the new dictator, Col. Fulgencio Batista, who now dominates the Cuban nation with a despotic and brutal control which is, if anything, more barbarous and ruthless than the despotism of Machado, and

WHEREAS, President Miguel Mariano Gomez, the duly elected chief executive, was elected on a platform proposing amnesty for political prisoners, the calling of a constituent assembly and other reforms, including the right of labor to organize and perform its normal functions, has been unable to carry out his high aims because of the military dominance of Batista, and

WHEREAS, No labor union can exist in Cuba today and perform the normal and proper functions of a union, while labor men are thrown into prison and are tortured and driven insane by the tortures they must watch, and while there are now more political prisoners than there were before the adoption of the emasculated amnesty law adopted in the first months of the Gomez administration, be it therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, speaking for the organized workers of the United States, denounces and condemns in the strongest terms the Batista dictatorship, with its fearful and indescribable tortures of labor men and others, with its assassinations and its punishment by exile, and with its hideous espionage system; and that we record this protest with President Gomez and with

the State Department at Washington; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we extend our sympathy to the Cuban workers and our admiration for their heroic conduct under the dictatorship and that we pledge our support until freedom finally is achieved; and also that we extend our fraternal greetings to the Cuban workers through the President of the now disbanded Cuban Federation of Labor, Brother Cesar Villar, who is in exile and who prior to his exile was imprisoned for eleven months because of his service as a leader of the Cuban workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prevailing Wage For Engineering Employees on PWA Projects

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Previous Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have recorded themselves as favoring the payment of prevailing rate of wages to all employees; and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States in enacting the National Industrial Recovery Act on June 16th, 1933, established the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, and provided for the payment of the prevailing rate of wages to be paid to all employees; and,

WHEREAS, Pursuant to this act of Congress, the Administrator of Public Works, the Hon. Harold D. Ickes, issued regulations providing that the payment of the prevailing rate of wages for services rendered be made to professional and semi-professional employees, and defined such terms to include technical engineers, architects, and draftsmen; and

WHEREAS, After the date of promulgation and taking effect of such regulations including engineering employees, the Government of the United States and the City of New York acting through their respective agents, the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works and the Bd. of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City entered into a Loan and Grant Agreement whereby the Federal Gov't loans the City of New York 76 percent, and makes an outright grant of 30 percent of a total of approximately (\$25,000,000) Twenty-five Mil-

lion Dollars, for the completion of portions of the City-Owned Independent Subway System known as PWA Project N. Y. 2741, a self-supporting project; and

WHEREAS, The City of New York employs their technical engineers, architects, and draftsmen on this project and pays their salaries out of funds provided by the PWA Administration pursuant to the Loan and Grant Agreement N. Y. 2741 dated May 17th, 1934, and amended in 1935 to provide moneys with which to legalize payments of salaries of the technical staff; and

WHEREAS, The City of New York fails to pay the prevailing rate of wages, and fails to pay the minimum equivalent rate of \$1.20 an hour; and actually on this project reduced the salaries of their engineering employees in amounts equivalent to reductions of twenty to forty (20-40 percent) percent, so that at present these salaries are now even below the equivalent hourly, and accumulated yearly salaries paid to technical men on Works Progress Administration Relief Projects; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as unalterably opposed to the use of Federal Funds for payment of wages of employees as improper where such payments do not conform to the laws of Congress and the regulations issued pursuant thereto governing the use of Federal Funds; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the President of the United States and the Administrator of the Public Works Administration to direct full enforcement of the regulations regarding wages of engineering employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to President Roosevelt, Administrator Ickes, Senators Wagner and Copeland of New York, and Mayor LaGuardia and Controller Taylor of New York City with the request that they co-operate in seeing that the engineering employees on PWA Project N. Y. 2741 receive the prevailing rate of wages for services rendered and to be rendered in accordance with the mandates of Congress, and as more fully detailed in claim previously filed with the Public Works Administration.

Introduced by International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions, at request of Local 65, New York City, whose members are employed on PWA Project N. Y. 2741.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Permanent Resettlement Administration Program

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate J. W. Williams, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The program of the Resettlement Administration in the resettlement and rehabilitation of low-income farmers makes it possible for rural workers to maintain decent standards of living in rural areas and prevents them from being forced into cities and towns to accept wages which are below those established by organized labor, thus undermining established standards of wages and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, This program involves the construction of housing for low-income families of both farmers and urban workers which is of vital importance to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and to all other organized workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Resettlement Administration recognizes the fundamental community of interest which exists between urban and rural workers and which must be developed in order that both groups of workers may establish and maintain decent standards of living, and recognizes the necessity of promoting cooperative organizations of farmers which will help the farmers in improving their conditions, as trade union organizations benefit urban labor; and

WHEREAS, The Resettlement Administration program is based upon a long-term program of construction of both rural and urban communities which will not only afford employment to large numbers of building trade mechanics, but will provide better housing for rural and urban workers; and

WHEREAS, The Resettlement Administration has recognized the right of labor to organize and select representatives of their own choice for the purpose of adjusting grievances with the Resettlement Administration and the importance of maintaining standards of wages, hours, and working conditions which have been established by organized labor, and has on its construction projects made every effort to maintain those standards, and has in every way possible cooperated with the building trades unions; and

WHEREAS, Due to the fact that the

program of the Resettlement Administration is designed for the permanent relief of low-income farmers, its execution differs materially from the program of relief undertaken under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts of 1935 and 1936, and is greatly hampered by the necessity of having to meet the employment regulations of the work relief program, and should not, therefore, be required to continue the work relief program. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct its members and its Legislative Committee to attempt to secure at the coming sessions of Congress legislation continuing the Resettlement Administration as a permanent agency for the relief of low-income farmers and for the permanent elimination of conditions responsible for their low-income status; and providing appropriations to a revolving fund for the conduct of such a program, based upon

1. Construction of farm communities for low-income farmers;

2. Long-term amortization of the investment at low interest rates by the farm families;

3. Continued technical assistance to such farms until, through the development of improved farm methods, they have been placed upon a sound economic basis, and be it further

RESOLVED, That upon adoption of this resolution by the American Federation of Labor they shall support legislation for the adoption and continuation of the program of the Resettlement Administration as it has been developed during the past eighteen months; and to oppose legislation which would reduce this program into a mere lending of funds to individual farmers for the purchase of individual farms, without planned co-ordination, without technical assistance and without the establishment of community and cooperation activities. And be it further

RESOLVED, That upon the adoption of this resolution by the American Federation of Labor Convention, a copy of this resolution be referred to President Roosevelt and to members of Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislative Program of International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union

Resolution No. 147—By C. L. Rose-

mund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the I. F. T. E. A. & D. Unions endorsed the following legislative measures—to wit:

1. A minimum wage of \$1800 per annum for all time engineering employees with statutory provisions for automatic increases in salary.

2. A reduction of hours of the present work week without reduction in salaries.

3. Extension of the merit system in the classified civil service.

4. Thirty years optional retirement with widows' annuities and a reduction of the age limit requirements.

5. Creation of a Board of Appeals with provision for employees, representation for Civil Service employees.

6. Transfer of Classifying Authority to the Civil Service Commission for the allocation of all Field Service positions under the Classification Act.

7. Changes in the present system of efficiency markings to remove present opportunity of discrimination.

8. Changes in present leave law regulations so as to restore previous retroactive privileges for the field service.

9. The preparation of plans for all Government built naval vessels by the drafting personnel of the Naval Establishment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render its support in the achievement of the above mentioned program with every possible means at its disposal.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Remove Discriminations Against Agricultural Workers in Federal Laws

Resolution No. 148—By Delegates Leif Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Vineland, N. J.; Donald Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.; Vicente G. Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.; Paul J. Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Calif.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Calif.; Marcella Ryan, Can-

nery Workers' Union No. 20099, Oakland, Calif.; Albert Markva, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 19994, Blissfield, Mich.; Roy Hawthorne, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20224, Camden, N. J.; G. Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers' Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.; Warren Brown, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20221, Stockton, Calif.

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers are consistently discriminated against in almost every piece of Federal and State legislation dealing with the welfare and social security of American workers; and

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Act completely excluded agricultural workers from its benefits and protective measures and the Agricultural Adjustment Act not only failed to provide benefits for the farm workers but had the effect of decreasing their wage levels, increasing their cost of living and, through its reduction program, decreasing the number of workers employed in agriculture; and

WHEREAS, The Black-Cannery 30 hour, five day week Bill specifically excludes all workers in agriculture; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner Labor Disputes Act specifically excludes agricultural workers from its benefits; and

WHEREAS, Every State in the United States which has enacted state legislation to secure the benefits of the Federal Social Security Act exempt agricultural workers from its old age and unemployment insurance benefits; and

WHEREAS, Nearly all state legislation dealing with Workmen's Compensation makes no provisions for extending such protection to workers engaged in agriculture; and

WHEREAS, The Child Labor laws of nearly every state in the Union exempt children engaged in agriculture from their provisions; and

WHEREAS, Social legislation on behalf of women regulating hours and nature of work almost invariably exempt women engaged in agriculture from its protective provisions and benefits; and

WHEREAS, Laws regulating school attendance in the various states usually exempt children engaged in agricultural pursuits; and

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers are exempt from the provisions of laws requiring regular payment of wages within certain limited periods; and

WHEREAS, This consistent neglect of and discrimination against the larg-

est body of wage workers employed in any U. S. Industry in all Federal and State legislation is partially the result of inattention on the part of labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, A continuation of these gross and unjustifiable discriminations, exclusions and exemptions endanger the entire structure of our social and labor legislation designed to protect American workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor take immediate steps to remove all discriminations, exclusions, and exemptions from all existing Federal legislation as regards agricultural workers and their families; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all State Federations of Labor be urged to remove similar discriminations, exclusions, and exemptions from existing state social and labor legislation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the National Legislative Committee of our Federation to secure equal rights of agricultural workers with industrial workers in all pending social and labor legislation which it initiates or supports.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: The Secretary of the committee desires to make a brief statement regarding this resolution.

Secretary Frey: This resolution calls for the removal of all restrictions against agricultural workers in Federal law, and the committee recommends its adoption. If the resolution is adopted by this convention, it will place itself on record as bringing agricultural workers under all laws, Federally enacted, dealing with compensation, dealing with social security, or any other general legislation which we have endeavored in the past to secure for the non-agricultural workers.

As this is a most important step, as it will very vitally affect the legislative activities of the American Federation of Labor and of every state federation of labor, the committee thought it well to call your attention to what is involved in the committee's report,

rather than merely say we recommend concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Protect Labor Organizations From Application of Anti-Trust Laws

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate J. W. Williams, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There is a great deal of agitation and demand for the enforcement of the anti-trust laws; and

WHEREAS, These laws in the past have been used primarily against organized labor throughout the United States, and in fact most of the cases that affected labor organizations in the past; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Legislative Committee and its officers to endeavor to use all of the means available to protect labor organizations from the application of the anti-trust laws.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Establishment of a Local Agency of the Federal Housing Act in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 156—Introduced by Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Delegate of the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico; Laura Iglesias, Delegate, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union 18198.

WHEREAS, Although the benefits of the Federal Housing Act were extended to Puerto Rico, up to the present time the effects of this legislation have not been felt in Puerto Rico;

WHEREAS, There is no local office in the island which could adequately take care of the administration of the provisions of said Act;

WHEREAS, The island of Puerto Rico is badly in need of this federal legislation,

BE IT RESOLVED, By the 56th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to ask the federal authorities in charge of the administration of this act, that a local agency be established in Puerto Rico for the administration of the provisions of the Federal Housing Act, so

that Puerto Rico might enjoy in full the benefits of the aforesaid Act.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Union Wages on Government Projects

Resolution No. 182—By Delegate Geo. B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Florida.

WHEREAS, The results of the recent national election demonstrate that the people of this country overwhelmingly endorse the efforts of the present administration to relieve unemployment and stimulate economic recovery through the setting up of federally financed public works projects; and

WHEREAS, This endorsement makes it certain that wage levels throughout the country for at least the next four years will be to a very great extent determined by the wage levels maintained on these government projects; and

WHEREAS, The greatest failure from the standpoint of organized labor in the setting up and administration of such projects in the last three and one-half years has been the failure of the government to establish and guarantee union wage levels on such projects; and

WHEREAS, The establishment and guaranty of union wage levels on such projects can only be secured through (1) a definite and nation-wide campaign by the American Federation of Labor to organize workers on these projects into unions of their own, and (2) a definite legislative program aimed at the attachments of all appropriations for government public works projects of stipulations of the payment of union wages on those projects; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor approve such an organizational campaign and such a legislative program, and instruct the National Executive Council to set up the apparatus necessary to the execution of such campaign and such program.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pay for Lost Time for WPA Workers

Resolution No. 190—By Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees'

Union No. 20049; Chicago, Ill.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There exists a Works Progress Administration order described as Administrative Order No. 44 which, within its provisions, includes the docking of Works Progress Administration employees for loss of time through no fault of their own, such as for absences caused by stoppage of working during inclement weather, holidays, illness, etc.; and

WHEREAS, This arbitrary and unjustified ruling works undue hardships and privation upon the already underpaid Works Progress Administration workers; and

WHEREAS, This affects both white collar and manual workers on the Works Progress Administration,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the Works Progress Administration to rescind the hereinabove mentioned clause of Administrative Order No. 44; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor petition the Works Progress Administration for payment of wages to its employees for time lost through no fault of their own including time lost upon termination of projects and delayed transfers to other projects.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Eight Hour Day for Hospital Nurses and Attendants

Resolution No. 206—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Thousands of nurses, laboratory technicians and other hospital professionals unorganized throughout the country are still working 12 hours a day at very low wages; and

WHEREAS, We found that our attempt in New York to organize these nurses and hospital professionals were fruitful; and

WHEREAS, We are waging a most serious campaign to obtain the 8-hour day for nurses and hospital workers in New York City; and

WHEREAS, The American Federa-

tion of Labor is going on record favoring the 6-hour day; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has recognized nurses and hospital professionals as part of the labor movement of America,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor being held at Tampa, Fla., recommend to the Executive Council and the State Federation of Labor and the Central Labor bodies that they aid in the organization of nurses throughout the country; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and this convention endorse our campaign for the 8-hour day movement in all the hospitals in this country; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That all public officials who have received the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor be urged to press for legislation limiting the hours of hospital employees to a maximum of 8 hours per day in municipal, state and federal institutions.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Use of WPA Workers by Agricultural Employers

Resolution No. 220—By Delegate Leif Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Vineland, N. J.

WHEREAS, Local, State and Federal relief agencies and WPA administrations have in the past co-operated with large vegetable, cotton and other produce growers and agricultural interests to force unemployed and WPA workers relief lists and onto farms, canneries and packing houses at below Union rates and in some cases even below relief rates; and

WHEREAS, This practice has even gone so far as to discharge WPA workers who refused jobs at scabbing as happened during the recent Salinas lettuce strike; and

WHEREAS, Local and State relief and WPA projects have been delayed and shut down completely to carry through these forced labor and scabbing practices in the interests of agricultural employers; and

WHEREAS, Repeated studies by the Federal government have conclusively proven that no shortage of labor existed in those sections and in those instances where these practices have been instituted; and

WHEREAS, These forced labor practices if permitted in the agricultural field will soon spread to the industrial field; and

WHEREAS, Secretary Hopkins has issued regulations designed to curb or stop the above practices without noticeable effect in State and local administration of relief and WPA; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as unalterably opposed to all forms of forced labor practices, and specifically open co-operation between WPA and relief officials with employers of farm, packinghouse and cannery labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Secretary Hopkins in Washington and to all WPA directors in the various states.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Expansion of Federal Relief For Unemployed and Elimination of Means Test

Resolution No. 224—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, The 54th Convention of the American Federation of Labor went on record to take immediate action to secure increases in the amount of relief provided for unemployed dependent upon relief; and

WHEREAS, On November 1, 1935, the Federal government withdrew from contribution to direct relief to the unemployed; and

WHEREAS, With the throwing of relief back to states and local communities there has ensued a catastrophic drop in actual relief given, and The condition of those on direct relief today, numbering more than 5,000,000 persons has become acutely serious; and

WHEREAS, The moral and physical suffering caused through inadequate relief is increased because of the Means Test they are forced to undergo; and

WHEREAS, The 55th convention of the American Federation of Labor went on record opposing the Means Test as a condition for relief and directed the Executive Council to use all means to eliminate the Means Test; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th

Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record as urging the Federal government to assist in relief to those unemployed by expanding the Federal works program to absorb all employables in need, and by resuming direct relief grants to the states; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the Executive Council and urges all local, state and international unions to cooperate to the end of raising relief standards to a level sufficient for the health and decency of those unemployed; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, local, state, and international unions use every effort to secure the elimination of the Means Test as a condition for relief; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, local, state, and international cooperate with the organizations of the unemployed toward the effecting of the aims of this resolution.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

White Collar Workers WPA

Resolution No. 225—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical & Research Employes Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill., Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Thousands of workers who are members of the American Federation of Labor and other protective organizations are employed with the Works Progress Administration,

AND WHEREAS, It is to the interest of all workers, including white collar workers, on the Works Progress Administration that the unions in their respective categories be given official recognition as representatives of the workers in their respective fields;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall aid all white collar unions in securing official recognition by the Works Progress Administration; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the national and all states Works Progress Administrators.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Cooperation to Improve Conditions of WPA Workers

Resolution No. 226—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employes Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, There exists today, according to American Federation of Labor figures, 11,000,000 unemployed; and

WHEREAS, Many millions of these are without means of sustaining themselves and their families except through government help; and

WHEREAS, We recognize the best means of sustaining the morale and welfare of the unemployed and labor generally to be employment on socially useful public projects; and

WHEREAS, Such employment to benefit the unemployed and labor generally should provide wages sufficient for the unemployed to live in health and decency; and

WHEREAS, The wage level of the 2,300,000 WPA workers, ranging as low as \$21 a month, is insufficient for health and decency; and

WHEREAS, President Green endorses and supports the movement to increase the wages and better the conditions of WPA workers and declares,

"The wage standards for this class of workers have been altogether too low, the income they receive is insufficient to guarantee them a decent living. The long strain of unemployment, suffering and sacrifices which workers, who have reached the point of dependency, have made, calls for more generous treatment on behalf of a government such as ours. An increase in wages . . . and the minimum rate of \$40 a month is thoroughly justified . . ." therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That this 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the efforts of President William Green and the organized unemployed to improve the conditions of the WPA workers; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this convention urges all local, state and international unions to cooperate so that our brothers on WPA may receive a wage sufficient to live on in health and decency.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Permanent Works Program for Unemployed White Collar Workers

Resolution No. 227—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical & Research

Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There has existed since the beginning of the depression great unemployment among white collar workers which is causing depreciation of their skills and abilities; and

WHEREAS, Only a small portion of this class of workers has been provided for by the Works Progress Administration and such employment as exists is at an inadequate wage scale; and

WHEREAS, These unemployed white collar workers are capable of performing useful and much needed work; and, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in support of a permanent works program for all unemployed white collar workers, whether on relief or not, (such as statistical, research, technical, educational, social, recreational workers, and artists, writers, actors, dancers, musicians, etc.) at trade union wages and working conditions similar to that provided for by the Public Works Administration; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall support legislative action embodying the above program.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prevailing Wage for WPA Workers

Resolution No. 229—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical & Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The Works Progress Administration has recognized the principle that the workers shall receive the prevailing rate of pay; and

WHEREAS, The rates set by the State Administrators of the Works Progress Administration have in most cases been derived directly and solely from pre-existing hours and wages on the Works Progress Administration for all Works Progress Administration workers, including white collar workers; and

WHEREAS, In practice true and just prevailing rates have not been established by this procedure; and be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of the establishment of those pay rates for all Works Progress Administration workers determined upon in each locality by the trade union organization in the respective field.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Sick Leave and Vacation Provisions for WPA Workers

Resolution No. 232—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical and Research Employees' Union No. 20049 and Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There exists in the Works Progress Administration at the present time no provision for sick leave and vacations with pay for non-administrative employees of the Works Progress Administration; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor petition of the Works Progress Administration for an immediate ruling providing for sick leave and vacations with pay for all Works Progress Administration workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Intimidation of Colorado Beet Laborers on Relief

Resolution No. 253—By Delegates Paul J. Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185; Fort Morgan, Colo.; Vincente D. Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.

WHEREAS, The Director of Public Welfare of Weld County, Colorado, has issued the following statement to the beet laborers of that county—

"To the Beet Laborers of Weld County:

The problem of taking care of the great number of beet and farm labor families in Weld County is a large one. This organization wishes to acquaint you with a program which is hoped will be possible to be carried out in the future. This program has the hearty endorsement of the Great West-

ern Sugar Co., the various churches, and other civic enterprises with which you come in contact in your daily life.

You have been on some form of relief in the past. This was necessary because you were unable to make enough money in the short season to meet the needs of your family. Firmly believing that conditions are improved over the past years, this organization feels that there should be less beet laborers on relief than have been during the last two winters.

You must be very careful in expending your money earned this summer. See how far you can make it go; buy well, but not recklessly when you receive a payment for your labor.

When the time comes that you make application for more relief, you will be required to give a very strict accounting of the manner in which you have spent any money received.

Another idea to keep well in mind is the fact that the only Federal Relief that can be obtained this winter is known as W.P.A. The number who can be employed on this Relief Labor is very limited. The County Welfare Board has been given the responsibility of determining who shall go on W.P.A. in the future and you may rest assured no one will be considered unless their case is worthy.

When you must have relief, bring your contract and a statement from your farmer showing how much he paid you both for beets and other labor and whether or not he thinks you should be considered a relief responsibility of Weld County. You will also be required to turn in your automobile drivers license and the license plates to your car when you are accepted as a client for general relief.

We are sending you this letter with the hope that a clearer understanding of the problem of relief for beet laborers can be had.

(Signed) George M. Houston,
Director of Public Welfare.

and

WHEREAS, The fact is notorious that beet laborers are, after the Southern Share Cropper, the most exploited laboring group in America, and

WHEREAS, In his statement Director Houston, endorsed by the Great Western Sugar Company, which controls the very lives of the beet workers—leaves the possibility of relief for such workers to the caprice of the farmers who are their immediate employers, and

WHEREAS, This attempt viciously to intimidate workers sorely needing relief threatens not merely the members of our unions, but every agricul-

tural worker in Colorado and throughout the country, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor vigorously protest this threatening statement by Director Houston and recommends to Harry Hopkins, Administrator of the Works Program, that the system of administering work relief be revised to provide for representation of labor unions locally organized on all boards determining eligibility for public relief.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Residence Relief Requirements for Migratory Workers

Resolution No. 254—By Delegates Paul J. Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo.; Vincente D. Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.

WHEREAS, Among the agricultural workers many of our union members are forced to move about the country to make enough to keep body and soul together during the growing season; and

WHEREAS, At the end of the season our farm laborer very often finds himself in a locality where he has no friends and no money; and

WHEREAS, The residence requirements for relief in various states denies any means of support to thousands of workers; and

WHEREAS, A man must eat; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself in opposition to residence relief requirements for migratory workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Dismissal of WPA Women Employees in Colorado

Resolution No. 255—By Delegate Sue Adams, Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colo.

WHEREAS, The Federal Administrator of Works Progress, Harry Hopkins, within the past month has ar-

bitrarily ordered the dismissal of nearly fifty percent of the women employees of the Works Progress Administration in the state of Colorado, solely because of the fact that Colorado has 27 per cent women employees in WPA projects as compared with an average of 16 per cent for the nation as a whole; and

WHEREAS, The percentage of women bread-winners is and should be higher in Colorado than in the nation generally because large numbers of men employees of the Works Progress Administration have been forced from the WPA into the beet fields and the Federal Forest Service, while the absence of any increased demand for women in private employment has kept the number of WPA women employees approximately unchanged; and

WHEREAS, This order of Administrator Hopkins dismissing nearly fifty per cent of the women employed in the WPA in Colorado has resulted in severe hardship and suffering to several thousand women wage earners and their dependents; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor strongly protest the order of Administrator Hopkins reducing the percentage of women workers employed in WPA in Colorado; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the WPA program be enlarged and extended to provide suitable and useful employment for all needy and employable women in Colorado and the entire nation, irrespective of arbitrary percentages which disregard human needs.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Relief for Migratory Workers

Resolution No. 256—By Delegates Paul J. Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Colo.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo.; Vincent D. Vigil, Beet Field Workers' Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.

WHEREAS, The nature of agriculture in the Rocky Mountains and Western region of the United States involves the employment of thousands of migratory workers; and

WHEREAS, Many transient laborers are active members of the labor movement, but are denied the relief that organized labor has obtained for the more static part of the working population; and

WHEREAS, The abolition of Transient Divisions of the State Departments of Public Welfare has left underpaid migratory workers without means of support during their journeys over long distances between places of employment; and

WHEREAS, The administration of relief by county and state welfare boards, in many cases dominated by reactionary employer interests, leaves the migratory laborer a victim of hardship on the road; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the Executive Council that action be taken to obtain the re-establishment, under federal administration, of transient relief facilities, especially in those areas where migration of labor is a problem; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention direct the Legislative Committee to promote legislation for a Federal Department of Public Welfare which shall have included among its functions responsibility for the migratory laborer.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Permanent PWA Program

Resolution No. 257—By Delegate Sue Adams, Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly.

WHEREAS, The Federal Relief Administration, Labor leaders and Economists all agree that the problem of unemployment is a permanent one and that principal responsibility for relief of unemployment rests with the Federal Government; and

WHEREAS, The Works Progress Administration is the present instrumentality by which our Government is attempting to handle this problem; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor states that WPA funds will be exhausted by January or February 1937; and

WHEREAS, The present WPA program is woefully inadequate to provide a minimum security for the 9,000,000 unemployed in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Direction of Federal responsibility in providing work relief has decreased rather than increased during the past year as witnessed by a reduction of nearly 1,000,000 WPA workers since last March; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 56th conven-

tion of the American Federation of Labor go on record approving a permanent public works program that will provide useful employment to all needy unemployed at Trade Union rates; and be it further

RESOLVED, That immediate action be taken by the incoming Congress to provide for the continuance of an enlarged Works Program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all relief and public Works Administration under this program be lifted from the plane of charity to that of administration of the inalienable rights of free individuals; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all Administrative, Professional and other White Collar positions under this Public Works Program be placed under classified Civil Service regulations.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Party

Resolutions Nos. 46, 47, 61, 82, 100, 116, 191, 211, 240, 244 all relate to the organizing of a Labor Party or a Farmer-Labor Party with the authority and support of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is of the opinion that nothing has occurred since the last convention to justify any change in the well established non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor.

To the contrary, the most recent political experience in the election of a President of the United States and the members of the Congress of the United States, again emphatically demonstrates the wisdom and the practical value of the non-partisan policy of the American Federation of Labor to the trade unionists of our country.

For these sufficient reasons, your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Rose, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers: Mr. President and delegates. I know of previous decisions of the American Federation of

Labor conventions on this very important subject of independent political action, decisions that I assume have been inspired by the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Yet I was hoping, and so have millions of others, that the time had come to revise the by now traditional policy of non-partisanship and rewarding friends and punishing enemies. I had hoped that events in the last twelve months, and particularly during the last national election, had proven very decidedly and conclusively that political issues and political strife are not a mere reflection of the economic undercurrent of our national life.

In the last election we found all selfish and reactionary and anti-labor interests on one side as against the candidate who was the champion of humanitarianism's progress and a great friend of the laboring people of our country on the other.

Even in this clear-cut contest labor's leadership was divided. While the elections have proven that the overwhelming majority of the working people were behind President Roosevelt, we remember that during the campaign prominent leaders in the highest councils of the American Federation of Labor favored the election of the Republican candidate, Landon. This policy of non-partisanship as practised by our American Federation of Labor keeps labor hopelessly divided and results in reducing labor's role and importance in the political affairs of our country.

I am aware and you are aware of how the same newspapers carried statements from many prominent labor leaders, each one praising a different candidate and discounting the statements of each other and I remember and you remember when the same radio on the same evening carried the voices of prominent labor leaders, contradicting each other in political evaluations of the issues of the day. Do you think this reflects favorably on the prestige and dignity of our Ameri-

can Federation of Labor in the eyes of the nation? Would you tolerate such a situation in the economic field of our activities? I am quite sure you would not, and while I as well as my organization, the United Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, favor the immediate formation of a new independent labor political party, yet I say that until such time as we can all agree, let us at least have united political action and bring about a situation where labor will act politically as they act economically—as a unit—and where the large working population will be able to look forward to the American Federation of Labor for political leadership as they do for economic leadership.

There was a time when labor was not looking forward for legislative remedy to secure and better its conditions.

Then I could understand the policy of political aloofness. But now, when at this convention and in many conventions prior to this one, we are adopting decisions and making demands upon the Congress of the United States to enact legislation favorable to labor, why should labor not seek to have its own direct representatives in all legislative bodies of our country instead of relying on so-called friends? Why should not labor make its own contribution of social legislators who will come out of the ranks of labor and whose loyalty to labor will be more deep rooted than mere friendship?

Never in the history of our nation has the average American worker identified his fate so much with the government of our country. Never before did the average American regard so much government in relation to his own well being. How can organized labor, which is dedicated to the promotion of a better life for the large masses remain unorganized politically at such a time? The constant technological progress in industrial production must bring new problems to the labor movement unknown years ago. It creates a per-

manent unemployment problem which our trade union movement cannot fully solve, which can only be solved through favorable labor legislation.

How can we fight effectively for labor legislation without fighting for labor legislators? How can we agree in our conventions on a legislative program and go out during election campaigns and disagree on who is best suitable to carry out our program? How can labor preach unity of labor forces on the economic field when we ourselves demonstrate a division on political issues and political candidates which are supposed to be the agency for the realization of our labor program?

Political friends of organized labor are usually also friends of many others, and in crucial moments they are not dependable, they desert the labor cause when they are most needed. I have heard the chairman of a committee pointing out before that the election of President Roosevelt has proven that the policy of non-partisanship was correct. I venture to say that this case of President Roosevelt is a great historic accident in the life of the American nation. It may not repeat itself for another hundred years, but is a glaring example of what a truly representative spokesman of the people can do for the great mass of the people.

Why should the American Federation of Labor not proceed now to the organization of its political forces and help to make permanent the school of thought and spirit and philosophy enunciated by our great President? Why should the idea of a new deal for the average man be only a political slogan of a party and not be a permanent foundation upon which to achieve the right to life, liberty and happiness for every one?

I have heard many times that fear was expressed that political action would tend to bring in discord and division in the ranks of organized labor. Events of the last year have proven conclusively that the possibility of discord and division lies also within the

realm of economic issues, such as exemplified in the controversy between the American Federation of Labor Council and the Committee for Industrial Organization. But, on the other hand, the successful activities of labor's Non-Partisan League demonstrate how labor can unite politically on issues and candidates, no matter what differences they may have on economic questions.

And so I plead, not only with you delegates, but also with our leadership—for I cannot conceive of a successful political movement without their whole hearted support—to lay aside the old conceptions and adopt new methods for new times, to show the same flexibility of adjustment to modern situations as industry and finance have shown; make labor united at all times for economic and political advancement of the great American labor movement.

In the course of the last two years labor in certain states of our country has been deeply interested in promoting a political party. We know of the success achieved already by the organized labor movement in the state of Minnesota. We also know about the progress that has been made in the state of Wisconsin.

In New York State, only two months before the last election a state labor party under the name of the American Labor Party was organized. I have the honor to be the State Secretary, and within two months the American Labor Party of New York State succeeded in having 300,000 votes for the re-election of our President, also the same number of votes which assured the election of our great Governor Lehman.

Why should the American Federation of Labor wait until a political movement will develop in the country and then the American Federation of Labor find itself behind the movement instead of being the ones to lead the movement? And so I plead with you delegates to gracefully reject the report of the committee and make it

possible for the American Federation of Labor to bring to us the beginning of a political activity which, together with the economic movement, will make American labor a striking, important, and decisive factor in the life of the American people.

Delegate Olkives, Kenosha, Wisconsin, Central Labor Union: I agree with the old policy of the American Federation of Labor, that of the non-partisan political policy, when it comes to the electing of members of Congress who in the past have been favorable to legislation introduced and supported by the American Federation of Labor. But although that policy answered its purpose in the past, it is no longer going to answer its purpose in the coming future.

I think we can all realize that all the liberal forces in the United States are banded together for the purpose of bringing about a new alignment. I think the American Federation of Labor should inject itself into such a movement. I think it should be made up by the instilling of the American Federation of Labor philosophy into a new party of that kind. If we are going to tag along in this we will find that in the years to come we will have to join hands with them, after they have permanently established an organization policy without the philosophy of the American labor movement. The gentleman who just spoke referred briefly to the things that have happened in Wisconsin.

The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor for many years has been dealing with questions of this kind. A year ago it was successful in bringing together the liberal forces in the state of Wisconsin. The liberal forces number nine, and they got together and established a new political alignment upon which the liberal minded persons and labor could travel. I do not think any of you will deny that we refused to elect to office those who do not support our measures. I think that what we were able to do

in Wisconsin, we will be able to do on a national scale.

I think we should have some one sitting in the conferences that will be called between now and 1940. I think it would be wrong to adopt and concur in the committee's report to take a policy of "do nothing about it." I assure you you will see a strong force for the establishment of a new political party or a new alignment, and we ought to get into it and do something about it.

Delegate Costello, Specialty Brass Employees: I agree with the remarks made by the two previous speakers, by my colleague from Kenosha, Wisconsin. I agree with the remarks that were made by the secretary of the Resolutions Committee, that labor did an excellent job in electing to the highest office in the United States a man who is friendly toward labor. The officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of international unions took a prominent part in electing the President, and they should be highly commended.

Following a policy of "do nothing" means that when the year 1940 comes along we may not have a man the American Federation of Labor can go out and campaign for. The time has come when the members of the American Federation of Labor can take a part in building a Farmer-Labor party in the United States. We elected to the highest offices men who will truly represent labor. We have had experience of "friends of labor" when they were elected. In the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, United States Senator Rush D. Holt came on the platform and he was cheered by the convention in Atlantic City, and only this week when a telegram from Senator Holt was read you could hear a sprinkle of "boos" in the convention.

References were made to Minnesota and Wisconsin. Minnesota has produced in the highest legislative offices

in the United States some people who have never betrayed labor at any time. I am proud to stand upon this platform and say that I come from the great state of Wisconsin. Wisconsin has sent to the highest offices of the United States some of the most progressive men in the country. They have always fought for labor. Reference was made of the political alliance in the state of Wisconsin. We are proud of that alliance. The big majority of the offices in the state of Wisconsin were won by people supported by the organized labor movement and by the people who have subscribed to the principles the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor stand for.

We elected sixteen state senators, 46 assemblymen and six congressmen on the Farmer-Labor ticket. I was elected to the State Legislature, my first time to stand for office. Was I elected because I was a friend of labor? I was elected to the State Legislature because the liberal minded people of Kenosha County realized that the only way to secure proper legislation was to elect men who had their interests at heart.

I hope that this convention will decide that the American Federation of Labor shall go into such a movement.

Secretary Frey: Our conventions have discussed this question many times in the past. The officers and delegates of our trade unions are quite familiar with what is involved. The history of labor parties in the United States is well known. I have no intention of imposing upon your time, except to briefly remind you that the first trade union movement in this country went on the rocks of destruction because it united a political party with its economic efforts.

Immediately after the Civil War the National Labor Union was organized. Believing that trade union methods were too slow and that trade union education did not make sufficient progress, they launched a political movement, not only having candidates for

the Senate and House of Representatives, but on the national ticket. The disastrous results of that political effort seemingly took the life and vigor out of the first national labor organization in this country.

The Knights of Labor indulged themselves in political activity and found themselves tied up with different political parties. The result was that labor found these methods unsatisfactory. I am willing to admit, that because there have been failures in the past and because a labor party up to the present time has not worked satisfactorily, is no argument at all that it might not in the future. The American Federation of Labor is not the organization making all of the rules and regulations governing trades unionists. This Federation is composed of national and international unions, and these have been given absolute autonomy over their internal affairs. All of them, governed by the necessity for building up a strong economic organization have, from the beginning, made it evident to their own members and to the organized labor movement that these trade unions of ours were economic organizations existing for the purpose of uniting the largest number of workers possible for the purpose of accomplishing a definite purpose, improving the terms of employment and the conditions of labor.

We are compelled in this country to a greater extent than any other country in the world to unite for economic purposes men of different classes, of different traditions, different customs, who have come here to live in the new land of the free. One of our greatest tasks has been to eliminate the prejudices that existed, not between those who have been here for several generations and those who have been here but one, but to remove prejudices that drove a dividing line between those of other races and countries who came to our shores.

What will we do? What have we done? What will we recognize to be more necessary than anything else?

That first we strive to eliminate all discrimination, all feelings because of race, because of color, because of origin, because of political views, and so that we may unite with these men in our trade unions we do two things. We call upon them first to pledge their honor that they will be true to the policies of their own organizations, that they will agree to the decision of the majority, constitutionally expressed; that on the economic field they will move as one, and so that we may have their loyalty to the policies of their union when we call upon them to take their oath of obligation we inform them in practically every national and international union that nothing in the obligation they take as members of the union shall in any way interfere with their religious or their political activities. If it was not for that guarantee that we shall protect each member in his freedom of religious worship and political choice, we would not have been able to build up our organizations as we have.

Now, these international unions have pledged to their members that under no circumstances will the international union or any local union in any way interfere with a member because of his political belief or his religious affiliation. This convention is without any authority by any action it takes to demand that any international union shall change its constitution so that members no longer will have this guarantee of political freedom.

Some of these delegates come into our convention year after year with a demand or a request that the Federation itself organize a labor party. Do they want to establish a condition in our American trade union movement where locally and nationally a member can have charges preferred against him for violation of the national union's policy because it is his conviction that as an American citizen he has the right to belong to any political party that is agreeable to him?

Do we want a condition where an international officer can have charges

preferred against him for violating a policy and a rule of the American Federation of Labor because he has become a candidate for office on a party ticket which is not the one which the American Federation of Labor has declared for? If we have that condition, this trade union movement will soon disintegrate, because the average American worker will not consent to have any organization, ours or any other, tell him that he no longer has a right to exercise his own choice when it comes to deciding matters of political party affiliation?

I know something about political activities, not only in our own country, but in others. I know something about the methods that men are compelled to adopt when they are candidates for public office. Let us think for a moment of the condition we would have in our American trade union movement if we were to launch a labor party and make it a part of our Federation policies. Who would be the candidates that would be selected in most instances for public office? It would be, I believe, the men in our movement who have indicated by their character and the position they may take in our movement, that they can be relied upon, men who have established a reputation that merits the confidence of those who elected them to office.

Do we want a condition where our most responsible officers, in addition to their trade union duties, also go on the public forum trying to win votes so that they may be elected? I have watched these politicians in our movement. I followed their methods and regardless of how they talk of their trade union loyalty, my experiences has been that when they enter the political arena they begin by talking as politicians, and very soon thinking like politicians, to the desertion of every trade union activity they pledged themselves to become a part of.

And so I hope that this convention will indicate its understanding of this question again by reaffirming its pre-

vious policies and approving of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Adamski, United Garment Workers: Mr. President, the Good Will Committee is ready to make a report.

Presentation of Gifts to Fraternal Delegates

President Green: The Chairman will interrupt the report of the Committee on Resolutions to hear a report from the Good Will Committee of this convention. The committee reports to me that I am now authorized in their behalf to present to the fraternal delegates in attendance at this convention and their good wives who are with them, and the other one who is across the sea, a slight token of your high regard and high esteem for them, and of your appreciation of their attendance at this convention.

We have some beautiful presents for them. They are of a practical nature. They can keep them forever, and in turn transmit them to their posterity. Now, with your permission, I will make this presentation to the fraternal delegates and their wives.

Brother Kean, we have for you a beautiful watch, chain and knife, all complete. This is the present of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention to you. In their name and in their behalf, I present it to you. It possesses more than a high intrinsic value. Take it home with you, treasure it as an expression of the affection and good will of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. When you use it, looking at the time of day, kindly keep in mind your delightful visit to this convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternal Delegate Kean: Mr. President and brother delegates, I prefer to call you now by that name, because I have known you so long. They tell me that the way to hell is paved

with good intentions. I must have started going there this week if I recognize all the good intentions that have been perpetrated on me. I think hell will be a delightful place if I meet the Americans there. I know two people who did it, and the American went first. The American was called Jack, and the Englishman was called Bill. When Bill looked into Heaven, he said, "I don't want to go in there. I am not used to playing a harp and neither can I sing." He had a look at the other place and he saw Jack there and Jack said, "Hello, Bill, come in." Jack said, "I never thought to meet you here. Come and have a drink."

They went to have a drink. Jack said, "When we have a drink we will have a game of billiards." Bill said, "How long has this been going on?" He was told, "Six months, since the United States of America took it over."

I am very confident from what I have seen in this convention of solidarity, that whether I go to Heaven or go to the other place, if I meet the Americans, I shall be happy anyhow.

Seriously, Mr. President, I have enjoyed your convention. I have had the pleasure of listening to your own delightful oratory. I have been benefited by hearing the debates of your great assembly, and this is a final conclusion, I am sure, of the good will you bear to my own country and the representatives we have sent to meet you here in this convention.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and you, Mr. President.

President Green: Now, Brother Kean, I ask you to take home to your good wife across the sea this beautiful token of the affection and regard in which the officers and delegates in this convention hold Mrs. Kean.

There are some things I would like to tell you in addition to this, but I won't. Tell her we love her even if she isn't here, and I will write and tell her you were all right while you were here.

Fraternal Delegate Kean: I don't care what you tell Mrs. Kean, so long as you don't tell her what I have been doing.

President Green: Now, without taking up the time of the convention with an additional address. I present this beautiful watch and chain and knife, platinum, I think, appropriately engraved, to Brother Gibson, the other fraternal delegate to this convention. I ask him to accept it with all the kindly expressions that I made when I presented the other to Brother Kean.

Fraternal Delegate Gibson: Mr. President, my dear and good friends, Brother Kean came here to uphold the dignity of the British trades union movement, and I came to uphold its honor. We believe in a division of labor.

I highly appreciate the opportunity I have had to take part in your deliberations and participate in your proceedings, watching you conduct your affairs. This beautiful timepiece will be a memento of one of the happiest periods of my life. I have met with nothing but kindness since I landed on the shores of America. I hope it will tick away the hours rapidly until such time as I may have the privilege of again visiting your country.

President Green: Now I will ask Mrs. Gibson to come up here so you can see her. She looks like a blushing bride. I have a beautiful watch for her. It is a platinum watch, set with diamonds. I present it to her with the kind words I said to the others, emphasized and with an understanding that when she accepts it she will make a delightful speech to you.

Mrs. Gibson: I am very sorry that I cannot make a speech, but I do thank you all very much.

President Green: Now we have a present equally beautiful for Brother Brunet, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. It is a platinum watch, just like the others, with a beautiful knife and chain attached, all appropriately en-

graved. I present this to Brother Brunet with your love, your affection, and your best wishes for his health and happiness.

Fraternal Delegate Brunet: Mr. President and fellow delegates—Words fail me just now to express the appreciation I have for the way in which I have been received at this great convention. It is the second time in my life that I have had the opportunity of attending a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I want to say that it has been a great opportunity for me. It has filled me with inspiration and with encouragement to go back to Canada and work in harmony in order to propagate and spread the desires and aspirations of our international union.

I don't want to talk very long, but I do want to take this occasion to convey to this convention the fact that I have been authorized by the Montreal Trades and Labor Council to extend to this great body a cordial invitation to hold their 1937 convention in our city. So I hope that when it comes to deciding where you will hold the next convention you will give Montreal favorable consideration.

Again, Mr. President, I thank you sincerely. I shall wear this token with the greatest of pleasure, and I again sincerely hope that it will mark time and mark the minute when you open your next convention in our city.

President Green: This is Mrs. Brunet. We have a beautiful present for her also. I know that after you have been privileged to see her smiling face you never could think of ever forgetting her. This present is a lady's platinum watch set in diamonds, just like the one we presented to Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Kean. I present this to Mrs. Brunet with an expression of your appreciation of her visit with her husband, of your affection for her, and with the hope that you entertain that she may live happily all the balance of her life. She is going to make a speech to you, but I don't

know whether it will be in French or English. She can make it either way.

Fraternal Delegate Brunet: Mrs. Brunet is French, and she tells me that if she were to tell you in English what she thinks of you, in French, Lord it would be terrible.

President Green: Let me express to the Good Will Committee the thanks and appreciation of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for the service they rendered.

Delegate Adamski, United Garment Workers: President Green, the present given to the fraternal delegates are union made, to the best of our knowledge. Speaking as one member of this committee, on behalf of my fellow members, we wish to thank the delegates in attendance, those who were so kind as to make it possible for us to remember our friends with these tokens. There are trades affiliated with this great American Federation of Labor—and the only reason I bring this question up at this time is because I speak of the Jewelry Workers' Union. You know, my dear friends, that a constitution printed in a union shop looks sick in a non-union pocket. It suffers and suffers.

May I inform you that there is one organization affiliated with this great labor movement that writes in its agreements that it signs with its employers or municipalities that there must be a union label in the garment that its members carry their cards in. A lot of people get up in the morning and say they have a sick headache. It is not what has happened the night before, it is because they wear a non-union hat.

I thank you.

President Green: Now we will proceed with the regular order of business, and I recognize the Secretary of the Resolutions Committee, Secretary Frey.

LaFollette Committee's Investigation

Resolutions Nos. 111, 208 and 210 dealing with the LaFollette Committee's in-

vestigation of the use of private detective agencies, espionage and strike breaking activities; incitement of vigilantism, the use of agents provocation, and other activities intended to prevent the growth of trade unionism and interference with the legitimate activities of trade unions.

The Senate appropriation for the work of the LaFollette Investigating Committee was wholly inadequate, a condition which has retarded its activities. In the meantime there has developed a well organized effort to kill any further investigation by the committee.

It is reliably reported that the private detective agencies and many of the corporations who are their employers, are concealing or destroying their records. Testimony is given that these private detective agencies and employers are working in collusion for the purpose of hiding their connections, and that they are being advised by some of the ablest attorneys procurable. There is convincing evidence that there exists a thorough-going conspiracy to prevent any further activity by the LaFollette Investigation Committee.

The American Federation of Labor, for many years, has endeavored to have the Congress of the United States make a thorough investigation of the activities of private detective agencies, including their many ramifications.

Your committee is of the opinion that it would be a direct blow to good government and proper relationship between employer and organized employees if this present investigation was not carried on until the practices and activities of private detective agencies had been fully uncovered.

As the LaFollette Committee is meeting with every form of opposition possible applied by some of the most powerful influences in the country, your committee recommends that the Executive Council use its best efforts to secure an appropriation of not less than 200 thousand dollars for the use

of the LaFollette Investigating Committee when Congress convenes.

In connection with these resolutions your committee included that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Spies and Thugs." It commends the Executive Council for its activities in connection with the LaFollette Committee, and recommends that they be given the convention's approval for the support which they have given.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Ethiopia

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Italian Fascist Dictator, Mussolini, drunk with imperialist power and with wild expansionist dreams, has invaded, and raped, captured and overthrown the ancient and independent kingdom of Ethiopia in violation of every principle and concept of democracy and of the Covenant of the League of Nations; and

WHEREAS, The people of Ethiopia have been forced by superior arms of the Italian army to vacate Addis Ababa and to surrender certain sections of their beloved country, but are by no means conquered and subdued; and

WHEREAS, Ethiopia, having mistakenly staked its faith in the honor and word of the League of Nations, has been double-crossed and sold down the river by the scheming, hypocritical, imperialist capitalist nations, which, like Banquo's ghost, rises ever and anon, to haunt and bedevil their consciences while they mouth empty phrases about democracy and peace; and the black Ethiopian warriors continue to harass the Italian invaders and to stand guard of the vast stretches of the great hinterland, and since the League of Nations still recognizes the sovereignty of Ethiopia and its brave ruler, Haile Selassie; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its fifty-sixth annual convention, assembled in Tampa, Florida, herewith condemn this unspeakable and shameless attempt by the Italian overlord, Il Duce, to lynch a great people, and calls upon the United States of America, in particular, and the nations of the world in general, and the working people everywhere, to refuse to recognize the

bloody and bayonet reign of Italian Fascism in Ethiopia, and extend adequate loans to the Ethiopian people to aid them in the repossession and defense of their country, and the re-establishment of their sovereign authority.

The armed invasion of Ethiopia by a Fascist dictator has aroused worldwide attention. The League of Nations gave careful consideration to the prospect of an armed invasion, before Fascists began their deadly work of subjugation. The invader was engaged in a war of conquest, and the world looked on aghast as the conquest proceeded in face of the League of Nations efforts to prevent it. The rights of Ethiopians to maintain self-government in the land where they have lived for thousands of years has been destroyed by force of arms.

The present situation in Ethiopia is one in which our country must be governed by those diplomatic considerations which are involved by the attitude of other nations. We do not conceive that our trade union movement would improve the international situation or the present welfare of Ethiopians by advancing loans to them as proposed by the resolution.

While in sympathy with the substance of the resolution we cannot concur with the proposal that loans should be advanced, and we therefore non-concur with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Negro Labor Organizer

Resolution No. 80.—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Aroused and victimized by the depression sentiment for trade union organization among negro workers throughout the country is stronger than it has ever been before; and

WHEREAS, the heroic fight of black workers in the ranks of trade unionists, such as the needle trades workers, miners, longshoremen, teamsters, motion picture operators, musicians and building trades workers, etcetera, has demonstrated that negro toilers will and can battle for union conditions against the employers, and no

more desire to be strike breakers than the white workers; and

WHEREAS, There is no negro organizer now under the direct supervision of the American Federation of Labor, and since previous conventions have only given perfunctory approval of resolutions calling for an appointment of negro labor organizers, but have actually never done anything about it; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Tampa, Florida, go on record as authorizing President William Green to appoint one or more paid negro general organizers so that they may help promote, in cooperation with the national, international and federal unions, a program of organization and education among the black and white workers of America.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Discrimination Against Negro Workers

Resolutions No. 79 and 204 relate to racial discrimination. The American Federation of Labor has, from the beginning, energetically endeavored to overcome all forms of discrimination, and has vigorously opposed any distinction in citizenship and citizen rights because of race or color.

The discussion of this subject in our conventions, the influence of our National and International Unions have accomplished most practical results. The method which our trade union movement has applied has been that of education. We have led trade unionists to see the dangers to free institutions whenever discrimination was permitted to exist. Our American trade union movement at its beginning adopted a fundamental principle, that it would recognize all wage earners as being equal in all of their rights, regardless of racial origins or religious and political beliefs.

Your committee is opposed to any other methods than those of education, for prejudices cannot be eliminated by any other method. For this valid reason your committee recom-

mends non-concurrence with the resolutions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Meyers, Technical and Research Employees' Union: I am obliged to rise in protest against the position of the Resolutions Committee on this resolution. This is a continuance of the policy as expressed in the report on the Scottsboro case and is a shameful evasion of the problem that faces America and the task of welding thirteen million negroes in this country into the labor unions. We know that the negro is not given his rights as provided by the constitution. We know it by looking out on the streets of the city and seeing Jim Crow cars, and we also know that negro delegates are not staying in the same hotel where white delegates are staying, simply because in the south the negro is not accorded the rights of the white man.

We have an opportunity to protest it. We have an opportunity to struggle for the further emancipation of the negro as well as of other minority groups, as a labor organization, and yet when the opportunity comes before us we evade it. I don't say "We," I say the Resolutions Committee, and I think we have got to be sharp about it. I have heard on this floor insulting remarks already under the breath, and it burns me up to think that we are going to allow intolerance against the negro workers. We heard the representative from the Alabama State Federation of Labor talking about justice. It is true that not only the negro workers are persecuted in Alabama, but even the white organizers. The head of the United Rubber Workers' Union was slugged near Birmingham. These attacks are not centered upon the negroes. The attack upon Herndon will be referred to in a resolution that will come up soon.

From the attitude of the Resolutions Committee, it certainly does not seem that the committee is using every ef-

fort to weld together the negro and white workers. These resolutions are simply stating things that are known to everybody, and while it might not be to the liking of some people with prejudices to be put on the same equality with negroes, we, as working people, in order to get thirteen million negroes into our union, in order to prevent their use by white bosses to knock down the wages of the white workers, have to take them in.

I can call to your attention the stock yards strike in Chicago fifteen years ago. Negroes were employed without knowing what they were to do to break that strike, and later on, when there was an attempt to build unions among the negroes and whites, conveniently enough, race riots broke out. They were not accidents, they were planned, and they were planned to divide the negroes and the whites, so that unions could not be built. Therefore, knowing the attitude of the white bosses, we have to take a firm or courageous stand, we have to go out of our way to get them to work with us.

Perhaps you have noted that there is a certain amount of apathy about speaking on some of these resolutions, and because they are discouraged, not by the chair but by the reports of the Resolutions Committee, they do not speak. Certainly they can lend a helping hand to negro workers. I say if you want to build this movement, if you want to preserve democracy, if you want to weld unity, you have to defeat this report and stand in favor of the resolution, as should have been done in the Scottsboro case.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention, at the outset may I say that the Sleeping Car Porters' delegates do not claim that the American Federation of Labor has not done anything for the organization of the colored workers. We do not claim that the American Federation of Labor is not now doing something for the or-

ganization of the Negro workers. We do not claim that the American Federation of Labor is not attempting to bring about better relations between the negro workers and the organized labor movement. President Green has on various occasions appeared in public meetings under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and addressed large gatherings, he has made helpful, able, and constructive talks that have had wide influence in bringing about better relations between the negro workers and the labor movement.

We do say, however, there has not been any systematic and coordinated effort for the purpose of eliminating discrimination in the trade union movement. In the Atlantic City convention a report was adopted in the interest of prosecuting a nation-wide campaign of education to eliminate discrimination in the trade unions. I do not know that anything has been done on that program. I have not heard of anything being done. When the question of discrimination in the trade unions comes up the question is always raised that it is an invasion of autonomy of the national and international unions. Autonomy is not something absolute, autonomy is relative. In other words, you have this doctrine of autonomy with respect to state rights, and yet there are limitations set upon states' rights. For instance, no state is permitted to ignore the income tax law. No state is permitted to set up a separate postal arrangement of its own. Therefore, despite the existence of the doctrine of autonomy, there is also a recognition of the limitations upon autonomy. If the American Federation of Labor can say to an international union that you cannot go out and organize workers without the scope of your jurisdiction by invading the field of another union, it seems to me that the American Federation of Labor ought to be able also to say to a national or international union that you cannot remain within the American Federation of

Labor if you go out and proceed to organize a given group of workers and exclude from that organization workers that come within the scope of your jurisdiction. In other words, it seems that if the Federation can exclude an organization for invading a field of another union in organizing workers, it can also exclude a union for refusing to accept workers in a field over which it has jurisdiction.

As a matter of fact it is utterly impossible to have a unified movement if the organization of workers is based upon race or color. Now the exclusion of negroes from the trade unions involves two things. One is attaching a stigma, a stigma of inferiority to the negro workers. This is a condition which no self respecting negro worker can accept. Second, the exclusion of negro workers from the trade unions involves also a loss of wages and a loss of jobs. I know of numerous instances where negro workers have gone from job to job. They have asked for the right to work and the foreman has said, "Have you a union card?" The negro worker has answered, "No." Then the foreman said, "Well, you cannot get work." The negro worker in turn has gone to the union and has said, "I want a union card, I want to join the organization," and the union has said, "Have you got a job?" He answers, "No," and then the union says, "We cannot give you a union card."

Consequently, you can see the vicious circle in which the negro worker is thrown. If he hasn't got a job he cannot get a card in the union, and if he hasn't got a card in the union he cannot get a job. Therefore, this is a serious and fundamental and basic and vital question.

Now, when the workers exclude a group of workers from their own union on the basis of race and color and the employer does not exclude their workers, it is a point of division, because the employers say to the negro workers, "You see, the white

workers are opposed to you." This subject of discrimination of negro workers in the union is important for consideration in the Tampa convention, because here we are in the midst of the South. I have been told by a number of international presidents that they would oppose the color clause in their constitutions and rituals, but that they could not do anything about it because of their southern membership. I have been told that there are vice presidents of international unions who failed of reelection because they dared to advocate the right of negroes to join their unions. Therefore, you can readily see the importance of discussing this question in a place where you have the whole element of southern prejudice before you.

The American labor movement will never be effective so long as there is not an effective labor movement in the south, and there will never be an effective labor movement in the South so long as the negro workers are not accepted by the unions upon a basis of equality. As a matter of fact, the white and black workers of the South cannot be organized separately as the fingers on my hand. They must be organized altogether, as the fingers on my hand when they are doubled up in the form of a fist, in order that they may be able to strike at the proper moment. If they are organized separately they will not understand each other, and if they do not understand each other they will fight each other, and if they fight each other they will hate each other and the employing class will profit from that condition.

What are the conditions of the white worker in the South? You have, for instance, convict labor. Right here in Tampa, I saw a number of white workers cleaning the streets, while a guard had a gun in his pocket working along with them. This is the condition of the white workers right here in the South. Then you know of the kidnapping and the flogging case

here, the murder of Shoemaker and the flogging of Poulnot. There were also textile workers in Georgia who were put in concentration camps. White men were shot in Gastonia and Marion, North Carolina. The only privilege I can see in a worker being white is the privilege of looking down on the negro and of starving to death.

You have white workers who are share croppers, white workers and children who are being exploited in the factories. The white workers and the negro workers have more in common than the white workers and the white employers. The white share crop worker and the negro share crop worker have more in common than the white share crop worker and the white capitalist or the landlord. These are principles and truths that the white workers in the South will learn, and I can see evidences of an advancement of education among the white workers in the South along this line. I do not condemn the white workers in the South for their attitude toward the negro workers, because they have been the victims of prejudice, inculcated, fostered and engendered by the demagogues of the press, the church, and the state in the South. The various forces of capitalism have played their part in keeping the black and white workers apart, and so the white workers are not to blame. They are slowly seeing the light. As a matter of fact, it is illustrated as to what attitude the employers of the South have toward the white and black workers by a historical incident in slavery. One slave owner wanted to have something fixed on the top of his house, and there was a negro carpenter who was a slave and a white carpenter. It was a dangerous job, and it was possible that the man who went up there to fix that house would fall down and kill himself. So the slave owner sent the white carpenter up to do the job, and while some other demagogue, a politician, was standing by he asked the slave owner, "Why would you send a white man on

top of that house to do a job when he might fall and kill himself, when you have a Negro slave there?" The white slave owner said, "Well, if a white worker goes up on that house and happens to fall and kill himself, I don't lose anything, I can get another one, but if this Negro slave is sent up there and falls down and kills himself, I will lose a thousand dollars."

Therefore, you see where there is a conflict of economic interests and race, the economic interests prevail. That shows you that the conflict in the South over this question has a definite economic basis.

Now, what is the condition of the Negro? The Negro in the South is the victim of the peonage-disfranchisement, Lily-white primaries, poll tax, tenant and share-crop farming, the entire jim-crow system, segregation, mob rule, lynch terror, low wages, long hours and intolerable working conditions and convict labor.

As a matter of fact, I have in my hand a report which was recently made by Dr. C. F. Duncan, of Jacksonville, a colored man, president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a negro insurance man and a negro journalist from Jacksonville, and Frank McAllister, a white man, of the Workers' Defense League. They went to McClenny, Fla., on the 15th day of this month, at 10:00 o'clock in the morning and made an investigation of negro peonage there. This is their report:

"We first interviewed a school teacher who informed us of the conditions of the schools. In her department there were 52 children in one room. A majority of the children come to school barefooted. Attendance falls off in the coldest months because the pupils do not have enough clothes to keep warm. She was prevailed upon to talk only through intervention of Dr. Duncan, who assured her that no harm would befall her but that it was her duty to speak freely. The houses (if you can call them that)

in which these people live are all owned by Will Knabb, turpentine operator, and the workers live in constant fear of reprisals.

"Next we talked with several turpentine workers who talked freely but only after much persuasion. They stated categorically that all the negro people in this community were held in slavery. None is allowed to leave the place. The owner has two stool-pigeons who keep him informed of everything that goes on in the quarters. These informers even slip under the shacks at night and listen in on the conversation to see if they may detect some hint of dissatisfaction which might indicate that someone was harboring thoughts of "escape." One of these informers is named Cobb. After almost two hours in the quarters, Cobb detected our party and immediately ran to the clerk of the commissary to notify him that someone was prying around.

"The turpentine workers are forced to toil from daylight until they can no longer see at night. For their labor they receive pay ranging from 60 cents per day to \$1.00. A very few receive as much as \$1.25 a day. They are forced to purchase their supplies at the commissary owned by Knabb. Prices at this commissary are almost double regular retail prices. For sample, white bacon, which can be bought in Tampa stores for 15 cents per pound, cost 25 cents per pound in Knabb's commissary. Six pounds of plain flour cost 40 cents in the commissary and the same grade can be bought for 24 cents at the retail stores. When the wages of the turpentine workers are translated into purchasing power it is easy to see that many of them are working for 25 cents per day. One man spent \$2.00 outside the commissary a little while back and was told that his pay of \$10.00 would be held up until he purchased all his goods at the commissary.

"Any desire on the part of the in-

mates to escape is effectively thwarted by the realization of possible consequences. Men may suffer beatings, their very lives may be threatened if they attempt to leave. By a system of camps which surround the community they are able to head off any fleeing slave.

"As soon as we had secured this information, which we considered adequate, we decided it would be safer to leave. The informer had notified the commissary of our presence and we could see a small cluster of white men gathering. Wisdom seemed to dictate departure and so we left after about two hours in the quarters."

"Here is an evidence of exploitation of the negro workers. Why? Because there is no labor organization in the South that has the strength and power to prevent the exploitation of negro and white workers."

I appeal to this convention, and especially to President Green, that some representation be made to Governor Scholtz of Florida, the Sheriff of Baker County, the United States Attorney General for an investigation of peonage in Florida and a general Federal investigation by the Congress. Here is a direct violation of the constitution, because here is a case where men are being held in involuntary servitude. I also appeal to President Green to make representations to the United States Attorney and also proceed in getting a Federal investigation of this condition, because it is typical throughout the state of Florida, and unless some one might say that I don't know enough about Florida to talk about this, I want to say to you that I was born in Crescent City, Florida. My mother and father were born in Monticello, Florida. My father's father was born in Virginia, and his forbears run back to slaves who were owned by John Randolph, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Therefore, I am as American as any white American born in America. Therefore, there is no ques-

tion of some interloper raising this question.

The question of the economic opportunity for the black worker in the South is bound up with the question of economic opportunity for the white worker in the South. So long as the black worker remains a slave, white workers in the South will never be free. So we appeal to the white workers in the South, and I have faith in the ultimate sense of justice toward negro workers on the part of the white workers in the South. I believe the white workers of the old South will eventually see the light, and when they do they will join hands with the black workers and they will fight together against a common foe.

It has been said it cannot be done, but it is being done in Arkansas, where you have the black and white workers in the same tenant farmers' union. Right here in Tampa, in the Longshoremens' Union there are white men alongside black men fighting for the same thing. Therefore, there is no fundamental opposition, no fundamental difference between the white and the black workers. They have a common interest in getting more wages and better conditions, and they have a common interest in opposing their exploiters. But when some demagogue comes around and tells the white worker he is better than the black worker, and then he goes around and tells the black worker that the white worker is trying to take advantage of him, then hate and hostility begin to flare up. The only remedy for that is the organization of the black worker and the white worker in the South in the same union.

I hope that the holding of this convention here in Tampa will help bring that about. I was quite opposed to the holding of the convention in Tampa, because I believe whenever a convention is held by the American Federation of Labor, provision ought to be made that negro delegates will receive the same accommodations as all other

delegates to the convention. That condition, of course, does not exist in Tampa. In the future I think that should be taken into consideration, and whenever an effort is being made to hold a convention the A. F. of L. should refuse to hold it in a city where equal accommodations are not afforded.

However, I hope that the holding of the convention here will result in the building up of sentiment for the organization of the negro and white workers together. I believe that will serve as one of the fundamental solutions of the problem of the workers of America. I believe the time will come when the working class people of the South will be the most militant of the working class people of America, especially when these two groups here are united and have all in common and nothing in opposition.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, I believe every delegate in the hall has the highest regard for the splendid assistance which the delegate who has just spoken has endeavored to give to his own race in this country. For one, I admire him and he knows it, but I want to call your attention to the fact that the delegate has not addressed himself either to his resolution or to the committee's report, and the report is predicated upon the resolution which was introduced. The resolution calls for the expulsion of any national or international union which does not amend its charter to conform to the delegate's opinion of what should be the rule relative to admission of negro workers. The resolution goes further, and it says that the failure of an international union to amend its charter is equivalent to the action of international unions in setting up a dual organization to the American Federation of Labor, and therefore, that the Executive Council is equally justified in expelling them. May I read the resolve, so that there can be no doubt?

"Further resolved that the American Federation of Labor can, with as much

constitutional justification, expel a union which violated its own, the A. F. of L. constitution, by barring workers on account of race or color as it can justify constitutionally the expulsion of ten national unions, because of alleged violation of democratic trade union procedure."

Now I know of no one who has done as much to eliminate racial prejudice in this country as did the American Federation of Labor, and I want to say in the kindest spirit possible that because of my interest in the question I am at times almost convinced that one of the most serious obstacles to the more rapid elimination of that racial prejudice is the attitude assumed by some leaders of the colored race.

Now, let us get a few facts which are more important than logic or eloquence or appeal. The outstanding delegate in this convention, so far as organizing members of his race is concerned, with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, brought a national union of Pullman porters into existence. Their delegates are seated here. They have had the support of every central labor union in the country. May I call your attention to the fact that all of the members of that union belong to the same race as the delegate who has just addressed you. Now, circumstances in our country cannot be the same for everyone, and we know that not only are there oppressed and exploited negroes in the south, but there are also exploited and oppressed white workers in the south.

But there are opportunities, and I want to give you a contrast. I did not have the educational advantages of the delegate. I went to work when I was nine years old. I never had an opportunity of receiving the education and the culture that we acquire in our great universities. While the delegate was having his mind trained, while he was absorbing the culture, the highest that we have in Harvard University, I was organizing negro moulders into the Moulders' Union in the deep south.

Yes, there are prejudices. The American trade union movement is not responsible for that, but they exist, they are deep-rooted, and I believe for one that the only way to eliminate them is through education and not through compulsion, as recommended in the resolution.

We are here in the South. On Sunday we saw the negroes going to the church of their own denomination. We saw the whites going to the church of the same denomination which they have for themselves. Does anyone believe that with a situation developed over several generations which leads Christians themselves to divide themselves into churches, so that members of each race go to their own church, although they are both of the same denomination, it is possible for our trade unions, by expelling national organizations, to more rapidly carry on the work of wiping out the unjust discrimination which exists?

The committee has said plainly in easily understood language that the committee believes it is only by applying educational methods that this prejudice can be eliminated, and if I understand the trade union movement that is the position this trade union movement will take on this continued introduction of resolutions and continued speeches doing more to stir up racial feelings than anything else. We are here to be of service, and the only way to eliminate prejudice is to use the strength of this Federation to apply educational methods. To advocate compulsion weakens instead of strengthens the effort that is necessary to wipe out the unjustified and unfortunate prejudice which does exist.

The report of the committee was adopted.

William Randolph Hearst

Resolutions Nos. 24, 90, 118, 138, 200 and 221, call for condemnation of William Randolph Hearst, and a boycott of his publications; the reasons offered being the editorial and news policy

of his publications and his alleged anti-labor policy.

The American Federation of Labor, from the beginning, has been an active champion of freedom of the press, the right of a newspaper to publish its views without censorship. Free institutions must vanish the moment that freedom of the press is restricted or denied.

The policy of a newspaper relative to labor and other national and international questions, involves a newspaper's right to express its owner's opinion. When a newspaper expresses views and advocates policies which meet with public displeasure, this may affect its circulation, for the right to freedom of the press is no greater than the right of citizens to read or purchase.

Sturdily defending the freedom of the press, the American Federation of Labor has never advocated the boycotting of even those publications avowedly anti-union who continually attack the American Federation of Labor and its policies, and the personal motives and character of trade union officials. Their right to attack is only equal to our right to attack in return, and to freely criticize through our publications.

Your committee is of the opinion that this policy of our trade union movement should not be changed.

Regardless of what personal views Mr. Wm. Randolph Hearst may hold relative to our trade union movement, the outstanding fact is his long time policy relative to his relations with trade unions. For many years he has entered into agreements covering all the workmen in his employ who were members of the Typographical Union; the Printing Pressmen's Union; the Photo Engravers' Union; the Teamsters' Union; Stereotypers' Union; the Bookbinders', and a number of others. Those agreements have contained acceptable provisions covering the terms of employment and conditions of labor.

In the light of the foregoing declaration, your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Eddy, American Newspaper Guild: May I preface my remarks by a statement of regret that I should have so phrased an opinion honestly held as to have created the impression of ingratitude on the part of the American Newspaper Guild, which I represent, toward the American Federation of Labor. If there were no American Federation of Labor there would be no American Newspaper Guild. I should like to express, on behalf of the organized working newspaper men of this country, gratitude to the Central Labor Council of the city of Seattle, gratitude and admiration that is boundless. I should like to express, on behalf of the American Newspaper Guild, gratitude to President Green, to Mathew Woll, to John P. Frey, for the many hours of their valuable time which they devoted to attempts to adjudicate the difficulties in Seattle. I am sure that President Green, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and every delegate in this room will rejoice with me when I say that I have received word this morning from the management of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer that they have signed an agreement covering recognition, working hours, working conditions, and dismissal bonuses, bringing to an end that strike.

The strike against the Post-Intelligencer, the victory over William Randolph Hearst, is a victory not alone of the American Newspaper Guild, but of the labor movement of the northwest, and of the American Federation of Labor.

On the declaration proposed by the Committee on Resolutions I want to state on the record that the policy on boycotts of publishers is the policy which the American Newspaper Guild

follows and always has followed in its dealings with publishers. The American Newspaper Guild has at no time boycotted any publisher. That is not to say that our local organizations in strikes are not going to engage in a boycott. Of course they are if it is necessary. We have not engaged in it. We are not members of any organizations engaging in boycotts. As individuals we may have the utmost sympathy with the purposes of these organizations, but the particular circumstance which controls us is that many of our members are still working for an employer who owns a chain, although there be a strike at some distant point.

I think that one word in here, although I make no such motion—the word “all,” in referring to all working men in the various printing trades under contract with the employer named is inaccurate, but that is information that is in the hands of other organizations and I cannot speak on it.

Although this fact of employment controls the Newspaper Guild in the matter of boycotts, I do not wish it to be understood that I am of the opinion that fact should control all labor organizations and members thereof. I believe they have a right to express themselves on some things in the most effective way that comes to hand.

Thank you very much for permitting me to make that statement.

President Green: Thank you.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I offer an amendment to the committee's report. My amendment is that the resolutions be non-concurred in. I offer that amendment because we have hundreds of men working for this employer. I am not willing to stand by and let an employer who has been fair to us in many cities throughout the country be placed under a cloud. I have no hesitancy in saying that it would be unjust even to consider a boycott upon this chain of publications for an employer who has been fair with many of these organizations

throughout the nation. Hence, my reason for the amendment. I see no reason whatever or no excuse for referring these resolutions against this employer. No matter what the political policy may be or no matter what the controversy in Seattle, now that it is ended, I see no reason for referring those resolutions to the Executive Council. I therefore offer the amendment.

The amendment was seconded.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, the committee has no objection to the amendment. The committee's report was prepared before information had been received that the strike in Seattle had been settled.

Secretary Frey: The committee has no objection to the motion. The committee's report was prepared before the strike in Seattle had been settled.

President Green: Delegate Tobin moved to strike out reference to the Executive Council and insert non-concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Trotter, International Typographical Union: Mr. President, as a member of the Typographical Union which has been involved in the strike in Seattle, of the Newspaper Guild, which has caused our members ever since the beginning of that strike to be unemployed, I want to express my appreciation of the settlement and to declare that I am in favor of the original motion of the committee. While we have no particular quarrel with the Hearst publications, as employees, to the extent of some 2,600 members of our organization. There are other questions involved in the resolution. They are not all dealing with the question of the Seattle strike. They refer to the political attitude of the owner of that chain of newspapers. We, seeking expression of our opinion, do not want to chain any one else down in their free expression of opinion.

I believe the original report of the committee on the resolutions should

be adopted. We should not forget that the people who presented these resolutions were not all involved in the strike in Seattle, and perhaps they do not know in all cases that there was a strike in Seattle; but they refer to the policy of the editors of that chain of newspapers.

I am in favor of the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegate Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers, No. 20195, San Francisco: I am quite surprised to hear President Tobin of the Teamsters' Union get up and defend Hearst. In Seattle, Washington, we find one of the finest labor leaders this country has known, a man who has battled honestly for years for the Teamsters, Dave Beck, I believe President of the Teamsters' Union of that city, and while the Hearst publications did not attempt their usual tactics of calling him a Communist or a radical—they could not do that—they called him a labor racketeer. That is the position I take on Hearst and his publications. Wherever you find them you will find them assailing the liberals in organization over the entire country. For instance, a man who is known all over the entire United States for the great constructive work he has done, Harry Bridges, not only in one city, but all over the entire country, was assailed by them.

When you stop to consider the damage Hearst has done to the workers, both organized and unorganized, I say to the delegates here and now to go on record against his position, against his attitude toward labor, organized and unorganized. Hearst himself and his publications have gone on record against labor in general that he don't give a damn about it. Shall we take this lying down?

I am a member of the Longshoremen's Union in San Francisco, and there is a fine for any man who reads a Hearst paper. Our members are not allowed to bring it into their homes. Even though Hearst has signed agree-

ments with the Typographical Union and the other organizations, including the Teamsters, the only reason he signed such agreements was because he had to, not because he wanted to.

Delegate Bagley, Musicians: I desire to raise a point of order. A motion has been made to refer the whole matter to the Executive Council. A delegate then presents a motion to amend. I don't believe a motion to refer is amendable. If you don't like the report of the committee, vote it down.

President Green: The Chair will have to rule that the point of order in this case is not well taken, because the amendment provides that the motion to refer be stricken out and a motion to non-concur be inserted. It does not change the report of the committee in the least, it merely changes the action of the convention.

Delegate Beck, Teamsters, Seattle: I rise to defend the amendment to the report of the committee. I have gone through this situation and I am not concerned with the fact that the Seattle Post-Intelligencer and the various Hearst publications throughout the United States have attacked Beck and this convention. There are libel suits pending and they will be defended by the Hearst people and prosecuted by myself. There is a much larger question involved here. I am glad the Guild's strike is ended. The only part we took in the Seattle trouble with a certain newspaper was the same part we would have taken with any other legitimate organization identified with and chartered by the American Federation of Labor, namely, to be as helpful as we could, morally and financially.

The fact is that there are a great many other crafts employed by Hearst publications than the crafts of the Guild. It is not according to good reason to put a boycott upon the Hearst publications and indirectly de-

prive of employment those other craftsmen, simply because we want to satisfy a personal animosity we may have against Mr. Hearst.

I personally feel that Mr. Hearst has a right to express in any manner he wishes any feeling he may have against any union. In turn, I claim the right to defend our position in the same manner and have recourse to the courts of the land if necessary. I want now to say that we have no right, in my opinion, to level a boycott against the Hearst organization as an institution simply because we don't like to stand up under an attack. I support the amendment of Delegate Tobin, and I hope it meets with the approval of this convention.

President Green: May I make this brief observation. There come periods in life when not only individuals but organizations must meet a test, must answer the question whether they are willing to practice what they preach. This convention at this moment is called upon to meet that test. We have got to give more than lip service in defense of the fundamental, vital principle. There has been no more stern defender of the freedom of the press and of speech than the American Federation of Labor, but we must give to that vital principle more than mere lip service.

If I would substitute feeling for judgment I might follow the course advocated by some of the speakers who resent the attacks made upon distinguished, loyal members of the American Federation of Labor, but if I believe in the freedom of press, then I will fight for the exercise of the freedom of the press. If I believe that a man who preaches a philosophy different than mine should be accorded the privilege of speaking over the radio, I will fight for that right. And those who would fight for the right of freedom of speech over the radio or anywhere else, cannot square themselves if they come in and want to denounce a newspaper publisher be-

cause he exercises the freedom of the press also.

That is the test today. I read in the newspaper stories that I resent, denunciations of myself; many of these stories are false and untrue. You do the same. And during the coming year we will read many stories about the American Federation of Labor, about its officers and about others, stories that are as false as the human mind can conceive or the human tongue can utter. But even so, would we, the defenders of the cardinal principles upon which our Government rests, come into a convention and stand before the world as praising freedom of the press with our lips but denying it with our votes?

I do not approve and could not approve of all that has been published, of all that has been done far beyond that; but I want to keep our movement square, I want our actions to square with our lip service, I want to show the world we practice what we preach. And here is the test, and we can meet the test, in my judgment, by adopting the amendment offered by Delegate Tobin.

Delegate Osman, Wholesale Dry Goods Employes, New York: In reference to this motion, it seems to me that several resolutions are incorporated in one report, and they are contradictory. Is it possible to divide the question, because while the convention may not be ready to boycott William Randolph Hearst, the convention may decide to condemn him because of his editorial policy? I would like to move that the resolutions be divided.

At this point a large number of delegates called for the question. A sufficient number supported the request, and the previous question put.

The amendment offered by Vice President Tobin was carried.

The report of the committee, as amended by Vice President Tobin, was adopted.

Child Labor Amendment

In connection with that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Child Labor Amendment," on pages 137 and 138 of the Executive Council's Report, your committee reports Resolution No. 96 deals with the same subject.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates E. J. Manion and H. B. Perham, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS, Numerous conventions of this organization have passed resolutions favoring the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers did by convention action in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, May 12, 1936, unanimously adopt a resolution to extend its efforts to secure the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution; and

WHEREAS, While there is no Child Labor problem, as such, in the railroad industry, nevertheless, we have children who are in need of education and protection from premature toil; and

WHEREAS, The control of child labor with its corollary, the extension of education, is of national importance and deep concern to all of us; and

WHEREAS, Because of the lack of Federal regulation of child labor, there is injustice to children in States with low standards because they are deprived of equal opportunity with others for health, education and immunity from injurious labor; and

WHEREAS, There is also injustice to employers in States with high standards since they compete with employers whose labor costs are low because of child labor; and

WHEREAS, We find that we are all involved in the social problem presented by the under-privileged child because of the injustice that affects all citizens as a result of the exploitation of child labor; first, because civic and economic progress is hampered when the young are not equipped to become responsible and productive members of society; second, the mobility of population characteristic of modern times, and due primarily to the technological displacement of labor, brings many of the ill-equipped from states with low standards to those with high standards; and

WHEREAS, The workers' right to form labor unions, to bargain collectively, and to participate through del-

egated representatives in the making of laws which regulate his civic conduct is well established, and since in the exercise of this inherent right, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers, pursuant to convention action, is actively engaged in promoting by all legitimate means at its command, the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in the pursuit of this policy of social justice, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers has assumed a considerable financial burden; therefore, be it:

RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recognize the convention action of The Order of Railroad Telegraphers as indicative of social progress and extend its aid to this worthy cause by reiterating its approval of the Child Labor Amendment and urging its affiliates in the twenty-four States which have not ratified this constitutional amendment to concentrate their efforts severally and jointly with other organizations and committees in progressing ratification of the Child Labor Amendment through the Legislatures of these twenty-four States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution and approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers: It is not my purpose to discuss the merits of the amendment, but merely to rise and express my thought with respect to the procedure which should be followed in carrying out the purposes of the committee's report. It is my thought, Mr. President, that the American Federation of Labor should take the lead, probably through a committee appointed, in order to give direction to the activities of the legislative representatives in the various states where this amendment is going to be initiated.

The railroad organizations will take action on this same matter in a meeting to be held on December 17. There are many other bodies interested in the child labor amendment, and if we could coordinate the efforts of all of these bodies who are interested in the promotion of this Enabling Act, we would probably secure better results.

And I would like to suggest, Mr. President, that a committee to be appointed by yourself or the Executive Council, or to be composed of members of the Executive Council, call upon the President of the United States and get his reaction, which I am sure would be favorable, and then call a meeting of all the other bodies and agencies interested in this amendment and outline a plan of action. Then when we go into the legislatures we will have the cooperation of all of them.

President Green: The suggestion offered by Delegate Manion is an excellent one and I want him to feel assured that in all probability it will be followed. We have reached the point where the outlook for the complete ratification of this amendment to the Constitution is at hand. I think public sentiment is now more favorable. We have battled against tremendous opposition and tremendous odds. What we should do now is to mobilize all the forces favorable to the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment in such a way as to center public opinion, public sentiment in behalf of the adoption of this Child Labor Amendment. It will be a happy day, a day of general rejoicing, when the American Federation of Labor succeeds in its efforts to secure the final ratification of this constitutional amendment. I welcome the suggestion you offer, Delegate Manion, and I assure you it will be given early and sympathetic consideration.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Davis for an important announcement that he desires to make just now.

Delegate Davis, Boiler Makers: I have been requested to announce that the following international presidents are asked to meet immediately in the room off the stage above, for the purpose of discussing something that should be disposed of immediately before we scatter: Asbestos Workers,

Steamfitters, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Painters, Boiler Makers, Sheet Metal Workers, Engineers, Railway Car-men, Electrical Workers, Teamsters, Laborers, and Blacksmiths.

Tampa Cannery Strike

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Hawthorne on a question of personal privilege.

Delegate Hawthorne, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20224: The personal privilege is in connection with the cannery strike now in progress in Tampa. Last night we had a wonderful turnout of strikers at the Labor Temple, and for the first time they have formed a union and elected a president. Today the president of the union was arrested for carrying out literature from this Auditorium. He had a copy of yesterday's proceedings. Not only that one fellow was clubbed over the head and arrested, too. Two others were also arrested.

I would like to make a motion at this time, if it is in order, that the President be released from prison and that the police be asked to stop the terror against the cannery strikers.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: This is most reprehensible. It seems strange that persecution of that kind could be practiced in a free American city. I know that those workers have the full support of the American Federation of Labor, and in your behalf I protest against the arrest of the president of this local and the persecution of its members because they are on strike. I shall ask some representatives of the American Federation of Labor to investigate this matter, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, so that we can express ourselves on the facts as they may be presented to this convention. Delegate Trotter rises to a question of personal privilege.

Hearst Publications

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: Mr. President, in the motion which was adopted following the com-

mittee's report on the resolutions dealing with the Hearst publications, the mover of the amendment and the supporter of that amendment referred to a boycott of the Hearst newspapers. Nowhere in the committee's recommendation does there appear a recommendation to boycott, or any reference to boycott, and on behalf of my organization, the members of which are largely employed by Hearst publications, I want to correct the record to this extent, that in voting to support the committee's report we were not voting in favor of any boycott, and the references to the boycott on the part of those who moved the amendment put us in a light in which we did not wish to stand, and we want the record clear in that particular.

Delegate Gill, Typographical Union: Can I have my name recorded as voting for Mr. Tobin's amendment on the matter of the Hearst publications?

President Green: You are a member of the Typographical Union?

Delegate Gill: Yes.

President Green: You can have your name recorded as voting for that amendment if you wish, and Delegate Martel also wishes that his name be recorded as voting for Delegate Tobin's amendment.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Mooney and Billings Case

Resolutions Nos. 43, 44, 45, 87 and 194 refer to the Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings case. This case has come before every convention of the American Federation of Labor since 1917. Time and again the conventions have gone on record supporting a pardon for these men. On many occasions conventions, in the most vigorous language, have condemned the subornation of perjury by public officials which played so prominent a part in the trial which led to conviction.

The President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, and many of our International

Unions have, on numerous occasions, appealed to the Governor of California.

Upon that feature of the resolutions your committee recommends that this convention reaffirm its previous declarations relative to the Mooney-Billings case.

Relative to the request in one of the resolutions for financial assistance, it is the recommendation of your committee that if a special campaign to raise funds is to be launched, it should be undertaken and supervised by the California State Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I believe it is necessary for me to bring to the attention of this convention the peculiar and extraordinary situation now existing with respect to the Mooney case. I shall not, of course, endeavor to review any history of that infamous case, because I well know that the labor movement of this country is fully informed about this case. Early in the year the Supreme Court of the State of California was forced, under mandate of the Supreme Court of the United States, to grant Thomas J. Mooney a writ of habeas corpus, and the California court did a characteristic and very unusual thing. They appointed a referee to hear that very important matter, a gentleman who had never tried a case in a public court, a gentleman with the powers of a Notary Public, and nothing more.

The attorneys in the case for Thomas J. Mooney are well known to the labor movement of this country, the Honorable Frank P. Walsh among them. They requested the San Francisco Labor Council to call a special meeting of the delegates from the affiliated unions, to be held in a closed session, so that they might relate for the benefit of the labor movement the extraordinary situation with respect to this habeas corpus hearing.

The facts in the preamble to Resolu-

tion 45, which is the resolution for financial assistance, are substantially the facts that were revealed to this special delegate body of the San Francisco Labor Council by Frank P. Walsh. A resolution was unanimously adopted by that body to recommend to the San Francisco Labor Council that a plea be made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for finances to undertake the expensive matter of the conduct of this trial. That request was concurred in by the Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor, and was sent to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and they in turn advised us that it would have to await the action of this convention.

Mr. Chairman, there has been a great deal of criticism of the manner in which the defense of Thomas J. Mooney has been conducted. There has been a great deal of criticism by Mr. Mooney himself of the labor officials of this country, and I myself have not been spared. But I submit, Mr. Chairman, upon the petition of a man of the standing of Frank P. Walsh, and because of the extreme urgency, it is the duty and the obligation of the international unions comprising this American Federation of Labor to provide those finances, particularly under the set-up provided in this resolution. Not a cent of the money that has thus far been collected by the State of California and the State Federation of Labor has been expended except on the order of the officials of the San Francisco Labor Council. Now, Mr. Walsh has stated repeatedly that this process of habeas corpus hearing in California is a farce. Nothing is expected to come out of it, and it will be positively necessary to carry this case to the United States Supreme Court. We are without funds. Mr. Walsh himself has asserted in public that it has cost him in excess of \$25,000 in contributions for the conduct of this case up to this time.

It is extremely important, because

of the opportunity now presented to us, to finally dispose of this rotten case, and it is going to require money. I trust that the American Federation of Labor will provide some \$25,000 or \$30,000 that is necessary to carry this case to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I notice an error in the printed copy of the resolution. The committee made no reference to it, although I called it to the attention of the committee when I appeared before them. The original resolution submitted to this convention called for the sum of \$1,000 to be contributed from the treasury of the American Federation of Labor. I notice that the error in the proceedings indicated that we asked for the sum of \$1,000,000.

Mr. Chairman, I urge upon the American Federation of Labor to assume the responsibility for the conduct of this case to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Southern Tenant Farmers Union

Resolution No. 234—By Delegates Vic Wood, Arkansas State Federation of Labor; B. M. Egan, Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The courageous strike of agricultural workers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers conducted by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in eastern Arkansas last spring against working conditions of intolerable serfdom has aroused public opinion in this country to demand and expect an early program of drastic improvement in those conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, representing 25,000 field workers in Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma and other cotton states, despite a complete denial of constitutional civil liberties in most of the areas affected and despite a constant reign of terror involving floggings, shootings, evictions, clubbings and other violent acts of property owners determined to prevent unionization of the field workers, has succeeded in spreading the gospel of unionization as the sole method through which improvement of the conditions of workers under a dying plantation system can be brought about; and

WHEREAS, The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, as a result of its heroic struggle for a membership much of which because of the depth of its poverty and dependence upon the feudalistic plantation system is unable in its present status to pay regular dues, has materially increased its membership during the past year; and

WHEREAS, The two million agricultural workers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the cotton fields of this country, all inevitably tending to merge in the agricultural worker class as a result of increasing farm mechanization and enlarging corporate farming operations, stand as a constant threat to the standards of their fellow workers in urban industrial areas as long as they remain unorganized at their present incredibly debased level of existence; and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt and officials of his Administration have taken cognizance of the deplorable conditions of cotton field workers and are considering measures of improvement, as are various officials of cotton-producing states; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor unanimously endorsed the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union at its fifty-fifth annual convention, and the Arkansas State Federation of Labor did so at its thirtieth annual convention on October 28th, 1936; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor again commend and endorse the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union for its valiant efforts on behalf of the cotton field workers in the face of great obstacles; that the Federation approves the principle that unionization of these workers affords the only instrumentality through which a solution of their problems can be worked out; that the Federation insist upon the preservation of constitutional civil liberties in the cotton areas so that organization of the field workers towards effective collective bargaining can continue in accordance with the true American tradition; that the Federation will recommend and support only those programs, legislative or otherwise, which give reasonable promise of securing for the cotton field workers a standard of living in keeping with that sought generally by the Federation for its membership; that the Federation urge its Executive Council to give serious consideration to all requests of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union for aid and advice; that it request all affiliated bodies to do likewise whenever possible, and that it repeat its recommendation that its Executive Council take steps to

bring about a thorough Federal investigation of the conditions of workers in these cotton areas with full publication of findings.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Angelo Herndon

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, An old Slave Insurrection Law, enacted during pre-Civil war days by the slave owners to perpetuate the horrible institution of slavery, which was finally abolished by a Civil War, has been resurrected under which Angelo Herndon, a young Negro labor organizer, was sentenced to twenty years on a Georgia chain gang; and

WHEREAS, The conviction of Herndon is equivalent to the conviction of the labor movement, since any labor organizer, white or black, may be picked up and sentenced to the chain gang, under this archaic and barbaric law, which is an instrument of oppression and persecution of the workers who may seek to exercise their right to collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, Judge Hugh M. Dorsey, in one of the lower Courts of the State of Georgia, declared the slave insurrection law unconstitutional, and since the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia, has reversed the decision of Judge Dorsey upon an appeal action; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Tampa, Florida, go on record as condemning the revival of the old Slave Insurrection Law for the persecution of labor organizers and calls for its repeal and the freedom of Angelo Herndon.

Your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the action taken upon the same subject at last year's convention, which supported the efforts of the Georgia State Federation of Labor to have the old slave Insurrection Law repealed. As it appears that Angelo Herndon was condemned under this law, your committee recommends that this portion of the resolution be referred to the Georgia State Federation of Labor for its considera-

tion and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Urging Federal Legislation Against Lynching

Resolution No. 228—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, Lynching of human beings and violent mob rule are a frequent practice in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Despite the protest voiced on all sides by leading organizations against the lynching of Negroes, and recently of labor leaders active in strike regions, this outrageous practice still continues; and

WHEREAS, Constituted authority in some parts of the country were either unwilling or unable to bring to justice the perpetrators of such hideous crimes; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record favoring the enactment of Federal legislation against mob rule or lynching in any form whatever in any part of the United States.

As the convention has already acted on this subject, no further action is required.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Minimum Wage Standards for White Collar Workers, WPA

Resolution No. 203—By Delegates Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There exists a difference in wage scales of white collar workers employed on the Works Progress Administration, this scale being divided into three categories known as professional, skilled and intermediate;

AND WHEREAS, Wages now paid to white collar workers on the Works Progress Administration are totally inadequate; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of establishing a minimum wage of \$93.50 per month for intermediate

workers with greater pay for professional and skilled workers.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Advocating Federal Government Establish Permanent Social Research Program

Resolution No. 207—By Delegate Irving Meyers, Technical and Research Employes Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, Many types of research of permanent social value including social research, such as: statistics on unemployment, relationship of income to disease, study of morbidity and mortality, child labor, women in industry, industrial hazards; and educational research, such as: literacy, study of school facilities, vocational training of the handicapped, etc.; physical research, such as: conservation of natural resources, flood control, meteorological and chemical research; and biological research such as: medical, control of insect pests, etc.; are not being forwarded because private industry does not find it immediately profitable.

AND WHEREAS, There exists a need for this type of research in the United States of America for national progress,

AND WHEREAS, The Federal Government is the only agency that can establish and support an adequate national research program of general social value;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor favor the establishment by the federal government of a permanent national research program as outlined above.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Women's Bureau—U. S. Department of Labor

Resolution No. 260—By Delegate Mollie Levitas, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union, Local No. 20074, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, The Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor was established by Act of Con-

gress as a fact-finding agency to study the problems and working conditions of woman wage earners, and to decide by research and investigation the best standards for their employment; and

WHEREAS, The results of these investigations have been of inestimable value in the formulation of standards and employment policies, and have contributed largely to the welfare of the millions of woman workers in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The constantly changing industrial conditions are greatly affecting the employment of women and are emphasizing the necessity for this valuable agency of the Government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby endorse and highly commend the work of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention calls upon its affiliated organizations to support the Women's Bureau by any and every means within their power.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Employes Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 160—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Robert K. Harwood, John Bowen, George Falconer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, William Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Frank Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece Heffner, Clarence L. Edwards, American Federation of Government Employes; N. P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph E. Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, J. F. Watkins, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The organizations of

Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in repealing adverse legislation, these victories including repeal of wage cuts, restoration of promotions, vacations, differentials for night work and numerous other hard-won and deeply-cherished rights and privileges; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the postal service, have gained through legislation the five (5) day week and other benefits, thus not only benefitting themselves but more firmly establishing the principle of shorter hours in industry; and

WHEREAS, These very notable victories would have been impossible without the energetic influence and backing of organized labor and the continuous cooperation and assistance of its officers; be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing Government Workers in this Fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby express the deepest gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its allies.

This is a resolution introduced by the delegates representing eight International Unions to jointly express their appreciation for the assistance they have received from the American Federation of Labor. Your committee can take no other action than to welcome this evidence of appreciation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

War, National Defense, and Manufacture of Munitions

Resolutions Nos. 4, 145, 172, 192 and 198, deal with the general subject of war, national defense and the manufacture of munitions. These subjects have been acted upon in previous conventions. The American Federation of Labor has time and again declared its emphatic protest against war as a method of adjusting disputes between nations. Many previous conventions have declared that private profit in the production of war munitions, had in themselves, on more than one occasion, led to crushing burdens of taxation being placed upon the people. Previous conventions have declared against the element of private profit

in the production of war munitions. Attention has been called to the propaganda of those manufacturing munitions of war, and use of newspapers to inflame a people and their government.

The American Federation of Labor has declared its conviction that our country, in the world as it is today, must maintain an adequate national defense, for in a world in which democracies are being destroyed and dictatorships supplanting them, no nation can feel itself safeguarded from the dangers of attack unless prepared to resist.

Your committee is of the opinion that legislation eliminating private profit from the manufacture of munitions for national defense should be enacted, but that careful study should be made before such legislative measures are drafted, for today war munitions seemingly include almost the entire field of production, for while battleships and their ordnance are required on the one hand, so are textiles and medical supplies and an infinite number of other industrial products.

Your committee therefore recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to have a thorough study made before preparing such legislation as is necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Glass Bottle Blowers Jurisdiction Over Factory Employees

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate H. A. Alltop, Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council, Fairmont, W. Va.

We the Officers and Delegates of the Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council of Fairmont, W. Va., submit to the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, this Resolution, and cite many reasons why the jurisdictional grant made to the Glass Bottle Blowers Association at the 1914 Convention held in Philadelphia, Pa., should be changed; and

WHEREAS, Organizers throughout

many parts of the country have made many attempts to organize the employees of the glass bottle factories without success; and

WHEREAS, The president of the Glass Bottle Association has given the different organizers the wrong interpretation of their jurisdiction, wherein he states his organization has jurisdiction over all employees in and around a glass bottle factory, and that his organization will organize the workers as they see fit; and

WHEREAS, Such statements have since March, 1933, deprived many local unions from being organized in many different cities. Among them Fairmont, W. Va., Huntington, W. Va., Charleston, W. Va., in these plants there are Wood Box Builders, Carpenters, Machinists, Electricians, Engineers, and Firemen, that do not come under the grant made to the Glass Bottle Blowers Association; and

WHEREAS, The Glass Bottle Blowers Association continues to refuse to permit the lehr, packers, sorters, shippers, furnace workers, to join their organization and this condition alone hinders the other workers in these many plants to get organization; and

WHEREAS, The Owens Illinois Glass Company has formed a strong Company Union, requiring the organized workers to belong to it. Also pay monthly dues, making a condition entirely unsatisfactory to the workers in these factories; and

WHEREAS, There are some three thousand men and women working in these W. Va., plants that are continually seeking some one to organize them; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The jurisdiction granted to the Glass Bottle Blowers Association be changed to read Glass Machine Operators, and Glass Machine Foremen only; and be it further

RESOLVED, A committee be appointed to work out a grant of jurisdiction of the lehr, sorters, packers, shippers, and other unskilled workers around glass factories and report back to this 56th convention for action.

Your committee notes that this resolution, which is introduced by a Central Labor Council, calls for the changing of the title of one of the International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. Your committee believes that such a request should come into the convention only through the International Unions or unions interested. Your committee is furthermore op-

posed to the resolution and therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Consumers' Union of United States, Inc.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, The lack of legal standardized grades and labels and the prevalence of misleading and deceptive advertising have made it practically impossible for the average consumer to get the most for his wages when buying food, clothing, medicine and other goods; and

WHEREAS, Large quantities of consumers' goods that are inferior or even dangerous to health are being forced upon an uninformed public by producers more concerned with profits than with human welfare; and

WHEREAS, Consumers' Union of United States, Inc., a non-profit and pro-labor membership corporation, has been established with the help of leaders in the organized labor movement to test goods and to report to its members on the quality and safety of all kinds of merchandise; and

WHEREAS, Consumers' Union maintains that decent living standards for all consumers can be obtained only by protecting the pay envelope as well as the market basket, therefore encourage its members to buy union-made goods, and in so doing supplements the good work of the Union Trades and Label Department; and

WHEREAS, It is to the interest of organized labor that the work of Consumers Union be broadened so that the Union member can get more for his money and the non-union member can be informed on working conditions under which goods are made; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, opening on the 16th day of November, 1936, in Tampa, Florida, give its approval to the objectives of Consumers' Union as defined in this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council appoint an advisory committee from the ranks of organized labor to confer with Consumers' Union from time to time, so that Consumers' Un-

ion may best serve the working people of America.

Inasmuch as many International Unions and the Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L., are directly interested in the subject matter of the resolution, your committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council with the request that in connection with whatever action they take that full protection shall be given to all affiliated National and International Unions in their union label promotion, and their relations with their employers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Democracy vs. Dictatorship

Resolution No. 113.—By Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Several of the great nations of the world have abandoned democratic forms of government and now are being ruled by dictators; and

WHEREAS, The peoples of these nations, under their dictators, have lost every semblance of liberty which they formerly possessed, among which were the right of free speech and freedom of the press, the right of public assemblage, liberty of conscience, and association in organizations for their mutual benefit; and

WHEREAS, In addition to the loss of these rights and liberties by the peoples of these nations now under the rule of dictators, the philosophy underlying democratic principles that the state exists for the welfare of its citizens is being controverted and repudiated and the philosophy that the citizens exist only for the benefit of the state is being declared by these dictators and taught; and

WHEREAS, The rise of dictators and the establishment of dictator forms of government in several great European nations have not only destroyed the liberties of the people but proven oppressive to them; and

WHEREAS, These dictators are teaching a doctrine of enmity, instead of amity toward other races, nations and established religions; and,

WHEREAS, The fruits of such dictatorships and their teachings will be war, which may result in the destruction of the liberties of other peoples, and tighten and strengthen the chains of the dictators upon those now suffering under them, until liberty through-

out the world may be obliterated, and the whole cruel procedure have to be gone through with again, as recorded in history, before individual rights and liberties are reestablished; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we deem it advisable to call to the attention of wage earners and other citizens of the United States that the liberties and recognized rights of the common citizens in this and other nations where democratic forms of government maintain were won upon a thousand battlefields and by the martyrdom of those who dared to preach the doctrine of equal rights and liberties for all the people; and

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declares that there is no substitute for liberty; and, further

RESOLVED, That we believe a few of these rights, liberties and guarantees, won after a thousand years of effort, and which are lost under dictator forms of government, should be called to the attention of every American citizen. They are:

The right of the people to select representatives to enact and administer the laws under which they shall live, thereby making government rest upon the consent of the governed;

The separation of church and state and the right of all citizens to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences;

The right of petition;

The right of trial by jury;

The right of habeas corpus;

The right of free speech and a free press;

The right of public assemblage;

The right to be secure in one's papers and person from unlawful seizure;

The right to belong to lawful organizations promotive of the welfare of the individuals composing them;

The right of the free movement of a citizen from one locality to another; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in the City of Tampa, Florida, declare our fealty to the democratic principles upon which our government is founded, and to the Government of the United States.

Your committee heartily approves of the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Motion Picture Industry Agreement

Resolution No. 242—By Delegate Kenneth Thomson, Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, Calif.

WHEREAS, The production of motion pictures has developed into one of the greatest industries in America; and

WHEREAS, Practically all of American motion pictures production is carried on in and around the city of Los Angeles, California, a city where the struggle of organized labor has been extremely acute for many years; and

WHEREAS, The motion picture industry, like most others in that city, was for years conducted on an open shop basis; and

WHEREAS, During the past ten years there has been a constant growth of labor organization in motion picture studios, which has eventually brought into the Los Angeles labor movement approximately twenty thousand members, and has been the means of rendering great aid to the general organization of that city; this growth of organization having been accomplished through and by the cooperation of the several International Unions; and

WHEREAS, Five International Unions have a union shop agreement with the motion picture industry, which provides for the exclusive employment of union members in their trades; and

WHEREAS, There are in addition to those five, eight distinct studio unions chartered by five International Unions, and one Federal Union chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor, all of the members of which are depending upon motion picture studios for their employment; and although most of the men of the various trades represented by these trades are enrolled in the local unions, it has thus far been impossible to bring about a recognition of these organizations by the managements of the motion picture studios, which is an extreme handicap. This same condition applies to several local unions, a portion of whose members only are employed in the motion picture business; and

WHEREAS, To the representatives of these non-recognized unions it appears that a plan could be worked out that would accomplish the complete unionization and recognition thereof in and by the motion picture industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this 56th Convention

of the American Federation of Labor, that the President of this Federation be authorized and instructed to invite representatives of all the International Unions involved, to a conference for the purpose of discussing and devising plans for the accomplishment of union recognition and the union shop for all trades involved in the production of motion pictures; be it further

RESOLVED, That local representatives from Hollywood or Los Angeles be invited to attend such conferences, the expenses of such attendance to be borne by the local unions.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Prohibit Banks and Insurance Companies From Financing Business Enterprises Imposing Unfair Conditions of Employment

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, Savings Banks and savings departments of Trust Companies and domestic life insurance companies control the great proportion of the liquid wealth of wage earners, wax rich and powerful on other people's money, and in doing so finance employers, especially and frequently hostile to the aims of organized labor;

WHEREAS, The real underlying assets and wealth of this nation are contented and independent wage earners, free from employer interference in the creation and maintenance of self organized trade unions and thus possessed of ability to increase purchasing power with resultant stimulus to an increase of consumer demand for goods and service;

WHEREAS, Employer interference with the right of self organization of employees threatens industrial peace and thus the security and value of wage earners' savings in such banking institutions and life insurance companies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to file legislation with the incoming Congress to amplify the safeguards now surrounding the legal investments so-

called, of and by such institutions by requiring that no such institutions invest money under their control in securities or otherwise, whenever such moneys are to be used in any enterprise or business that has to do with the employment of labor, unless the issuer of such securities or other business borrower comply with obligations identical to those indicated and set forth in Section 7 and related sections of the Wagner Labor Act, so-called; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge all State Federations of Labor to undertake like action to that end that those in control of the life savings of wage earners and thus the credit of our country may not make use of such wealth to finance employers antagonistic to the aims and activities of the trade union movement.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further study and appropriate action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Law Against Lynching

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Some five thousand or more persons, one thousand of whom are white, have been lynched in the United States of America in the last forty years, some of these being women who were riddled with bullets, with their pregnant stomachs ripped open, emptying a child to the ground whose head was crushed by the heels of uncivilized white barbarians, who on Sunday, piously prated about God, moral purity and race superiority; and

WHEREAS, Great mobs, allegedly superior white citizens dance like mad dervishes around the charred bodies of black human beings, burnt upon the fires of race hate and bigotry, while their wild eyes flash the savage glint of sadistic glee, symbolizing mentally deficient and childish morons, crudely enjoying a Roman holiday of meriment, having been stirred by the false illusions of defending the honor of white women, by dangerous and selfish demagogues of church, press and state; and

WHEREAS, Lynch and mob germs, like disease germs, know no race, color, nationality, religious or sex lines, since social history shows that whenever lynch and mob rule becomes an

institution, that the Negro may be the unhappy victim today, but that tomorrow it may be a mob howling for the blood of a Catholic, for the blood of a Jew, or the blood of a worker fighting for his union, or a citizen of unpopular political belief; and

WHEREAS, Lynch-mobs and vigilantes, variously known as the Black Legion, Ku Klux Klan, continue to flaunt their bloody shirts and white gowns in flagrant defiance of all constitutional government of the individual states that are helpless to stop this unspeakable crime against humanity and civilization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled, in Tampa, Florida, condemn this nameless, horrible and indescribable lynch and mob terror as a menace to human rights and an attack upon civilized society, and a blow to our democratic institutions, and call upon President Roosevelt and the Congress to enact a federal law against lynching, namely the Wagner-Costigan Anti-lynching Bill, with the view of wiping out this shameless blot of barbarism from America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to the members of the House and the Senate, urging them to back this measure as expressing the will and spirit of organized labor.

The convention having already acted upon the subject of this resolution, no further action is necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Amendment to U. S. Constitution

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people of the United States "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for common defense, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity"; and

WHEREAS, The people of the United States in 1932 elected a President and a Congress with a clear cut mandate to enact and administer legislation which would effectively achieve these fundamental purposes, and thereby rescue the nation from the paralysis

in trade, industry, banking and agriculture which was threatening the foundations of our entire structure of government and society; and

WHEREAS, The people of the United States in 1934 signified whole-hearted approval of the activities of the Administration, by returning an overwhelming vote in its favor in the Congressional elections of that year; and

WHEREAS, The majority of the Supreme Court in invalidating the NRA AAA and Guffey Coal Acts, have interpreted the Federal Government to be constitutionally impotent to protect the people of the several states from the consequences of economic anarchy; and

WHEREAS, The majority of the Supreme Court in invalidating the New York Minimum Wage Act by their extraordinary opinions in the so-called *Tipaldo Case* have declared that even state governments cannot establish standards which would protect the property or human values of an individual's labor; and

WHEREAS, When the ineffectiveness of state police agencies to cope with the interstate bandit kidnaper created a chaos which brought human life and personal property into jeopardy, prompt Federal intervention was demanded and obtained; and

WHEREAS, All elements of the community, except the criminals themselves, have hailed with approval the quick and effective response of Federal agencies in restoring law and order as soon as authorized by Congress to prosecute any who cross state borders for the purpose of, or with proceeds from, crimes conducted entirely within the political confines of a sovereign state; and

WHEREAS, In trade and industry any excessive hours of work, insufficient compensation, unguarded use of machinery, poisons or gas, extreme speed-up and denial of honest rights of collective bargaining within any one state, bring interstate consequences which affect the lives and property values of citizens in other states; and

WHEREAS, It is our firm belief that the Constitution was designed to create one nation and one people, instead of a confederacy of forty-eight competing states, which lack the sovereignty of protecting their own citizens from exploitation within their own borders; and

WHEREAS, It is our firm belief that the political, economical and social health of our people demands protection from economic anarchy; and

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State

Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-first Annual Convention assembled, unanimously instructed its delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention to submit this matter for the serious consideration and affirmative action of the delegates in Convention assembled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the prompt passage of a Constitutional Amendment which will permit the Federal Executive and Congress to establish minimum standards of wages, maximum hours of work, regulation of work load, safeguards to regulate the employment of women and minors, rights of collective bargaining, and preventive measures to minimize the dangers of poisonous fluids or gases in any trade or industry or agriculture or banking, the materials, processes, or products of which enter interstate commerce the "due process" clause shall be specifically restricted to the due observance of appropriate legislative and executive consideration, impartiality and public purpose of such laws; and which will waive the present restrictions of the Federal Constitution upon concurrent or supplemental state legislation to achieve these purposes within purely intrastate business; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the failure to accomplish the speedy passage of such Constitutional Amendment, the state legislatures be urged in the interests of public health and safety, to establish a quarantine against the importation of any products manufactured or processed in other states, where unfair exploitation of labor is tolerated.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Uniform Workmen's Compensation Legislation Program

Resolution No. 77 -- By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; Edwin E. Graves, Upholsterers' International Union of North America; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.; Sidney E. LeBow, Central Labor Union, Lowell, Mass.

WHEREAS, The principle of Workmen's Compensation for industrial accidents is now well established within almost all the states of the Union; and

WHEREAS, The scope of protection afforded to wage earners varies in every state; and

WHEREAS, The basic principles of private insurance carriers, if a stock company, is to earn a profit, or if a mutual company, is to reduce the premium costs; and

WHEREAS, The practice of insurance companies is to view the injured workman under the heavy handicap of urgent need as a litigant to be worsted in a legal duel at the expense of employer and employe alike rather than as a rightful recipient of compensation for injuries received; and

WHEREAS, The injured employe in Massachusetts receives only about thirty cents after medical, legal, investigation costs and profits are paid out of the premium dollar expended on his behalf by his employer as a cost of production ultimately assumed by the consumer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the cooperation of competent, experienced individuals to serve as a voluntary committee of experts in drafting a basic legislative program to be recommended to the respective state legislatures as a uniform workmen's compensation program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That international unions and State Federations of Labor cooperate with such committee of experts in the formulation of the Draft Bill and in the sponsoring of this bill in the several states.

In lieu of the resolution, your committee recommends continuance of the well established policy of the American Federation of Labor to secure uniform workmen's compensation legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Youth Act

Resolutions Nos. 63, 176 and 247 deal with the same subject. Your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for further study and such action as may be warranted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers Union 20036, Chicago: I wish to amend the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee to provide that the discussion of the American Youth Act shall come before

the Executive Council at its first meeting after this convention, and that the action of the Executive Council shall be sent out to all national and international unions, state and central bodies and Federal labor unions.

The motion was seconded by several delegates.

Delegate Fine: Mr. President and delegates, the resolution that has come before the convention on the American Youth Act is not an entirely new proposition before the American Federation of Labor. This same resolution was before the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor. At that convention identically the same action was taken on the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee as is proposed today. The matter was referred to the Executive Council for study.

Since the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, there has never been a report made by the Executive Council on its investigation and study of the American Youth Act. In the report of the committee no mention is made of the Executive Council's attitude toward the American Youth Act. Since the Atlantic City convention the resolution referring to the American Youth Act has been up before many state bodies. A number of them have endorsed the Act. Over a score of Central bodies from important centers have also endorsed the American Youth Act. Hundreds of local unions of the Machinists, Painters, Carpenters, etc., in fact, locals of almost every organization represented in the American Federation of Labor, have acted in favor of the American Youth Act, but a possibly greater number have deferred action pending the decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Tampa.

Since the last convention the American Youth Act has been introduced into Congress by Senator Benson and Senator Amlie, which evoked a wide response in the hearts of young people. In Washington, an open hearing was held by the United States Congressional Committee on Education.

Over a thousand young people came from every state and demonstrated by their talks and resolutions their endorsement of the Act. Amongst the youth present at the hearing of Congress there was represented the American Youth Congress with over 1,000 organizations of varied church, social and political affiliation. The American Youth Act calls for giving opportunity for work to all jobless young people and opportunity for advanced education for those who are not in school because of insufficient funds on the part of their parents.

The Washington administration has enacted youth legislation, as, for instance, the legislation on apprentice training and the NYA. This is commendable and has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. But this legislation is inadequate. Even Mr. Williams, the Chief Administrator of the NYA, has stated publicly that it provides for only a small minority of needy youth.

I want to say that the American youth does not want to be pampered. We are not looking for a soft and parasitic existence. We want an opportunity to use our creative capacity, our native talent. We want to acquire skill, we want to have a measure of economic security, we want to work. Don't forget there is no frontier in the West today, no gold rushes, and very little homesteading. Industry in most places is surfeited.

I say that the action of the American Federation of Labor with regard to the Child Labor Amendment is commendable and we should not rest there, but endorse the further youth legislation that is necessary once youth enter into young womanhood and manhood. We should not drop our oars or rest on our laurels. Security of the young people of our country is necessary. Today in America our jails, our penitentiaries, are crowded with thousands of criminals every single week of the year. The greatest single category of criminals inhabiting those penal institutions are youths 19 years of age, and over 60

per cent of the criminals in the penitentiaries today are under 30 years of age. All the important sociologists of America attribute that fact to the economic condition of America's youth. Therefore, I feel the Executive Council is duty bound to further this youth legislation by endorsing the resolutions.

I have often asked myself, do I over-emphasize or have I a distorted view of the importance of this matter of youth legislation, but the remarks of the Canadian fraternal delegate regarding youth and Fascism, the resolutions of the Teachers' international convention regarding the plight of America's student youth, encouraged me to pursue my course to urge the convention to pass the amendments.

Secretary Frey: The committee is opposed to the amendment because it calls for an immediate decision by the Executive Council of the Federation. I hold in my hand the bill as it is issued by the American Youth Congress, and it says to local unions and others, "Get your organizations to endorse this bill. Inform your congressmen and senators that you expect them to publicly announce and actually lend support to the bill," and it asks local unions to report to the American Youth Congress whatever action they take. "Affiliate with the Youth Congress and help develop a united movement of this vital measure."

Now, your committee believes that the appropriate action for the convention to take was to refer the resolution for examination, because there were certain conditions connected with the bill which your committee believed the Executive Council should thoroughly investigate before determining what the policy of the American Federation of Labor should be.

One of the reasons why your committee believed that the Executive Council should make this study was the knowledge that at the third convention of the American Youth, held July 3, 4, and 5, this year, there were present representatives of church organizations, many representatives of trade unions.

many representatives of student bodies. Some of these organizations of student bodies are actually a part of the Communist Party. In addition to these student bodies there was represented there the Communist youth opposition group, the Young Workers' League, the Young Communist League of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. Now for these reasons we are of the opinion, and we recommend now, that the Executive Council should have an opportunity of knowing just what is tied up in this national youth proposition before they decide what the policy of the Federation shall be.

The amendment proposed to the committee's report was defeated.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Correction

J. D. Rapp, representing the Virginia State Federation of Labor, voted no on committee's CIO report, and asks that notation to that effect be so recorded in the proceedings.

President Green: The hour of adjournment has arrived. Under our rules there will be no session of the convention tomorrow. The rules provide for the proper observance of the Thanksgiving holiday. The convention will therefore stand adjourned until 9:30 o'clock Friday morning.

At 5:55 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, November 28.

Ninth Day—Friday Morning Session

Tampa, Florida,
November 27, 1936.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Thompson (Dan C.), Kindred, Wood (Vic), Hefferly, Egan (John J.), Heaton, Rosqvist, Kane (J. C.), Williams (E. H.), Graham (James D.), Marcante, Phillips (John A.), Martinez, Patterson (Donald E.), Turnblazer, Cahill, Minton, Getchen, Towers, Mundell, Cowherd, McDonald (S. S.), Tracy (Wm.), O'Neill (John J.), Mayer, McClellan (T.), Johnson (E. A.), Bails, Yablensky, Jenkins (E. R.), Dobbs, Jones (John T.), Breidenbach, Wegener, Nischwitz, Van Patten, Will, Stackweather, Drake, Owens (John), Patton (Fred), McCain (U. S.), Augustino, Kennedy (James G.), Farrell (Chas.), McKenzie, Reid, Marchesi, Thompson (Kenneth), Preston (E. J.), Genis, Rivin, Powers (Geo.), Hansen, Hanly (Dave), Majors, Soule, Shave, Pickler, Langston, Keegan (John J.), Stoffels, Draper, Haywood, Klarish, Lisse, Kane (John J.), Hill, McCarty (M. L.), Cahir, Legler, Price, Burton (R. L.), Harrison (J. W.), Gatelee, Wood (R. T.), Glasgow, Hudak, Edmundson, Edwards (John A.), Haffa, Hunter, Reed (Geo.), Saltus, Bender, Moulin, Markva, Johnson (C. W.), Gibson (Chas.), Schreler, Merrill (Lewis), Hawthorne, Kocher, Williamson, Cairns, Fitzgerald (L. J.), Stern, Reynolds (Robt.), Clinedinst, Bellows, Finnegan, Knopka, Alfred, Merritt (F. W.), Gerhardt (Frances), Olds, Gales, Barnes (Geo.), Lee, Hannah, Rex, Weintraub, Williams (C. S.), Matlin, Scherr, Duldner, Hudson, Lufrano, Kirby (Thos. J.).

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ARREST OF ORGANIZERS

President Green: The Chair announced last Wednesday that I would appoint a committee to investigate the arrest of representatives of the cannery workers who were arrested while organizing two local unions here. I will appoint Gust Anderson, Portland, Oregon; Delegate Friederick, Milwaukee; and Delegate Swartz, of the Letter Carriers.

I hope you will find it possible to make some investigation and some inquiry today and render any assistance that lies within your power.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Secretary Morrison read the following:

James L. Sheehan, a Vice President of the Cigar Makers' International Union, died at his home in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Wednesday, November 25, 1936. The funeral will be held Saturday, November 28, from his home.

Brother Sheehan was for many years the business representative and American Federation organizer of the Milwaukee Central Trades Council, a former vice president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, a County Commissioner of Milwaukee County, and since 1931, a vice president of the Cigar Makers' International Union. He had attended many conventions of the American Federation of Labor, knowing many delegates, and was a man in every sense of the word. Signed, R. E. Van Horn.

MESSAGES

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Lewiston, Idaho,
November 23, 1936.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Tampa, Florida.

The Idaho State Federation of Labor sends greetings to the convention and regrets that we have no delegate in attendance. At our recent convention a resolution was unanimously passed asking that the American Federation of Labor and its international unions make an organization drive in Idaho. Because of it being and agricultural state and other local conditions labor organization here has lagged behind Montana and Washington and in many cases Idaho has been a breeding ground for scabs that have hurt labor in other states. Especially important is it that the timber workers and miners be thoroughly organized and that as quickly as this work is started the other craft be unionized. Therefore we ask that the American Federation of Labor at once send representatives into Idaho to spend several months in organization work. We also urge that the other interested

crafts simultaneously send organizers to work with the Federation men. Besides the carpenters who have charge of the lumber industry and the mine workers we need the help of the butchers, barbers, culinary workers, garage mechanics, plumbers, electricians, bakers, painters, masons, teamsters, sales clerks, printers, pressmen, railroad organization, teachers and others. Idaho does not wish these representatives to straggle in here singly but rather that working together with the American and State Federations they organize one city at a time and do the job thoroughly. We promise them all the help the State Federation can give.

PAUL B. BLAKE,
President, Idaho State Federation of Labor.

Lewiston, Idaho.
November 22, 1936.

William Green and Officers and
Delegates of A. F. of L. Convention,
Tampa, Florida.

Greetings. We urgently request that you support the Idaho State Federation of Labor request for simultaneous state wide organization campaign of all crafts in the state of Idaho. Company unions gaining strength to an alarming degree. If not checked will spread to other states.

HOBART D. BURNS, President
Trades and Labor Council.

Philadelphia, Penn.
November 23, 1936.

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Convention, Hotel Floridan,
Tampa, Florida.

I had hoped to be able to address the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Nothing would have served as a source of greater gratification than to address the leaders of the working masses of the United States. It has been my pleasure to work with your leadership locally. Together we have solved one vexing problem after another. This is a turbulent period in the history of America. These are changing times. We are at the cross roads. If we are to solve our problems intelligently and constructively we must apply our concepts of political democracy to our industrial life. Industrial democracy is as important today as political democracy was in 1776. We have tried to apply that philosophy in Philadelphia and we have been markedly successful. I wanted to be with you so that I could tell you about what we are doing and we could counsel together as to our future course. Unfortunately we are confronted with a strike of major proportions

in the local department stores. The strike requires my presence. We are planning governmental changes in which the Mayor is constantly consulted. Under the circumstances I shall be compelled to change my plans and will not be able to address you personally. Let me wish you every good fortune. Let us hope that your deliberations as to how America can move forward and accord an equitable share of our wealth to the workers of our country will be successful. I hope that you will, when deliberating as to the locale of next year's convention, think of our city. Let me invite you to Philadelphia. We will then be celebrating the birth of the American Constitution and it would be fitting and proper that the American labor movement meet in Philadelphia where the Constitution was originally framed and make its contributions to the festivities at that time. With kindest personal regards.

S. DAVIS WILSON,
Mayor, City of Philadelphia, Penn.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

The International Labor Organization

The Executive Council in its report to this convention has presented a full and faithful report of the work of the International Labor Organization with a sufficient documentation of the conventions and recommendations adopted recently by this organization in its annual Labor Conferences, to give to any student of international labor legislation a picture of the constructive service of this agency of international co-operation.

The record of American participation in this agency during the past year; and the manner in which the American Federation of Labor has collaborated with our government in designating its representatives to take part in the quarterly meetings of the Governing Board at Geneva and in the International Labor Conference are set forth in this report with completeness. They are but the prophecy of our future co-operation.

The Special Conference called by the Organization on Maritime problems and the notable Regional Conference summoned by the Organization to meet early in 1936 in Santiago, Chile, are outlined in the report. This latter conference marks a milestone in international cooperation on a regional basis.

With commendable discrimination Council has given us the record of the 20th session of the International Labor Conference. It is a record not only of achievement but lays the foundation for international agreement on some of the grave problems that confront many of the industrialized nations of the world.

But there is one point in the history of our relations to this organization during the past year which deserves our especial commendation. It is the appointment of James Wilson, formerly Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, and a trade unionist of long standing in our movement, as an Executive Assistant to the Director of the I. L. O. His appointment provides an invaluable liaison between our movement and that Organization and should help in spreading knowledge about its work and cementing our relationship with this agency.

A year ago your Committee on International Labor Relations set forth with some measure of completeness the attitude of labor toward the manifold services of this agency; it is unnecessary to repeat that statement here. We would, however, commend to the consideration of the delegates the need for the early appointment of a labor delegate to the annual conference so that he and his technical advisers may properly prepare themselves for their responsible tasks at Geneva.

Your Committee in commending the work of this organization would like to recommend again to this convention that when the 21st Annual Labor Conference meets in Geneva that the American Federation of Labor be represented by the President of the American

Federation of Labor. It would be a fitting tribute to his great leadership of American Labor; it would also be an appropriate recognition by American Labor of the permanent place provided for it upon the Governing Board of the I. L. O.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 248

A. F. of L. Affiliation With International Federation of Trade Unions

Resolution No. 248—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof and Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The International Federation of Trade Unions is a vital force against reaction and dictatorship; and

WHEREAS, The International Federation of Trade Unions has sustained a great blow through the destruction of the Trade Unions in several European Countries; and

WHEREAS, There is today a great need for solidarity and co-operation among the Trade Unions of the World for the protection of Liberty and Democracy; and

WHEREAS, The fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor by unanimous vote empower the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to reaffiliate with the International Federation of Trade Unions if a satisfactory basis for effective cooperation could be found, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the Executive Council to continue its efforts toward reaffiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

On Resolution No. 248, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee at the Atlantic City Convention in 1935 gave considerable thought and study to the relationship between the American Federation of Labor and the International Federation of Trade Unions. It set forth in its report something of the new world wide situation with the spread of dictator-

ships which made it more important than ever to draw together the labor movements in the different countries. In particular your Committee referred to the invaluable services rendered by the International Federation of Trade Unions in connection with the work of the International Labor Organization, with which the United States Government is affiliated and of which the American Federation of Labor is a functional part.

Your Committee is of the opinion that the conversations already begun by President Green looking toward a closer cooperation with the International Federation of Trade Unions should be continued and we urge that this responsibility for further conversations be delegated by this convention to the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council. Your Committee further recommends that the subject matter of this Resolution, No. 248, under consideration be similarly referred to the President and the Executive Council for consideration and action in accordance with the foregoing statement of policy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor in European Countries

On the section of the Executive Council's report, under the above caption, Pages 195-196, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council in its discussion of the status of labor in European Countries today has epitomized in a few paragraphs what has been the disillusionment and tragedy of the post war years. The war which was to make the world safe for democracy ended with a victor's peace which perpetuated the hatreds of war and laid the foundation of the unhappy record of these past eighteen years.

Nations were either carved out of other nations or called into being by the appeals to self-determination.

Democracies were imposed by compulsion in violation of the fundamental democratic principle of government by consent. Colonies were stripped from the vanquished and impossible indemnities and reparations imposed. The record of these years has been a record of one country after another throwing off these yokes and each time with increasing violence.

In the midst of these scenes of constant popular eruption the League of Nations conceived as the great hope of mankind to free the world from war, has labored valiantly, but many times vainly, against the powers who had been subjected either to the victors' terms or had been denied what they counted as their right of access to raw materials. The defects have been less in the covenant and organization of the League than in the attitude of the member states which composed it.

But these forces of revolt which have followed in the wake of the Great War are difficult to control. One by one, the young democracies of Europe have been swept aside and with them all the institutions of democracy. It has been an era of dictatorships, for the most part resting on the power of the military, that have been ruthless in their methods and insatiable in their quest for power.

The alternative to violence has been more violence; the alternative to force has been more force until we see its culmination in the bloodshed and destruction going on in the Civil War in Spain.

The menace to Labor in this sweep of dictatorships over the face of Europe is that where autocratic powers control the state, there the forces of reaction doom the free trade unions either to extinction or to impotence.

Dictatorships in all their manifestations are the foes of democratic government and democratic institutions. Under dictatorship there is no freedom of speech, no freedom of the press, no freedom of assemblage and no freedom of

religious worship. In a word, no man can be free in mind, in person or in soul, under dictatorship of whatever kind.

The American Labor Movement takes its stand with all other free labor movements in its unalterable opposition to the spread of dictatorships whether in Germany, Italy, Soviet Russia, or any other country. In the inspiring words of President Green "We are not so much concerned with the brand of dictatorship, its character or its kind * * * the American Federation of Labor is against every brand of dictatorship of any kind."

Your Committee mindful of the gravity of this hour for the free trade unions the world over recommends that this convention give its pledge of continuing and relentless opposition to the spread of dictatorships throughout the world.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pan-American Federation of Labor

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 196-197, the committee reported as follows:

On that portion of the Executive Council's report entitled, "Pan-American Federation of Labor," we record herein our complete agreement. We are convinced that labor of the United States still has its greatest role to play in the affairs of this hemisphere and that the Pan-American Federation of Labor must be maintained for that great service. In common with our fellow trade unionists of the American nations, we are the guardians of the democratic principle, which we are bound, in unity, to defend against all comers and at all costs. That it is our historic mission there can be no doubt.

Even today the democratic ideal is threatened in some of our own nations of this Western Hemisphere, while as a consequence workers are oppressed.

But the Pan-American Federation of Labor remains as the bulwark of their faith,—the symbol of their convictions.

The council calls attention especially to Cuba and we are well aware of the sufferings and oppressions in that unhappy nation. It is tragic that one dictatorship should be replaced with another, if anything more hideous than its predecessor. But we shall remain true to our convictions, faithful to our pledges.

We commend the Executive Council and President Green most warmly for their faithfulness to the Pan-American Federation of Labor in most trying circumstances.

As an affiliate of the Pan-American Federation of Labor we pledge to it our continued support and we send, through it, our warning to dictatorship, whether Fascist, Nazist or Communist, our warnings that there must be no encroachment upon the free nations of the Americas, for in the Americas freedom must find its permanent home.

To the oppressed of those nations which are for the time being undergoing oppression, including Haiti, Colombia and the Dominican Republic, we send fraternal greetings and the message that freedom must come. We shall not forsake our pledges nor forget our ideals. America, North and South, must mean freedom and a challenge to tyranny everywhere.

We concur in the Council's report and we do so with a pride in its stern adherence to the libertarian idealism with which it has carried forward the battle for human freedom and justice.

Your committee, we believe, express the wish of this convention that the Sixth Pan-American Federation of Labor convention be held at such time in the future as is both financially possible for the member organizations and as would be of the highest measure of service in promoting international good will.

Your committee further recommends that this convention record its commendation of the mission of the President of the United States to the Pan-American Conference in Buenos Aires, to further the cause of international understanding in the Western Hemisphere; it should prove of help in the furtherance of peace and good will among the other nations of the world. It is our hope further that at the Buenos Aires Conference consideration can be given to the "material standards of the workers, their standard of living and the general improvement of the standard of living in the states of the American Continent," as proposed in the Sixth Labor Conference held at Havana in 1928.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

This completes the report of the committee, which is signed by the following members of the committee:

THOMAS E. BURKE,
Chairman
MATTHEW WOLL,
Secretary

ANDREW FURUSETH
D. J. TOBIN
GEORGE L. BERRY
W. D. MAHON
J. J. HYNES
WM. L. HUTCHESON
WM. J. BOWEN
JOHN COEFIELD
EDWARD J. GAINOR
ALBERT ADAMSKI
MICHAEL GREENE
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI
JOSEPH P. RYAN
E. E. MILLIMAN
J. A. FRANKLIN
JOHN P. FREY
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN
MICHAEL J. COLLERAN
EDWARD FLORE
HENRY F. SCHMAL
DENNIS LANE
WM. J. MCSORLEY
EDWARD CANAVAN
WILLIAM GREEN.

Secretary Burke: Mr. Chairman, I

move that the report of the committee as a whole be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

Delegate Weaver, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Union Labels begs to submit the following report:

Support of Union-Labelled Products

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The purchasing of products of organized labor, produced by unorganized workers at low wages undermines the scale of wages of organized workers; and

WHEREAS, A low scale of wages diminishes the purchasing power of the worker, who is also a consumer; and

WHEREAS, A low purchasing power in turn increases unemployment and misery to the workers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we support all products bearing the union label.

The committee recommended unanimous approval of Resolution No. 22.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Patronage of Union Label Brushes

Resolution No. 169—By Delegates Herman Templeman, Brushmakers Union No. 16303, New York City and James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Brushmakers Union Local 16303 has signed Union Label agreements with New York City Manufacturers of house furnishings; industrial paint brushes; and

WHEREAS, The Brushmakers Union Local 16303 is a member of the Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, All Unions in the American Federation of Labor are pledged to patronize Union Label products,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That all American Federation of Labor Unions urge their membership to purchase Union Label brushes.

The committee recommended unanimous approval of Resolution No. 169.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

UNION LABEL COMMITTEE REPORT

Officers and Delegates:

The union label department of the American Federation of Labor looks back on the year now drawing to a close as one in which new appreciation of the importance of its work has been widely evidenced and faces the future with strengthened confidence in the growing success of its cause.

This does not signify that no menacing clouds have overshadowed us, or that there are no rocks along the pathway which lies ahead. It simply means that the spirit of aggressiveness must not yield to weakening compromise and that we must safeguard present gains against the elements which would undermine and beguile us from our chosen path.

The report of the Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department to the twenty-ninth annual convention which convened in Tampa, November 12th, has made its way into the hands of the delegates to this convention, or is available to all delegates not yet supplied with the same.

Of the many pertinent subjects reviewed therein is one in particular worthy of emphasis and that is the manner in which radio was utilized and the revelation which such use has brought to us of its great future possibilities.

For example, on March 28th, May 20th, and on Labor Day, the Department was able to secure time on the national net-works of the coast-to-coast broadcasting systems. Thousands of letters asking for copies of the

addresses and the Union Label Directory were received from all parts of the country.

One especially gratifying feature was the numerous requests from high school and college students expressing desire to obtain information regarding organized labor and union label products.

College professors made inquiry upon the subject as a condition precedent to including the same in their course of economics.

United States Senators asked permission to extend union labor addresses in the Congressional Record and then mailed over sixty thousand copies of such talks throughout the country.

In connection with the subject of radio it may be stated that the Union Label Trades Department, through Central Labor Unions and Local Trade Leagues, has secured time over eighty independent local broadcasting stations.

Departmental success in this respect during the past year will be the incentive for an earnest and far more extended exploitation of the radio medium in the year about to dawn.

The Union Label Department desires to express its appreciation of the action of the Executive Council in reviewing its work and according a full page thereto in its official report.

That ours is an expanding field is keenly illustrated by the fact that over one million farmers have become interested and are now demanding the union label on their wearing apparel and other purchases.

The atmosphere of this convention has been rife with declarations and predictions that organized labor is now entering upon an era of the widest recognition it has ever known; that the worker is to be relieved from the forces which have exploited him in the past; that the larger heritage of freedom of which he has so long been dreaming, will soon be translated into the realities which are his lawful birthright.

The union label is the morning-star of that approaching dawn.

JOSEPH OBERGFELL,

Chairman

C. A. WEAVER,

Secretary

WILLIAM REZNICEK

WM. J. KELLY

ANTHONY MERLINO

M. S. MAXWELL

I. W. HASKINS

MATTHEW BURNS

W. E. BRYAN

JACK GILL

PETER BEISEL

ROBERT BRUCK

ALEX ROSE

W. G. DESEPTE

JAMES A. TAYLOR

WALTER COWAN

EDWARD M. WILMOT,

Committee on Union Label.

Secretary Weaver moved the adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: The Chair desires to commend Secretary Weaver and the Committee on Union Labels for this splendid presentation upon the union label. In characteristic fashion the committee has again called the attention of the convention to the potentialities of the union label and its wide and extended use. It is a splendid statement. I am glad that it will be incorporated in the permanent proceedings of the convention.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Weaver: I now move the adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

President Green: We thank the committee for their service.

President Green: The chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on State Organizations.

Vice President Bugniazet: Delegate Martel, Secretary of the committee, will make the report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate Martel, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled:

Your Committee on State Organization had referred to it three propositions—Puerto Rico, pages 119 and 120, of the Executive Council's Report; State Departments of Labor, pages 140 and 141 of the Executive Council's Report, and Information Service of the United States Government, pages 178, 179, and 180, Executive Council's Report.

After giving due and proper consideration to the proposals, your Committee desires to make the following report:

Puerto Rico

Under this heading the following appears in the Report of the Executive Council:

On January, 1936, agreements between the agricultural and factory workers unions and the Sugar Producers Association and between the longshoremen unions and ship companies were renewed. These agreements bettered to a great degree the relationship between employers and employees, wages and conditions of employment.

The legislature in its last session held February, 1936, approved many legislative measures tending towards the betterment of social and economic conditions of the workingmen. To relieve the unemployment situation the legislature approved a \$6,000,000 public works program. The funds for this program will be obtained through the issuance of bonds to be redeemed by a tax on gasoline which normally amounts to \$1,500,000 a year.

The Widows Pension bill failed of enactment this year, but efforts will be continued towards the enactment of this measure.

A campaign of organization was carried on throughout the Island. Many public meetings were held and conferences for the education of workers conducted.

After many petitions from the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico and with the aid of the American Federation of Labor, a training center for workers' education teachers was established in Puerto Rico the latter part

of last year under the Federal Workers' Education Division of the Relief Administration. The training center secured the cooperation of prominent educators, including members of the faculty of the University, and the work of training teachers was carried through.

The enthusiasm of the students was unusually great. Toward the end of this project and when teachers already trained were ready to start workers' education classes throughout the Island, the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration, which supplanted the FERA, did not provide funds to continue this educational work. Professors and students of the training center, feeling the great usefulness of this work in Puerto Rico, have given their services voluntarily and established a temporary workers' education bureau under the Department of Labor, which was inaugurated by Commissioner of Labor, Mr. Prudencio Rivera Martinez, through a radio broadcast. The workers of Puerto Rico insisted that educational service should be included under the federal grant as has been done in the United States and they ask that the American Federation of Labor shall continue to aid towards this end.

The labor movement and a great majority of the people of Puerto Rico were greatly shocked by the introduction of a bill in Congress by Senator Millard Tydings intended to provide for holding a plebiscite for independence of the Island. The bill was introduced without consultation with citizens, or the legislature or any officials of the Island.

Through the establishment of American institutions in Puerto Rico and the aid of the American Federation of Labor, the workers of Puerto Rico were able to secure guarantee for public assembly, and the right to organize and exist. The workers firmly believe that under independence there is the possibility of reversion to old practices which would imply repression for labor unions and the masses of the people. Independence would spell economic ruin for the Puerto Ricans. The feeling for independence is confined to a very small group of people while the majority believe that the protection of and relationship with the United States have afforded the best opportunity for development and progress.

The workingmen of Puerto Rico, through the Free Federation of Workingmen, have always labored for a closer and permanent union with the aid of the American Federation of Labor. In the elections which will be held on November 3, 1936, the workers will go to the polls to elect not only men who have always defended our economic

interests but also who firmly believe in Puerto Rico's permanent association with the United States.

The Puerto Rican workers have expressed their gratitude to the American Federation of Labor for the assistance that it has given during the year. They have expressed the hope for continuation of that assistance, especially with regard to the extension of federal legislation to Puerto Rico with the purpose of bettering economic and social conditions of the people, such as the Social Security Law, and the permanent establishment of a workers' education center.

We have noted that considerable progress has been made in securing social and labor legislation in the Island of Puerto Rico and we desire to commend the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico for the splendid work they have done and recommend that the Executive Council continue to render assistance to them.

We note with interest what the Free Federation of Workingmen has to say about the move to give to Puerto Rico the status of an independent nation and the apprehension of the Puerto Rican workers as to their position if such independence is granted at this time.

We would therefore recommend that the Executive Council watch the move in Congress instituted by Senator Millard Tydings to provide for a plebiscite for the independence of the Island, and that until such time as there is every guarantee that any independent government set up in Puerto Rico will fully protect the rights of the Puerto Rican workers to organize and bargain collectively and to provide for the Puerto Rican people a truly democratic form of government, that such move for independence be resisted by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

State Departments of Labor

Under this caption, the Executive Board has the following to report:

The State Federations of Labor have played an active part during 1935-36 in the establishment of independent labor departments in a number of states where such departments have either

been non-existent or have been combined with departments for agriculture, commerce, and industry. Bills creating labor departments have been passed in Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Rhode Island. Strong labor departments furnish an important source of protection both for organized and unorganized workers, for men, women and children. In every state, experience has shown the need of a basic department headed by an officer whose chief duty it is to investigate problems of working people and to enforce the safeguards provided by the labor laws of the state. Without statutory powers, even a well-intentioned labor commissioner cannot enforce existing laws or build up a case for future legislation. Upon the inspection staff of the labor department depends to a large extent the safety of the man or woman operating a dangerous machine. The inspector's insistence upon the installation of an adequate ventilation and exhaust system will prevent new cases of lead, benzol, or chromium poisoning, and the use of wet instead of dry drilling in quarries and tunnels will help to protect the worker from silicosis. It is most encouraging to note the progress that has been made. The Executive Council urges that efforts be continued in the remaining states to set up state labor departments adequately staffed, financed, and equipped with full power to administer the labor laws and to make rules and regulations supplementing the laws.

It is very encouraging to note by this report that five states have passed bills creating Departments of Labor and that considerable interest is manifested in securing adequate labor legislation to protect the health of workers in industry from occupational diseases.

Your Committee is of the opinion that now is an opportune time for labor to press for remedial legislation and we desire to commend those state federations of labor that have taken the initiative, and urge all state federations of labor to exert themselves in the interest of placing safeguards around those employed in industry.

Your Committee feels that its report would be incomplete without directing the attention of the delegates to the progress achieved by the State Federations of Labor and the City Central Bodies in the mobilization of sentiment

for social and labor legislation and for strengthening the position of the American Federation of Labor by assisting in electing to Congress men who are friendly to labor.

We therefore urge that each International Union make a survey to determine which of its local unions are not availing themselves of the opportunity to join with their fellow workers in State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies for the purpose of protecting the interests of organized labor as represented through the American Federation of Labor, to the end that the City Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor shall be better able to perform the functions that have been duly delegated to them as a part of the American Federation of Labor, and particularly to place State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies in a position to more ably assist the American Federation of Labor in furthering legislation placed before the National Congress.

We urge particularly that all State Federations of Labor undertake the passage of state legislation in conformity with the National Social Security Law; legislation to provide a state law modeled after the Wagner-Connelly Labor Dispute Act; and amendments to their compensation laws to include full compensation for occupational diseases, and we urge that such latter program be prepared in such a way as to protect the interests of those who have already become victims of occupational diseases.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Information Service of the United States Government

The following is the report of the Executive Council upon the above subject:

Farmers, business men and Labor depend on the federal government for certain types of information which can only be collected satisfactorily by government agencies. These include the monthly and yearly statistics of industry and agriculture, covering produc-

tion, prices, employment, wages, hours of work and a number of other items necessary for measurement of industrial development. It has been the function of the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor to furnish this information, and the budgets of these departments listed below, show the relative amounts allotted to each for their work over a period of ten years:

Appropriations for Regular Departmental Activities:

Fiscal Year*	Labor	Commerce	Agriculture†
1936†	\$15,741,410	\$34,851,458	\$82,978,114
1935 ..	14,063,385	31,622,762	62,674,010
1934 ..	14,389,169	36,942,932	72,086,438
1933 ..	13,738,051	45,213,200	91,264,732
1932 ..	15,036,274	54,959,587	97,617,272
1931 ..	12,848,751	61,300,936	95,223,637
1930 ..	11,429,283	60,507,857	77,258,233
1929 ..	11,181,460	46,712,899	75,134,508
1928 ..	10,160,396	36,821,839	74,062,364
1927 ..	10,183,979	31,526,373	60,417,970

Avg. \$12,877,000 \$43,445,984 \$78,871,728

Source: Digest of Appropriations, United States Treasury.

* Appropriations for fiscal year and supplemental and deficiency appropriation for prior years.

† 1936 supplemental appropriations not included; they will be shown in the 1937 appropriations Digest which lists deficiencies for prior years.

† Excludes Bureau of Public Roads, AAA, drought and flood relief and seed loans

The average yearly budgets over these ten years show that the Department of Agriculture has usually received an appropriation about six times that of the Department of Labor, and the Department of Commerce in non-census years (omitting 1930 to 1933) a little more than twice that of the Department of Labor.

Since the working men and women who depend on information from the Department of Labor for their special needs comprise, with their families, nearly 80 per cent of our population, they have a right to claim that a very much larger share of government funds be allotted to the task of supplying their needs.

The information now supplied on wages and hours of work is so inadequate that trade unions cannot find the statistical data they need for wage negotiations. The Labor Department studies of wage rates and hours of work have been made only in the larger industries and these industries only at intervals of two years or more. Thus, if we need information on the lumber industry, to show actual wage rates and hours of work today,

we find that the last study was made in 1932; for the brass, bronze and copper industry we find no study has ever been made of wages and hours.

We have for the railroads excellent monthly records covering employment, hours of work, wage payments, traffic statistics, financial conditions and other data necessary for a complete picture of growth and change in this industry. Until we can secure such complete figures for all industries, we shall not be in a position to solve intelligently such problems as technological unemployment nor to direct industrial growth for the benefit of the masses of our people.

The statistical research program of the Labor Department and other government agencies should be steadily built up working toward this goal. In the building process emphasis must be placed on: (1) Complete coverage of firms studied, to include employment, wages, hours, man-hours, production, prices, financial statistics; (2) Coordination of statistical material so that the data collected will cover all these items for identical firms, making it possible to compare, for instance, employment and man-hours with production, or wages with total income from sales, and with profits and dividend payments.

We have in the United States elaborate daily statistics on prices of stocks and bonds on the stock markets, yet even monthly or quarterly information on matters vital to the lives of 80 per cent of our population is totally lacking.

It is apparent by all who would avail themselves of the service of the United States Department of Labor that it is woefully inadequate and that while the Department is charged with the responsibility of looking after the interests of the great masses of people of this country the appropriation by comparison with that set aside for the Department of Commerce and the Department of Agriculture, is all out of proportion with the responsibility of the Department.

We therefore urge that the Executive Council demand of the incoming Congress that the Department of Labor be given a budget allowance comparable with that of the other two Departments mentioned and that the services of the Department be broadened for the purpose of better protecting the interests of those the Department was created to serve.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Martel: That concludes the report of the committee, which is signed by the full committee:

G. M. BUGNIAZET, Chairman
FRANK X. MARTEL, Secretary
PATRICK GORMAN
JERRY HORAN
WM. E. WALTER
GEORGE A. FREEBURN
J. GOLDSTONE
CARL H. MULLEN
JOSEPH A. MULLANEY
JOHN CLINTON
JOSEPH E. MAYEUR
BERNIECE B. HEFFNER
MICHAEL DWYER
THOS. J. DONNELLY
JOSEPH V. MCCURDY
LEO ABERNATHY
CHARLES T. CRANE

Committee on State Organizations.

Delegate Martel: I move that the report of the committee be adopted as presented.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: I thank the committee for the service rendered to the delegates of the convention.

Now we will proceed with the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee, as follows:

U. S. Supreme Court

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; E. A. Johnson, Central Labor Union, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles B. Campfield, Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.

United States Constitution

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States is by no means a class instrument. Basically, the Constitution is a people's compact, designed to preserve the integrity of a democracy and conserve the interest and welfare of the people organized in that democracy. The Constitution is a flexible instrument. While the method of change may be over-exacting for a time of emergency, as at present, yet it is sub-

ject to change to meet the necessities of an ever-changing world.

Under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States the law-making power is vested in a Congress of Representatives elected by the people

It is provided that the administration of laws shall be vested in the President of the United States, and in departments provided by acts of Congress to administer the law.

A Federal judiciary, the Supreme Court, is also provided in the Constitution, whose function it shall be to interpret the law and to adjudicate litigations under the law.

In no proviso in the Constitution of the United States is it expressly stated, or is implication therein that the Supreme Court shall have power to invalidate an act of Congress.

That the Supreme Court of the United States has usurped such power, and has exercised it in the interest of the propertied class, is a known, but not wholly accepted, fact.

Such usurpation by the Supreme Court is traitorous to the Constitution itself, defeats the fundamentals of democracy, nullifies representative form of government and violates every principle of the American Revolution and the purposes and objectives of the founders of this nation; and

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled has voted to bring this situation to the consideration of the next convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon the Congress of the United States, the need for asserting its full legislative prerogative, so that any usurpation of legislative powers by courts of any nature, be promptly restricted.

U. S. Constitutional Amendment

Resolution No. 187—By Delegates M. F. Greene, Alex Rose and S. Hershkowitz, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States, by a series of decisions, has either completely nullified or rendered ineffective legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States having for its purpose the elimination of industrial and economic abuses of which the wage earners of our nation are the principal victims, on the ground that under the Federal Constitution Congress has not the powers which it attempted to exercise in the enactment of such legislation; and

WHEREAS, As a result of such decisions, all legislation affecting the right of the workers to organize for their protection free from interference and restraint, to achieve some measure of security against the hazards of unemployment and indigency in old age, to establish in industry minimum wages and maximum hours of employment, to obtain relief from intolerable economic conditions, and to enjoy the benefits and opportunities under decent social conditions to which their industry and labor entitles them, is placed in jeopardy, and the ultimate fate of the masses of our country is made dependent upon the constitutional theories of the judges comprising the Supreme Court of the United States rather upon the will of Congress composed of representatives chosen by the people; and

WHEREAS, It is indispensable to the continued progress of our nation, and to the proper and orderly solution of our industrial, political, and social problems, that the powers of legislative branch of our Federal Government should be equal to the needs which industrial changes may impose upon it, and that all doubt concerning the scope of legislative powers may be adequately and conclusively established beyond the power of the Supreme Court to impair or restrict; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that a Federal Amendment be submitted to the States conferring upon Congress such powers as may make it possible to deal nationally with problems that are national in scope, such as have been enumerated herein; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be, and it hereby is, authorized and directed to have a constitutional amendment of the nature herein indicated prepared and introduced in the Congress of the United States, and to set up such machinery as it may deem advisable to secure popular support for such amendment in the States.

U. S. Supreme Court

Resolution No. 202—By Delegate Darrell Eddie Sams, Central Labor Union, Indiana, Pa.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court has usurped the powers of Congress and has destroyed legislation which would give some measure of security to workers; and

WHEREAS, Unless the Supreme Court is curbed, the employers will continue to use it as an instrument to further undermine the American

standard of living by wage-cuts, increased speed-up, and longer hours; and

WHEREAS, The dictatorial rule of the Supreme Court is more and more an instrument in the hands of the reactionaries in their attempt to keep the workers in economic serfdom; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its 56th Annual Convention, Tampa, Florida, reaffirm its opposition to the usurped power of the Supreme Court to nullify legislation passed by the elected representatives of the people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention call on Congress to reassert its constitutional powers to enact labor and social legislation, and immediately curb the usurped powers of the judicial oligarchy.

U. S. Supreme Court

Resolution No. 252—By Delegate Sue Adams, Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colo.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court has usurped the powers of Congress and has destroyed social legislation which would give some measure of security to workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Tampa, Florida, go on record to support an amendment to the Constitution of the United States ending for all time the usurped powers of the Supreme Court, and reaffirming the power of Congress to enact all necessary labor and social legislation without interference by the judiciary.

Resolutions Nos. 76, 187, 202, and 252 deal with the same subject—the power assumed by the United States Supreme Court to declare legislation unconstitutional. They call for action by Congress, or an amendment to the Constitution, which would place a limitation upon the United States Supreme Court's authority over the constitutionality of legislation.

If there is to be Federal legislation covering labor and living standards; if a broad program of social legislation is to be effected, such legislation must be either framed to meet with the approval of the United States Supreme Court, or the power to declare such legislation unconstitutional must be

limited through a constitutional amendment.

This problem has been considered by previous conventions and action has been taken giving instructions to the Executive Council. It has been the subject of much consideration, especially during recent years by other groups vitally interested in dealing with the obstacles which have prevented the passage of Federal legislation to improve the welfare of the mass of the people.

As there are a number of different proposals relative to the phraseology of a constitutional amendment, and as there are other proposals, including Congressional regulation of the powers of the lower Federal courts, your committee believes it advisable that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council so that the entire subject may receive their careful study and appropriate action.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Sams, Central Labor Union, Indiana, Pennsylvania: Mr. Chairman and delegates assembled in the convention this morning, I wish to speak briefly upon this resolution and recommendation of the Resolutions Committee. As you have heard from your Resolutions Committee this morning, this question of the Supreme Court's actions in the past few years is one of momentous significance to the democratic people of the United States of America. In order that we may have a fairly comprehensive view of this matter, I wish to begin by making some statements concerning this question as far back as 1776.

In 1776 our people were engaged in a great revolutionary war. This war was being fought presumably against the same interests and the same type of opposition that our people are fighting in at the present time. However, upon the expiration of the Revolutionary War, a sort of Congress was set up by the people of the thirteen colonies, and the governing bodies made

up of what is known as the "Articles of the Confederation." These Articles of Confederation were loosely joined together and did not thoroughly give to the people the kind of government that they wished to have.

In 1789 it became apparent to the various peoples of the Colonies that something must be done about this matter. The Congress authorized and set up by the people of the thirteen colonies delegated to the Thirteen Colonies the privilege and the right to select delegates to meet in convention and consider such measures as would amend these Articles of Confederation and give to these people the rights and privileges and protection that they so needed in that day. These delegates were selected from various states or colonies, and they assembled in convention in Philadelphia in 1789 and proceeded to draw up a constitution. Now, while they were not delegated to draw up a constitution, they went far in their endeavor to make for the people something which would be a greater protection for the peoples of the Thirteen Colonies. It was decided in this convention, in which Mr. Washington served as Chairman, that there should be certain fundamental changes, but I wish to call your attention to the fact that throughout this convention, like a silver thread running through the deliberations of this body, there was that outstanding factor of property rights above human rights.

After this convention had adjourned the matter was referred to the various colonies for ratification. They were very slow in ratifying the document. It could be seen it was apparent that certain action had not been taken which was demanded by the people. In the convention assembled in the state of Virginia, the question came up as to the advisability of ratifying this document. Patrick Henry said in this convention: "Gentlemen, I may appear mad, but I see practically no way of amending this document."

It came down to the time after the

document was finally ratified by the various colonies, after ten more acts or amendments had been placed to it, known as the Bill of Rights with the downfall of the one party system and the introduction of the two party system, that it became necessary to set up the Supreme Court, those who espoused property rights above human rights, saw that there must be some division of the people in order that they could not organize or go together and present a united front.

It came down to immediately before the Civil War. There came up two questions as a result of the Dred Scott case. It became apparent to the people that the Supreme Court was not going to permit the people to decide this question constitutionally. There was a question back in Jackson's time in which the Chase National Bank refused to consider the demands of the time. These questions were decided by a political crisis between the people of the North and South, and at the expiration of that war additional amendments were added to the Constitution of the United States of America.

Then there was for quite a time after that a marked inactivity on the part of the Supreme Court. We heard very little about the Supreme Court until 1932 to 1936. When the reactionary interests of our country had succeeded in placing the great teeming masses of the millions of people in economic misery and in a sorry condition, the people revolted. They elected to the Presidency of the United States a man in whom they placed great confidence. They believed it would be necessary for President Roosevelt to take adequate steps to remedy some of these political and economic evils that were confronting the people.

Then the Supreme Court of the United States became very active. Almost without exception these pieces of legislation that were brought up before the Supreme Court, that had been enacted by the Congress of the United States, were rendered void, or a de-

cision was placed upon them as being unconstitutional.

Now it becomes apparent that because the effort of the people has been to make laws which would guide them and affect their safety and bring their happiness, this body, the Supreme Court, was standing in the way of these pieces of legislation. I wish to say at this point that the various laws that have been declared unconstitutional greatly affected the welfare of the people of the United States. The President of the United States came in for quite severe criticism because he seemed to have done nothing about this usurping of power by the Supreme Court. Only in Article 3, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States are the powers and duties and rights of the Supreme Court clearly and undeniably set forth. There is no place directly or indirectly in the Constitution, no other article or section dealing with the rights or powers of the Supreme Court.

Now it has become apparent that the people of this nation have exercised quite a degree of control over the legislative branch of the government, while they do not have nearly so much control of the judicial branch, hence not so much control of the executive branch of the government. It becomes apparent that unless the people do exercise a greater control of the judicial department of the government, their control of the legislative department will be of very little value to them.

Jefferson once said: "If the people of a nation ever deliver into the hands of the Supreme Court the power to declare acts of Congress constitutional or unconstitutional, they seriously jeopardize their position as a free people, and there is a tendency in that nation to destroy democracy and set up in its place an oligarchical form of government."

Abraham Lincoln said: "To secure to the laborers of the nation all of the benefits they produce, or as nearly

as can be brought to them, is a worthy object of any good government."

We believe that the present government is endeavoring to bring these very things to the people of this nation, yet it becomes apparent that the Supreme Court, well filled with ex-corporation lawyers, are unbending in their determination to prevent this very thing.

Now, Mr. President and fellow delegates, I ask that the Executive Council put forth its best efforts in demanding of the Congress of the United States that since the Supreme Court has usurped this tyrannical power, this power which so adequately protects the reactionary interests who were defeated in 1932 and partially defeated in 1936, they put forth their best efforts to demand of the Congress of the United States that immediate steps be taken to curb this usurped authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, so that the voice of the majority of the people heard in the House and the Senate of the government of the United States shall be supreme, that the Supreme Court will not have this usurped authority, this powerful factor that has been used to defeat the aims of a free people.

I wish to make that statement, and I and my people that I represent will be very thankful to the Executive Council for their efforts to demand that this be done, and done immediately.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I certainly dislike to be one of the flies in the ointment of Secretary Frey's pleasant anticipation. I would have been content to submit this matter to the Executive Council without debate, but for some of the astounding declarations of the speaker last occupying the floor and because I feel that some of the statements made by Judge Padway in an hour's speech a week ago, in which he delivered a blistering ex-coriation of the members of the Supreme Court and sought in a very earnest way to emasculate the Consti-

tution, ought to have some reply. It is possible that I may stand in the minority in some of the views which I seek to express, but fidelity to my own sense of right and conscience requires that I make some reply.

I cannot acquiesce in the view that the recent general election returns consisted of a mandate from the electorate to the Supreme Court to alter its position or its views on public questions. I do not agree with the statement made on the floor of this convention that the Supreme Court ought to read in the election returns a mandate and readjust itself. I want to say to you people if the time ever comes in this country when the courts of the nation begin to put one ear on the ground, listening for ballot box reverberations, and adjust the other ear to the atmosphere to see which way the political winds are blowing, then the validity which the fundamental law originally vested in them has become atrophied. The death knell of liberty as we have known it in this country for 150 years will have been sounded; and America will be eligible to take her place alongside of those Old World dictatorships, where democracy can no longer claim either a local habitation or a name.

The first resolution in this bouquet of resolutions whose pungent aroma is now percolating the atmosphere of this convention is Resolution No. 76, coming from the state of Massachusetts. To me it has a harsh and grating sound, emanating from that Commonwealth, a Commonwealth whose historic symphony had its background in great days and great experiences.

Let nothing which I shall say be construed as any reflection upon Delegate Watt, whose name heads the list on Resolution No. 76. I have had a pleasant acquaintance with him for several conventions. I have perfect faith in his honesty. I know that his zeal in any cause that he may espouse will be without variability, neither shadow of turning.

But in my opinion the proponents of

these resolutions are playing with fire, and when the conflagration starts, it will be the laboring man who will be the first one to be scorched.

Resolution No. 76 says that we need to adjust ourselves to the necessities of a changing world. I agree with that philosophy. Tennyson, who was wont to quench his thirst at purest wells of English undefiled, once said: "I doubt not through the ages
An increasing purpose runs
And the thoughts of men are widened
With the process of the suns."

Progress does not necessarily involve the abandonment of time-tested principles. The prophets of old were forward looking men, but they had a voice of warning against forsaking some of the old paths. It was a sound philosopher who counseled against forgetting the rock from whence we were hewn and the pit from which we were digged.

The Ten Commandments, ancient as they are, have all the virility, force, and meaning today which they had in that crucial hour when Sinai's veil of cloud was lifted and the tables of stone revealed their solemn message.

I am not afraid of what may happen if the rank and file of our patriotic American citizens can be awakened in time, but you remember that George Washington warned that it would be easier to undermine our institutions than to overthrow them. It is the borers from within who challenge us to be on our guard.

The phase of this issue which I shall attempt to discuss briefly involves the question, shall the Constitution be amended so as to remove the power of the United States Supreme Court to invalidate a Congressional Act?

I confess, gentlemen of the convention, that there have been times during this session when I was undecided as to whether this was really a convention of the American Federation of Labor or a Democratic ratification meeting. We have heard the snipe shooting of Landon. We have seen the

flourishing of the branding iron against all reactionaries, and only a day or two ago we heard the astounding statement that if any other candidate had been placed in the White House, Fascism would have gone forward with leaps and bounds.

But, on second reflection, above the shouting and the tumult and the raucous reverberations of convention debate, I saw against the azure Florida sky the flag of non-partisanship and I felt reassured.

I do not hesitate to confess that I was a member of the minority party in the late Armageddon, but I can assure you that in fifteen minutes after defeat has come, I can readjust myself to the new situation, and I am ready to wish good luck to the powers that be.

I listened with delight to the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, in her fine, rich contralto, rivalling in music the beauty of the woodland thrush as it pours its melody into the ear at eventide, and I rejoiced at that distinguished triumvirate, Berry, Lilienthal, and Altmeyer, bass, baritone, and tenor, coming to her rescue, joining in a quartet of music which at times made it seem that we were listening to excerpts from the Hallelujah chorus, and I marveled at the restraint of you Democrats that you failed to join in the glad refrain and bring on the responding echo, "Happy Days Are Here Again."

Yesterday we received the news that Tugwell, who has imparted so many saccharine suggestions to all the various ramifications of government has become a superintendent of a molasses factory with headquarters on Wall Street. Thus, another distinguished name to the list of economic royalists has been inscribed, and we are all happy and glad of it. I wish for them all and the Administration the largest measure of success.

What is the nature of the instrument which is declared to have in some particulars outlived its usefulness?

ness and needs to be amended, revised and modernized to meet the changed conditions of the times in which we live?

Let us without hesitation or delay admit that the people of the United States have it within their power not only to amend or revise, but to abolish the Federal Constitution altogether—and the Constitution itself outlines the method whereby this may be accomplished.

Our forefathers did not in the first instance declare fealty to any particular form of government. They made it their first business to sever the chains which had bound them to a tyrannical past. Then they prepared and promulgated the Declaration of Independence, in which they held that "when a long train of abuses and usurpations" justify abandonment of present forms of governmental control, it is a paramount duty to provide for something new.

Our forefathers wanted to be free, but they knew the freedom for which they longed could be obtained only through some representative form of government, in the absence of which anarchy and chaos must prevail.

Out of that crucial hour, when the souls of men were being tried as they have never been tried before, the Constitution of the United States was born. The Constitution which is now the target of assault is the oldest comprehensive written form of government existing in the world.

The Articles of Confederation had failed. Their hope for cohesive power had proven weaker than a rope of sand. "A more perfect union" was the vital need of the hour. Finally, twelve of the original thirteen states solemnly met in constitutional convention assembled. Fifty-five delegates convened that opening session. After four months of weary, combative, discursive, heroic struggle, the thirty-nine delegates still remaining on the closing day unfolded the Great Charter, which Gladstone was to declare at a

later day to be "the most remarkable document ever emanating from the mind of man." And to that Charter they prefixed the Preamble which was to challenge the attention of mankind:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The peculiar glory of the Constitution of the United States is that it is not a charter of rights granted by government to the people, but a limitation of powers to which a vigilant people restricts its government.

There is plenty of language in the instrument to justify the conviction entertained for nearly a century and a half that the Supreme Court was intended to be the great balance wheel of government, and that that tribunal was designed to see to it that Congress should act within the limits of the Constitution.

Now you people who are laying so much stress on what the Constitution does not contain, let us see what the Constitution **does** contain with reference to the exercise of the judicial function.

The Constitution provides that (Article III, Section 1)—

"The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts, as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish."

The Constitution defines their jurisdiction by providing that (Article III, Section 2)—

"The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority."

What does that mean? Why, any time you want to question the existence or the validity of a law, you must

institute an action at law for the determination of that question. No man can read the great debates of that Constitutional Convention without readily seeing that it was the intent to vest the very power in the Supreme Court which it has exercised from the beginning.

What higher purpose in government could the court serve?

Is it thinkable to you people that Congress should be its own constitutional interpreter? Do you believe that its acts relative to contract rights, to property rights, and to individual or personal liberty rights should be everlastingly immune from judicial review?

How do you know but that tomorrow you may find yourself impaled upon the protruding hook of some new-fangled piece of legislation, to your own mind so violative of personal right as to outrage every sense of justice? Would you not welcome the opportunity to air your grievance before some court of last resort in order to obtain, if possible, a vindication of your rights—arising for example under the Fifth Amendment which holds that you shall not be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, and which is re-echoed in the well-known Fourteenth Amendment?

This is a religious convention. Nearly every session is opened with prayer. Suppose Congress should attempt to pass some law interfering with your right to worship God according to the dictates of your own conscience. What would you do? Why, if the Constitution existed as it exists today, you would go to the nearest Federal Judge and you would sue out a writ of habeas corpus, and the judge would very speedily declare that the First Amendment of the Constitution was still in force, and that you had the right, whatever your religious creed, to worship God according to the dictates of your own conscience.

Delegate Martel, Typographical

Union: Mr. Chairman, I desire to call your attention to the fact that the speaker is now about ten or twelve minutes over the limitation placed by the rules of the convention. I presume we have a lot of work this morning. I call a point of order and ask that we proceed with the regular order of business.

President Green: Delegate Weaver has been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many, many years. He never speaks but once in a convention, but when he speaks, we always feel that he will make a distinct contribution to our understanding, our thought, and our education. He has always been given the privilege of completing his address. That seems to be an unwritten law that the Chair has always observed. We have given wide latitude in this convention to delegates who have spoken, and for that reason the Chair feels that Delegate Weaver should be given full opportunity to complete his address.

Delegate Weaver (continuing): I appreciate more than I can express in words the attitude of the President and of your acquiescence therein. I want to say in all kindness to Brother Martel, that I have listened to some five or six speeches on his part in this convention, and the music of his voice is a golden memory which I always treasure from one convention to another.

The Supreme Court of the United States held its first organized session in the city of New York on February 1, 1790. Between that date and the last day of July of the current year of 1936, a period of 146 years and five months, the Congress of the United States passed a grand total of 55,634 laws. In that same period the Supreme Court declared exactly 61 of those laws to be unconstitutional. In that same period, 1790 to 1936, the Presidents of the United States vetoed 675 congressional enactments—only 59 overridden.

And so, looking at the record as a whole, it does not seem that the Supreme Court has torn the congressional legislation to shreds when eleven times more Congressional enactments have been vetoed by the Chief Executive of the nation than have been disturbed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Now, we come to the charge of judicial dictatorship. Judge Padway, in his interesting observations a few days ago, said that the original founders of the Constitution were rich men. Does he know of any other class of men which, in this period, lift their heads above the horizon of that time? Possibly they were rich, measured from the standards of that day, but we must bear in mind that those who held any kind of public office had to have a property qualification, and I submit to you that a convention which had the names of a Benjamin Franklin, a James Madison, and others I might be able to name, was well calculated to be a convention which, even at this late date, challenges your honor and your respect.

One of the speakers spoke of the dictatorship, of the judicial oligarchy which exists in the Supreme Court. Gentlemen of the convention, it seems to me that the most solemn-faced angel that ever plumed its beatific wings to flit around through the regions of Cherubim and Seraphim must have laughed out loud when they heard that observation. When, in the history of this country, have we observed such a complete abdication of the powers of Congress and complete surrender to the Chief Executive as we have seen in the past year?

Judge Padway says that the Supreme Court has utilized the eighteenth century mind for the solution of twentieth century problems. I want to ask him this question: What century type of mind existed which took the old man Humphrey out of his position on the Federal Trade Commission, where he had been appointed by a President, confirmed by the Senate,

and turned him adrift without due process of law, simply because his mind did not run in the same channel with that of the Executive? He passed on before his case was finally adjudicated, but the Supreme Court of the United States declared this was a usurpation of power beyond the reach of the Executive Department of the Government.

Has the Supreme Court of the United States never done anything in labor's behalf?

What was the first great objective of organized labor? Was it not the right of collective bargaining?

Let me read to you a brief paragraph:

"The legality of collective action on the part of employees in order to safeguard their proper interest, is not to be disputed. It has long been recognized that employees are entitled to organize for the purpose of securing the redress of grievances and to promote agreements with employers relating to rates of pay and conditions of work." *Texas and New Orleans Railway Company vs. Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks*, 74 Law Ed., p. 1034 (Chief Justice Hughes).

There you see the very acme, the consummation of your long cherished hopes of the right to organize. No constitutional amendment was needed there. In the language quoted we find labor's long desire translated into labor's realization, a cherished dream come true.

The recent action of the United States Supreme Court in nullifying the minimum wage law enacted by the New York Legislature has caused much heated animadversion; but it should be remembered that when a similar law was passed for the District of Columbia, it was also nullified in the case of *Adkins vs. Children's Hospital*, 261 U. S. 525. But three members of that Court—Chief Justice Taft and Associate Justices Holmes and Sanford—filed strong dissenting opinions. The dissenters pointed out that in several states, including Oregon, Washington, Minnesota, and Massachusetts, it had been held that such legislation

was clearly within the police power of the state.

If in a test case it shall be determined that such legislation is not within the police power, then, personally, I am unable to see how the goal can be reached in the absence of a constitutional amendment, for the reason that employment is a matter of contract between an employer who desires to hire and a would-be employee anxious to be employed upon the basis of an agreed consideration. Here we are dealing with fundamentals which cannot easily be set aside.

There is no court in the United States, high or low, which covets the opportunity to invalidate the congressional or legislative act. If the issue is one that raises reasonable doubt, that doubt has always resolved itself in favor of the law enacting body. The court never concerns itself with legislative motive. The court never negotiates with that political hybrid called expediency.

The court only interferes with a legislative enactment when the terms thereof are so clearly repugnant to the constitutional mandate that non-interference would be tantamount to judicial non-feasance.

Any one doubting the claim of uniform independence of high court members so far as being susceptible to extraneous and ulterior influences, rather than fidelity to legal principles is concerned, should read Warren's "History of the United States Supreme Court," for a few illuminating sidelights.

Judges appointed by Jefferson and Madison did not hesitate to join with Marshall in sustaining and developing the strongly nationalistic interpretation of the Constitution so obnoxious to Jefferson.

Judges appointed by Jackson joined with Marshall and Story in supporting the Cherokee missionaries against Georgia, in flat opposition to Jackson.

The whole bench appointed by Jack-

son decided against his policy in relation to Spanish land claims.

Judges appointed by Jackson and Van Buren threw down the gauntlet to the former by issuing a writ of mandamus against his favorite Postmaster General.

In every case involving slavery, anti-slavery judges joined with pro-slavery judges in rendering the decisions.

The constitutionality of the obnoxious fugitive slave law was unanimously upheld by anti-slavery Whig judges and by pro-slavery Democrats.

A northern Democrat joined with a northern Whig in dissenting in the Dred Scott case.

President Lincoln's legal tender policy was held unconstitutional by a Republican bench.

And so the cases might be multiplied.

I have not always enthused over decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Sometimes they have jarred me—even though I had no personal identification with the subject matter of the litigation. A case in point was that of the recent gold clause decision. I felt at the time that Chief Justice Hughes' holding would go far to impair public confidence in the inviolability of contract relationship with the Government. Then I read the dissenting opinion of Associate Justice MacReynolds. And in meditating upon the stately vigor of that great democratic deliverance, I had a feeling akin to that experienced by Keats upon his first reading of Chapman's translation of Homer—

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies,
When a new planet swims into his ken."

Let us find satisfaction in the reflection that out of these clashes of opinion in the arena of American debate there comes the light and leading pointing in the direction of a more perfect day.

Our forefathers devised a national government of three distinct divisions

—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. It was a system of checks and balances.

They had studied all known forms and systems. On the one finally adopted they were content to await the verdict of their countrymen.

There was one menace against which they were determined to guard. That was over-centralization of power in any one department.

Concerning this matter what was the position of Thomas Jefferson, whose birthday is still celebrated but whose far-famed simplicity code is now honored more in the breach than in the observance?

We have heard some strange tales concerning Jefferson in these later days. A more or less distinguished son of a very distinguished father delivered a series of public addresses some months ago, in which he stressed the part played by Jefferson in the formation of the Constitution.

The fact is, as every student of early history knows, Thomas Jefferson never darkened the door of the Constitutional Convention, was not a delegate, had no part in the debates; but during the entire period was more than 3,000 miles away serving as the successor to Benjamin Franklin as Minister to France.

When Jefferson finally returned to this country he was for a period a very captious critic of the Constitution; but he developed a more kindly attitude and appreciative feeling for the document when called upon to support and execute its provisions for eight years as President of the United States.

Upon the issue of power centralization, previously referred to, Jefferson had some very positive convictions. When in France, he became deeply interested in the writings of the great French philosopher, Montesquieu, whose work on "The Spirit of the Laws" was a notable contribution to the literature of that period. In that work Montesquieu said:

"When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty, because apprehension may arise, lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, and execute them in a tyrannical manner."

That doctrine took a firm hold on Jefferson's mind, for he says in his autobiography, Vol. 1, page 113—(discussing the division of governmental powers)—

"It is not by the consolidation, or concentration of powers, but by their distribution, that good government is effected. Were not this country already divided into states, that division must be made, that each do for itself what concerns itself directly, and what it can so much better do than a distant authority. It is by this partition of cares, descending in gradation from general to particular, that the mass of human affairs may be best managed for the good and prosperity of all."

Then Mr. Jefferson enunciates this Solomonic gem which ought to be inscribed in letters of light above the portals of the Department of Agriculture at Washington—

"Were we to be directed from Washington, seat of government when to sow, and when to reap, we should soon want bread."

Some of us sent that quotation to Secretary Wallace, my fellow townsman, asking him to read it, but he was so busy dispensing the more abundant life under the agricultural system that he paid not attention to this quotation from the sage of Monticello.

Again referring to the growing passion for centralization, permit me to offer you one more timely observation from the sage of Monticello. He says in a letter to Gideon Granger:

"Our country is too large to have all its affairs directed by a single government. I do believe that if this principle were to prevail, it would become the most corrupt government on earth. What an augmentation of the field of jobbing, speculating, plundering, office building, and office hunting would be produced by an assumption of all the state powers into the hands of the general government. The true theory of our Constitution is surely the wisest and best, that the states are independent as to everything within themselves, and united as to everything respecting foreign nations."

Madison once said that the Constitution should be amended every twenty years. Chief Justice Marshall declared in one of his notable opinions that "the Constitution should be adapted to the various crises in human affairs."

Both insisted that the Constitution being the fundamental law of the land there should be no amendment or revision for light and transient causes.

The Twelfth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was proclaimed as adopted in 1804 during Jefferson's administration. That amendment was the culmination of the so-called Bill of Rights.

From that time forward, for 63 years, the old Ship of State continued to sail on and on, without alteration, abridgement, or amendment until destiny decreed a new unfolding in the great panorama of human liberty.

Does my friend, Delegate Watt, forget what happened on January 26, 1820? Hayne, of South Carolina, rose in his seat in the United States Congress to proclaim the startling doctrine of nullification. Seated just a little distance away was a rugged sort of man, with massive brow, with slumberous eyes which Carlisle described as "two coals of anthracite simply waiting to be blown." Hayne finished and Daniel Webster rose and replied. For two days he expounded and interpreted the Constitution of the United States. From that day forward a new light began to glow in every American fireside. It heartened the American people, and in the light of that Massachusetts defense they made ready for the coming of the storm.

In the valorous heights of Lookout Mountain, on the storm-swept plains of Chickamauga; on the blood-drenched fields of Gettysburg, and on a hundred other historic hills and dales, there blossomed the pure white rose of a larger freedom, symbolized by the Thirteenth Amendment. Lincoln had been given his crown of martyrdom, and slavery on American soil was dead.

Scattered along through the subse-

quent three score years and ten some seven amendments have become a part of our organic law, but the process of adoption has been orderly; the subject matter has been cleansed in the crucible of public platform and fire-side debate; and under the assurance of its protecting power the people of this nation have gone forward with widening vision, expanding influence, and with that larger hope which is the guiding star of a people's destiny.

When we try to measure or comprehend what has been constructed on these pioneer foundations, we recall the Emersonian lines, another Massachusetts voice:

"The hand that rounded Peter's dome,
And groined the aisles of ancient Rome,

Wrought in a sad sincerity,
Himself from God he could not free;
He builded better than he knew,

The conscious stone to beauty grew."

I am one of those old fashioned individuals who loves to look upon the United States Government, with its chart and compass, the Constitution, which in times of stress and storm has been to us as the shadow of a great rock upon the sea of our destiny. Sometimes, when the clouds hang low and the lightning inscribes its zig-zag monogram across the storm-swept skies, I turn to Longfellow, another Massachusetts voice, and I hear him say:

"Thou too sail on, oh Ship of State,
Sail on, oh Union strong and great
Humanity with all its fears, with all
its hope of future years

Is hanging breathless on thy fate.
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our
tears,

Our faith, triumphant for our fears are
all with thee, are all with thee."

American constitutional government is the hope of the world. Abandon it, and where will you go? Less than two decades ago, we started in to wage a war to make the world safe for democracy. Six hundred and fifty-eight men with union cards in their pockets rallied to the fight. Where is European

democracy today? One after another the democratic forms have gone down and the sword of the dictator is flashing in the sun.

Who hears of the Supreme Court of Russia, where Stalin presides over his sodden dominions of ignorance and superstition?

Who hears of the Supreme Court of Italy, where Mussolini smites himself upon the breast and where his citizens are afraid to speak to each other over the backyard fence except in a whisper?

Who hears of the Supreme Court of Germany? Ah, yes, we heard from the Supreme Court of Germany on the 30th day of June, 1934, when the beastly Hitler rose and smote himself upon the breast at the time of the blood purge, and before some of his victims had received the touch of death which would relieve their agony, he proclaimed before the world, "For the last twenty-four hours I have been the Supreme Court of Germany."

I have quoted from some secular voices. In conclusion I want to quote for you one sacred voice. It is the voice sounded far back in the days long ago when there were no books, when Delty was moved to speak, when men who simply mended their tents by the seaside walked for inspiration among the lilies of the field or tended their flocks by night. And this was the voice and I want you to take it with you as you think upon this subject:

"Leave not, desert not, remove not the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set."

I thank you for your attention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Special Order—Election of Officers

Vice President Tobin: The Committee on Law will report this afternoon.

I move that the election of officers to the American Federation of Labor be made a special order of business for 4:00 o'clock this afternoon.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Opposing Naval Training Program Similar to CCC

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate E. L. Pickler, Central Labor Union, Norfolk, Va.

WHEREAS, The following quotation is part of an article from the Norfolk Virginian Pilot of November 5, 1936:

"Posey favors sort of CCC to check strikes. Shipping Commissioner would replace trouble makers on vessels.

"One way to prevent strikers among crews of American ships is to provide a sort of seagoing unit of young men similar to the CCC, E. L. Posey, United States Shipping Commissioner at Norfolk, said yesterday:

"I believe that if young men of good moral character were trained for sea duty, in the manner in which those in the CCC camps are trained, our ships would be able to do away with the trouble makers and replace them with Americans who will live up to their promises.

"It is such conditions as these and others, Mr. Posey believes, could be remedied if the Government would train its own seamen to replace trouble makers on vessels flying Stars and Stripes."

AND WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Norfolk, Virginia, is unalterably opposed to the United States Government training strike breakers for any kind of work, trade, or calling; and

WHEREAS, This official of the United States Government suggests that our Government take from Chowder Head Cohen and others the contemptible job of training men to engage in dirty work;

NOW, THEREFORE, The Central Labor Union of Norfolk condemns the statements and suggestion of E. L. Posey as wholly unworthy of any responsible official of the Government, and we express our disapproval of Commissioner Posey for making them; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to E. L. Posey, The American Federation of Labor, and the Secretary of Commerce.

The purpose of this resolution is based upon a newspaper statement made by an individual, Mr. E. L. Posey, United States Shipping Commissioner at Norfolk, Va. Your committee believes Mr. Posey should be rebuked if

the alleged newspaper statement is accurate, and your committee recommends that the Executive Council cooperate with the Maritime Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. in considering the subject of adequate training for those desiring to follow the sea.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

King-Ramsey-Conner Defense Committee

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Geo. G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Shipowners on the Pacific Coast have used all known methods of resisting the efforts of Seamen to improve working and living conditions on the ships; and

WHEREAS, These methods have included the use of professional provocateurs, stool pigeons and armed thugs, which methods have resulted in eight killings and physical injury to hundreds; and

WHEREAS, Failing to break the unions with these methods, the shipowners, backed by the Industrial Associations and Chambers of Commerce, have perverted the functions of our government to frame leaders of the seamen on false charges, notably in Standard Oil Frame-up of eight Maritime workers at Modesto last year; and

WHEREAS, Earl King, Secretary of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water-tenders and Wipers Association, Ernst G. Ramsey, former Patrolman and Frank J. Conner, Ship's Delegate, have been arrested, held illegally and are now charged with planning and assisting in the murder of George Alberts, Chief Engineer of the Point Lobos, in San Francisco Harbor; and

WHEREAS, The evidence against these brothers is so contradictory, incredible and dependent on the testimony of known provocateurs and stool pigeons that nearly a hundred San Francisco Bay Area unions have formed a King-Ramsey-Conner Defense Committee for the defense of these brothers; and

WHEREAS, This Defense Committee and its purpose has been endorsed by the Alameda County Central Labor Council; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the A. F. of L. 1936 Convention and request the indorsement of the King-Ramsey-Conner Defense Committee, condemning this attack on union labor; and therefore be it further

RESOLVED, That the 1936 Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby pledges its moral and financial support to the defense of these brothers and calls upon its affiliates to do likewise.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further investigation, and such action as their investigation warrants.

Delegate Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor: I rise to speak on the recommendation of the committee. I do not rise to oppose the recommendation of the committee. However, I would like to call to the attention of the delegates the situation surrounding this particular case. I had hoped that the matter of that great strike of the maritime workers on the Pacific Coast would be brought to the attention of this convention and that the background of this trial now going on would be brought to your attention.

This committee, the Joint Strike Committee, had requested that, as a representative of the State Federation of Labor of California, I introduce a resolution in this convention dealing with that subject. The resolution came too late for introduction without unanimous consent of the convention, and I was assured that unanimous consent could not be had. After consulting with the President, I referred that resolution to the Executive Council for consideration, and I trust that in connection with the resolution dealing with this matter of the trial of these men, with the background of this serious strike situation, the Council will immediately upon the adjournment of this convention go into the possibility of rendering some service in this connection to the labor movement of this country.

We are in a very highly nervous state of mind on the Pacific Coast with respect to this situation. We have had a serious experience, particularly in San Francisco, as the outgrowth of the 1934 strike, and there is nothing that

the American Federation of Labor could do of greater service to the labor movement of this country than to bring every effort possible to bear to adjust that serious situation. If it is permitted to go on in spite of all the efforts that have been made thus far to avert it, not only will those men who are now on trial for their lives in connection with the affair be an issue all through the country, but it is altogether possible that the seaports of the entire Pacific and Atlantic Coasts will be involved in a general strike that will shake this country.

I hoped that the representatives of the organizations involved would have brought this matter to the convention, but for some reason it was not done. If the American Federation of Labor cannot stop the threatened spread of this strike, I fear that the American Federation of Labor and the labor movement of this country are on the brink of a possible disruption from which it will not recover for a long time to come.

In connection with this case, which is inseparately related to the strike at the present time, I trust the Executive Council will give it immediate attention upon the adjournment of this convention.

Delegate Scharrenberg, Seamen's International Union: Does the speaker oppose the committee's report?

President Green: I do not understand that he opposes it. He simply urges that the Executive Council act promptly. That is my understanding of the delegate's statement.

Delegate Scharrenberg: I merely wish to take issue with the delegate when he states that for some unexplainable reason the strike on the Pacific Coast and the strike on the Atlantic Coast was not brought to the attention of this convention. If you will consult the proceedings, you will admit that a resolution was introduced here by delegates of the Seamen's International Union, that the Committee on Resolutions submitted it to the convention and the

convention adopted it. No one here took exception to the resolution, although there was ample opportunity to do so. I would like nothing better than to take the lid off so far as these strikes on the Pacific Coast and the Atlantic Coast are concerned; but perhaps it is better for the rank and file of the men on both coasts that we do not take the lid off at this time.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

High Seas Sardine Processing Plants

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Geo. G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For several years the high seas processing vessels for California sardines, also known as pilchards, have been operating off the coast of California, and, beginning in the year 1935, in Oregon and Washington; and

WHEREAS, Said vessels employ 100 per cent union labor and have always dealt fairly and openly with their employees and the various represented unions; and

WHEREAS, Said vessels have given large and continuous employment throughout the sardine fishing season to many maritime workers with much increased employment ashore also flowing from their operation; and

WHEREAS, Said plants have also produced products valuable and important to agriculture and industry, with great benefits to the country at large by creating and making available employment, wealth and resources that would otherwise have been lost to the people; and

WHEREAS, Nevertheless, certain interests operating similar plants on the shore (said shore plants have not been unionized) have for several sessions of the California State Legislature sought the enactment of destructive legislation (e. g., Assembly Bill 950 at the 1935 session) against these high seas vessels, to the detriment of the Union workers deriving their livelihood from the existence of such high seas plants, and also these same interests did at the last session of Congress likewise attempt, but unsuccessfully, to destroy these high seas plants (e. g., House of Representative Bill 10395 and Senate Bill 4141); and

WHEREAS, Similar legislation is now threatened for the coming session of the Legislatures in California, Oregon and Washington, and the Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The shore reduction plants pay approximately one-third the amount in labor costs per unit of production which is paid by the high seas plants; and

WHEREAS, There is no positive evidence of depletion of the pilchard and no adequate investigation has been made; but the shore plants, on one hand, while seeking to secure a monopoly to themselves, do in their legislative attacks against the high seas plants set up a cry of depletion and, on the other hand, while seeking larger permits from the California Fish and Game Commission, urge that there is no depletion; and

WHEREAS, The Japanese take annually more than three times the tonnage of a closely related species of sardines without apparent danger of depletion, and thousands of tons of the meal produced therefrom are imported into the United States each year duty free; and

WHEREAS, Foreign vessels, particularly Japanese, would be encouraged to enter the high seas sardine industry off the Pacific Coasts of the United States were our own vessels prohibited from operating; now, therefore, it is hereby

RESOLVED, By the California State Federation of Labor, at its Thirtieth Annual Convention, at Sacramento, California, in September, 1936, that this Convention go on record as being opposed to any such legislation as heretofore proposed and now threatening to destroy or damage the operation of the high seas sardine processing plants; that no drastic legislation be passed until an adequate scientific investigation has been made; that its delegate to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed and authorized to introduce at said American Federation of Labor Convention a resolution of similar import to this resolution; that a copy of this resolution be sent to the State Federation of Labor in Oregon and Washington, respectively, for their appropriate action, and also that the appropriate representatives of the California State Federation of Labor during the coming session of the California State Legislature be instructed to use their efforts to defeat the passage of such legislation adverse to the high seas sardines reduction plants and the labor they support.

Your committee is in accord with the purpose of the resolution, and recommends that the Executive Council be requested to give such support as developments may warrant.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Silicosis

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Geo. G. Kidwell, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Thousands of miners are dying yearly from an insidious occupational disease known as "silicosis"; and

WHEREAS, This disease is incurable, once contracted, yet is easily preventable through the installation of proper ventilating equipment; and

WHEREAS, Silicosis or similar diseases are prevalent in all parts of the United States where mining operations are carried on; and

WHEREAS, Recently much publicity has been given to the true conditions and results under which miners work; and

WHEREAS, Neither state governments nor the Wall Street controlled mining corporations have given the miners any protection from the disease except promises that have not been kept; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Carquinez Local No. 51, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, in convention assembled, do hereby go on record as demanding of the United States Government that they immediately take such steps as are necessary to protect the lives and health of these workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the American Federation of Labor shall be instructed to present this resolution to that body and seek their concurrence; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the United States congressional delegation and the press.

Your committee concurs with the purpose of the resolution, and recommends that Federal as well as State legislation should be enacted to prevent silicosis as well as award compensation. Your committee directs attention to the fact that a Federal Committee has been studying the subject during the present year, and will shortly make a report to the Department of Labor and the President of the United States, and that labor is represented on this committee by some of its outstanding representatives.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Legislation Outlawing Company Unions

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Company unions are the creation of trusts and industrial mergers, used as a pretext to prevent the workers to organize themselves into genuine unions of their own creation; and

WHEREAS, Company unions deny workers the right to protest in any shape or form against low wages, long hours, speed-up system and intensive exploitation; and

WHEREAS, The stifling of free expression by workers as to condition under which they shall work, reduces them to a condition of slavery and lessens their standard of living; and

WHEREAS, Company unions are likewise a menace to organized labor and particularly to the trade union movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring legislation outlawing company unions.

Your committee favors the outlawing of company unions, and as the resolution does not present any specific legislative measure, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for their consideration and the most appropriate action which can be taken.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing A. F. of L. Launch Nation-Wide Movement Against War

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, John C. Staggenburg, Walter Cowan—Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The danger of a World War is moving with an irresistible force upon us; and

WHEREAS, No matter what power of the World it will originate it will eventually involve the United States; and

WHEREAS, War is a source of fab-

ulous profit for ammunition manufacturers and other war materials, and

WHEREAS, The untold misery and suffering of the last World War with its resultant unemployment and economic depression must repeat themselves with even still greater force; and

WHEREAS, The workers of the country have nothing to gain but everything to lose; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record urging the United States to declare sanctions against any aggressor nation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor launch a nation-wide movement opposing war.

Your committee in lieu of the resolution, recommends that the convention reaffirm its previous declarations on the subject of war.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Petition for Pardon of J. B. McNamara

Resolution No. 183—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.

WHEREAS, J. B. McNamara is imprisoned by the State of California for more than twenty-five years; and

WHEREAS, His real crime is that he was a devoted leader of the organized labor movement and fought against anti-union forces in the State of California; and

WHEREAS, He served a prison sentence much longer than any labor prisoner in this country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Tampa, Florida, goes on record petitioning the Governor of the State of California for the immediate pardon of J. B. McNamara.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Gallup Miners

Resolution No. 177—By Delegate George B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Florida.

WHEREAS, Three unemployed coal miners, Juan Ochoa, Manuel Avita and Leandro Velarde, have been unjustly convicted of second degree murder and sentenced to terms of 45 to 60 years in prison for strike activity in New Mex-

ico, as part of the vengeance of coal companies against them for their loyalty to the labor movement, and as a part of the New Mexico coal companies' efforts to destroy trade unionism; and

WHEREAS, It is to the interest of all workers and the people generally, to have the coal miners organized 100% into the United Mine Workers of America, which the three victims above mentioned were attempting to accomplish in New Mexico through their strike activity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record against this savage injustice, and for the freedom of the Gallup miners; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Governor Clyde Tingley of New Mexico, calling upon him as Chief Executive to pardon Juan Ochoa, Manuel Avila and Leandro Velarde.

Your committee recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and such action as is warranted.

Delegate Adams, Denver Trades and Labor Assembly: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: I do not arise to object to the recommendation of your committee, but simply bring to the attention of the Executive Council some of the facts in this case of the Gallup miners. There are no delegates present from the state to speak in behalf of these men. As a representative of the press it was part of my job to cover and report both the preliminary hearings which were held a year ago last April, and the trial which was held about a year ago. I would like to tell you something about this case, because as an impartial observer I was able to learn the real facts of the case.

Gallup, New Mexico, is a mining town of about 6,000 population. It is completely dominated by the Gallup-American Coal Company, which controls the labor policy of that territory. This company is an affiliate of the Anaconda Copper Company, which is controlled by the J. P. Morgan interests. The miners have been miserably paid. There was no organization to speak of in this territory until 1933, when the miners organized independ-

ently. They conducted a strike against the unbearable conditions under which they were living. This strike was probably one of the bitterest in the whole history of the labor movement. The military was called in, the miners were beaten and imprisoned; three leaders were sentenced by military courts to from six months to one year.

The miners won this strike to the extent of about 8 per cent of their complaints. As a result of this, the United Mine Workers entered the territory and attempted to organize the mines. On April 4, 1935, when the so-called riot occurred, for which these three men were sentenced, a real drive was being made and success was in view for the efforts of the miners. Already tremendous success had been made in organizing the men in the Gallup-American Coal Company mines. The company was using every effort to defeat the miners. One of the steps they took was perhaps one of the most vicious, one of the most reprehensible acts ever done by a great employing interest.

There happened to be in the outskirts of the town a little section of land known as Chihuahueta, where the miners had built their homes. They had been living there for many years and had built themselves comfortable homes, feeling they would live there for the rest of their lives. The company proceeded to turn over this piece of land to State Senator Vogel, who was an agent of the company and a reactionary in the Senate. He proceeded to raise the rents. When they could not pay it, he proceeded to evict the miners. This was definitely done in order to break up the organization of the miners. It was felt if they were driven out of their homes, they would be driven out of the territory and the union would be broken up.

The first eviction of a family from one of these homes was one night when the miners were celebrating the entrance of their members into the United Mine Workers of America. Mes-

sengers came to tell them of the eviction. Immediately the meeting adjourned and the miners and their wives and children went to the scene of the eviction. They helped the miner who had been evicted to return his belongings to his home. One man was arrested and taken to jail. When his fellow miners went to see him, they were denied that right. He was held incommunicado. The next day the hearing was held before a Justice of the Peace in Gallup. At the hearing various miners came to attend. They were denied admission to the court room. Armed guards kept them out. The court was surrounded by guards.

They could see through the windows that he was being taken out through the back door into an alley. Naturally, after going through many years of exploitation and terrorism, they were alarmed as to his fate. They went back to the alley and found he was being taken up the alley to jail. At least they thought he was being taken to jail. He was surrounded by armed deputies.

The miners asked what would be done with him, and one of the deputies got excited, lost his head, and threw a tear gas bomb into the crowd. These deputies had not counted on the direction of the wind, and the gas was blown back into the faces of the deputies. They got excited and several of them pulled their guns and started firing. One deputy was shot and two workers killed. Some were wounded.

This was something the Gallup company had been looking for. They proceeded to deputize wealthy ranchers, imported gunmen, Ku Kluxers, and night riders from Texas. They had all the company gunmen, and caused a reign of terror such as Gallup had never seen before. The homes of the miners were raided in a supposed attempt to find guns. Only one small gun belonging to a boy of seven years was found. They stole the union funds and property; they even stole property of the miners. They proceeded to throw into jail and into

the closed court house some 600 men, women, and children, miners employed and unemployed, their wives and even their small children whom they terrorized for several days. They did not allow them to see an attorney. Two men were so severely beaten that they lost their minds and have not yet recovered.

Although 600 men were arrested, only 16 were brought to a hearing. One woman was still under indictment on a charge of inciting to riot who was working for the wife of one of the officials of the company at the time of the riot. Some of those arrested for murder were working in the mines at the time of the riot.

It was to the interests of the company to pick out the leaders who were working for the organization of the miners. The hearing showed so clearly the flimsiness of the case that the court released all but ten of the sixteen men. These were brought to trial. I attended that trial. I know the trial was conducted in an atmosphere of hysteria. The court was surrounded by armed guards with machine guns. There was a complete feeling of terror. The judge even went so far as to spread the story that an army was marching 200 miles across the desert to take the town by storm and release the prisoners.

Even the press representatives were searched whenever they came in the court room. The judge stepped out of the role of judge and became the prosecutor. The jury admitted to the press later that they were confused by the evidence. It was supposed to be a murder trial, yet it was never proved who fired the gun that shot the deputy sheriff.

They released seven men and held three, because the attitude of the judge clearly showed he wanted these men held. The jury recommended clemency. The clemency the judge gave them was from 45 to 60 years in prison.

Here is a case where actual danger of Fascism exists in Gallup, New Mexico. We have adopted resolutions against Fascism, against dictatorship,

and in favor of democracy, yet here in our own country Fascism is raising its head. It is not only significant that these men who were never shown to be guilty are being held from 45 to 60 years, but all organization of the miners in Gallup has been completely broken down. The company by this frame-up has won the fight. No local union is allowed to hold a meeting in Gallup. The unemployment situation is very serious. Wages have been beaten down and the miners have been forced to work longer hours than ever before. The relief given them is less than in any other state except some places in the South. It is so low that people are starving to death.

The seriousness of the situation is not entirely because three men are being held in prison who are innocent of any crime, but because this proof of the success of the employing interests in defeating labor in such an important center of labor as Gallup is. We ask the Executive Council to make a thorough investigation of this case. The records are clear in this case. We hope they will recommend such action as will show the great interest behind the Gallup-American Coal Company that they cannot break our union. I therefore call upon the Executive Council to make an effort to do something about these miners; also to lend every possible support and cooperation to the reorganization of those miners in Gallup, New Mexico, to the end that they may again be consolidated into a strong organization.

Thank you.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Liberty Magazine

Resolution No. 236—By Delegate Frank Marek, Jr., Federal Labor Union, 18415, Aurora, Ill.

WHEREAS, The elements opposed to organized labor frequently use the instrumentality of so-called "Better Citizenship Clubs," "Civic Betterment Campaigns," and "Americanization Drives" to enlist the support of reputable organizations and individuals in a community, and subsequently divert

the public sentiment thus aroused into anti-labor channels; and

WHEREAS, Definite evidence of such veiled anti-labor activity is present in a number of communities, particularly in localities where labor organizational drives are under way or anticipated; and

WHEREAS, Such use of "patriotic" appeals for the purpose of arousing public antagonism toward labor is un-American and contrary to the true principles of democracy; and

WHEREAS, individuals purporting to represent the Liberty Magazine have presented themselves and offered their services as promoters of such campaigns in several communities; now therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor to make a complete investigation of such anti-labor activities, and convey the findings of this investigation to all city central bodies and state federations of labor; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, The Executive Council be instructed to make a particular study of what connection, if any, the Liberty Magazine may have with such an anti-labor drive.

Your committee recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Introduction

Your committee recommends approval of the portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Health Insurance

This section of the Executive Council's report contains additional information relative to health insurance. Your committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report, pages 160-168.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Consumers' Cooperation

Your committee, in recommending approval of the portion of the Execu-

tive Council's report under the above caption, urges the Council to have a careful study made of the development in consumers' cooperation, so that the value of effectiveness of the union label of affiliated international unions will be thoroughly safeguarded, pages 159-160.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Relief

Your committee recommends approval of the section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 151-153.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Social Security Act

Your committee recommends approval of the portion of the Executive Council's report, under the above caption, pages 145-151, and further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its studies of the Social Security Act so that if necessary advisable amendments may be introduced.

We further recommend that the Executive Council keep State Federations of Labor informed relative to state legislation required to secure the full benefits of the Social Security Act so that the workers in each state may receive the full benefit of the law.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Technological Changes

Your committee appreciates the valuable information given to the trade union movement in the portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 169-173, and recommends its approval.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Immigration

Your committee recommends ap-

proval of the portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 129, and further recommends that the Executive Council continue its studies and its activities in connection with immigration.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Relief Legislation

Your committee recommends approval of the portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 129-130.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Peaceful Picketing Protected

Your committee recommends approval of the portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 130.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Technological Unemployment

Your committee recommends approval of the portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 132.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Beet Field Workers

Your committee recommends approval of the portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 133.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, that completes the report of your Committee on Resolutions, 186 resolutions, in addition to the one presented by the committee and these portions of the Executive Council's report. I now move the adoption of the committee's report as a whole as amended.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Frey: The report is signed

by all the members of the committee, as follows:

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary
A. A. MYRUP
J. A. FRANKLIN
THOMAS L. HUGHES
JOHN POSSEHL
P. J. MORRIN
M. J. GILLOOLY
JOHN B. HAGGERTY
CLARENCE E. SWICK
R. G. SODERSTROM
HARRY C. BATES
J. C. LEWIS
JOHN J. MARA
FRED BAER
HENRY W. STRICKLAND
IVAN HUNTER
Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I would like to inquire how the chairman of the committee, Brother Woll, is getting along.

Secretary Frey: The Chairman is much better. The Secretary was with him yesterday afternoon. He expects to be with us either today or tomorrow.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

Vice President Gainor, Chairman, and Delegate Simons, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Chairman Gainor: The report of the committee consists of a declaration of the American Federation of Labor policy, which we deem to be highly important. It also consists of two resolutions which we are inclined to believe will be non-controversial. The report itself, in which we have sought to condense the elements of this very important question, consists of about 3,000 words. I recommend that it be read first.

In submitting this report, your committee desires to stress the high importance of the shorter work week from a standpoint, not alone of its need and timeliness as an imperative economic and social advance, but more particularly as a pending issue of continuing and commanding moment before the entire country. With renewed emphasis we reaffirm the stirring declarations made on this same subject by

the American Federation of Labor in preceding conventions. Mindful of these pronouncements, we supplement and build upon them and in doing so make a brief survey of economic, industrial and general business conditions as they now present themselves. Dating from 1929, a period when national wealth production reached its all-time high, our country has suffered the ravaging effects of a depression unprecedented in scope and intensity which left a devastating trail of unemployed millions and staggering social and economic losses in its wake.

During the past year a general upward business trend has served greatly in relieving these hard conditions. Nevertheless, broad scale unemployment, with all its harrowing ramifications, still persists in a most menacing degree and insistently demands a solution. Unemployment now as indeed throughout the past five years continues to be America's greatest problem.

Confronted with this problem as well as with a virtual prostration of orderly economic processes, due to the depression, the 1932 convention of the American Federation of Labor voiced a ringing demand for the early institution throughout industry of the five-day workweek and the six-hour day. In doing so we declared "there is no hope for the restoration and maintenance of National prosperity except on a basis of lessened labor hours and steadily advancing living standards." The policy thus proclaimed, fundamentally sound then as it is now, and which has been stoutly reaffirmed by each succeeding convention, fixed the big objective towards which the American Federation of Labor has driven with notable success throughout the four years since intervening.

In 1933, the National Industrial Recovery Act was enacted and made operative on a nation-wide basis. The purpose of the NRA, which marked a striking advance in industrial planning, was to forward prosperity's re-

turn by measurably bringing production and consumption into balance on a high and healthy level through increasing wages, enlarged purchasing power, shorter labor hours and a wider diffusion of jobs. In this splendid purpose the NRA, prior to its suspension by Supreme Court decree, wrought great and abiding good not only by its own acts and example but also by the incomparable service it rendered in driving home to public consciousness the sound philosophy that no program of economic and industrial rehabilitation could hope to attain success that did not accept shorter labor hours and higher wages as the cornerstone of its reasoning. This is true now even though many employers, freed from the restraining hand of the NRA, have since ruthlessly forced longer labor hours on reluctant employees.

The shorter workweek has definitely established itself in public esteem. Various tests of public opinion, taken nation-wide during recent months, show an overwhelming sentiment favoring a shorter workweek without a reduction in pay. "Of course," declared President Roosevelt in his Madison Square, New York, address of October 31, 1936, "we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America—to reduce hours overlong, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops." With the expansion of productive efficiency going rapidly on it is, however, now quite plain that the workers' wages have not increased and labor hours have not been shortened in anything like equitable proportion to this upward production trend. Dating from 1929 up to and through 1935 it is estimated, according to the recent Report of the Executive Council, that the productivity of labor per man-hour of work has increased 38 per cent. Citing the increased output per worker unit in the shoe-manufacturing industry as a case in point, the Report of

the Executive Council states in part as follows:

"In 1935, 383,761,000 pairs were produced, an increase of 22,349,000 pairs. On the other hand, the number of jobs in the industry had dropped from 205,600 in 1929 to about 197,600 in 1935. In other words, it took 8,000 fewer workers to produce 22,000,000 more pairs of shoes. More than this, during this period all workers engaged in the production of shoes worked on the average of 8.8 fewer hours per week. . . . It is clear that had there been no curtailment in weekly hours a much larger number of workers would have been thrown out of employment."

The foregoing citation presents a typical case of what machine refinements and modern production methods are doing throughout industry in turning out increasing production volume with fewer workers, and thus adding to the number of unemployed. Throughout the depression years this increase in productive efficiency per worker unit has moved constantly forward and at an accelerated rate, largely absorbing the employment gains made through shorter labor hours. The further shortening of labor hours without any wage reduction is now a matter of such vital moment for the promotion of the welfare of all workers and the conservation of the public interest, as to command our best thought.

While no definite data is available, it is certain that the number of unemployed total many millions. In this regard, the following is quoted from the Report of the Executive Council:

"The United States Employment Service records six million three hundred and seventy-five thousand registered for work on July 1, 1936, who were without jobs in industry. In September the figure is approximately six million five hundred and thirty-seven thousand. We know that not nearly all the unemployed who seek work in industry have registered with the Em-

ployment Service. . . . Therefore it is clear that there are today many more than six million five hundred thousand unemployed who have found no place in industry although business recovery is well advanced."

In this connection, your Committee directs your attention to recent press reports which state that industrial activity is now back on an approximate 1929 production level. Assuming this to be true, it is also quite plain that despite the substantial reduction in average weekly labor hours since 1929, industry, because of technological advances, will fall by millions to furnish employment for as many workers as it did in 1929, without a further sharp reduction in labor hours.

From its very origin the American Federation of Labor has fought with unrelenting vigor for a shorter work week not only as matter of equity and justice for all workers but also as essential to promote the public welfare. For almost fifty years labor fought this good fight alone. This grave problem now is and should be the vital concern of every citizen. We know now through hard experience that there is no escape from the staggering cost that unemployment levies on society. All must pay. Those denied employment opportunities must be supported by those at work. There is no other way. In this same regard we quote from the July 1936 Monthly Survey of Business of the American Federation of Labor as follows:

"Few people realize the immense costs of idle man-power. A careful estimate shows: We have lost, during the six years from 1930 through 1935, nearly 59,000,000 man-years of work. This has meant a loss of national income amounting to at least \$132,000,000,000. That is, every family in the United States could have had about \$4,400 more to live on in the last six years if our unemployed had been at work producing goods, in mines and factories or giving service in trade, transportation or professional work,

assuming an equal distribution of the wealth created."

The time is here for a further major reduction in average labor hours. The case has been fully established. No valid objection has or can be made against it. This issue presents a compelling problem whose prompt and progressive solution is inseparably linked up with all that makes for labor's advancement and national wellbeing. And let not vain hope delude us into the belief that on some fair day this problem will automatically solve itself. Let us on the contrary base our plans for the future on the realization that expanding productive efficiency has created a new economic environment to which society must adapt itself as the price of survival. This means that shorter labor hours is no longer a matter of choice; they must come as the only answer to the machine age in which we live.

Simply stated, the foregoing survey shows that the American Federation of Labor must address itself with renewed resolution to the wider observance of the five day week and six hour day as the only means of mastering the unemployment problem and protecting society against future depressions. There is only one side to this case. Every fact and factor having to do with its consideration argues for shorter hours and higher living standards as the one and only way to insure economic health.

With these facts before us your committee recommends that this convention strongly reaffirm its endorsement of the five-day week and the six-hour workday without any reduction in the hourly, daily or weekly pay. We further recommend that this objective of the five-day, six-hour workweek should be declared the paramount objective of this convention and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to spare no effort in enlisting the support of all the people in its behalf and in giving the widest scope, direction, publicity

and inflexible purpose to this program.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to take such action as will result in the introduction of a five-day week, six-hour day bill in the next session of Congress and that they devote their best efforts to secure its enactment into law.

Secretary Simons: I move the adoption of this portion of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Chairman Gainer: Because of the overwhelming importance of this question, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, I do not believe it should be passed upon without an additional word or two. I will not impose upon your courtesy other than to say that, as this report points out, the steady expansion of productive efficiency has and is creating a new economic environment to which we of society must adapt ourselves as the price of survival.

Practically every question that has been discussed before this convention finds its origin in the fact that the productivity of the workers has increased and is increasing at such a rapid rate that surplus and the disposition of surplus is the chief economic problem confronting this country, and indeed the countries of the world. I will not attempt to trace the ramifications of machinery, but each of us knows the story and each of us realize its importance, and the importance, as this declaration points out, of the continuance of steadily reducing the hours of labor and steadily advancing living standards.

At this juncture, and because in my estimation this question is of high moment, and because also there is no one who has mastered its intricacies better than your able President, I beg leave to request President Green to address himself for a short time to this question.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I

rise to oppose the recommendation of the committee insofar as instructing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have a bill introduced into Congress establishing a six-hour day by Federal law. It seems to me that the labor movement is going far afield from the purpose for which we came into existence when we advocate establishing our working hours by law. Insofar as Federal employees are concerned, I say yes to the enactment of such a law. But when it comes to private employers, I say, establish your wages and hours by negotiation and not by law. If the Federal Government can establish a six-hour day there is no reason in the world why some future Congress cannot establish a ten-hour day. What they can give us they can take from us. Therefore, we should establish our hours and wages through our economic organizations. It is perfectly satisfactory for the states to enact a law regulating the hours and wages of state employes, but further than that, no. And it is far afield for us to try to secure such legislation.

President Green: I desire but briefly to refer to the subject matter dealt with in the report of the committee. I am sure that the American Federation of Labor and all its representatives, as well as its membership, are firmly of the opinion that labor presents the real and only practical, constructive remedy that has thus far been offered for unemployment. We have challenged those who have opposed labor to present a better solution for the problem of unemployment, for a more acceptable remedy. Thus far no other remedy has been proposed.

The opponents of labor's program argue in a sort of academic way that a revival of business and an improvement in economic conditions will automatically supply the remedy. That proposal might be all right if it were not that we are confronted with the fact that daily and hourly and constantly human labor is being sup-

planted by improved machinery and an increase in power. In every section of the country every day and every hour those who work and toil are being constantly displaced; skill is being destroyed, the machine is doing the work that human hands originally performed. If that is the case, then how are we to absorb and reabsorb back into industry the thousands of workers who are constantly being displaced through the introduction of machinery and power?

We cannot stop the onward march of human progress; there can be no limit placed upon human genius, skill, science and invention; but we can readjust the working period, the working day and the working week, so that as we improve mechanical devices, as we enlarge the use of electric power so that the workers displaced may be absorbed into industry.

Now, the methods to be employed may be questioned. We do know that through the development of our economic strength, through collective bargaining, we have been able to reduce the number of hours of work per day and per week, and as we have reduced them through our economic power we have improved the social and economic condition of the worker and made life more tolerable and placed living upon a higher level.

Now, so far as legislation is concerned, it is the theory that we can legislate for those engaged in interstate commerce. That would include those employed by the state and by the Federal government. As one evidence of the practicability of our remedy—I mean the shorter work day and shorter work week remedy for state and Federal employees—I point to the legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States giving to those engaged in the postal service the forty-hour week. Immediately following that legislation, applicable to those employed by the Government in the postal service, the slack of unemployment was taken up in that field; the substitutes

who were working but very little as letter carriers were immediately absorbed, so that there was no surplus of unemployment in that field. It was a remedy, but it was a remedy that worked. It created work opportunities for those men who are employed in the Government service who occupy Civil Service status. They were given work and the unemployment problem in that field was overcome.

We believe that in supplying a remedy for Government employees in that respect we are helping to relieve the pressure upon those employed in private industry, we are relieving the problem of those employed in private industry.

I have opposed the economic doctrine that the wages and the hours of those employed in private industry should be regulated by law because, as Delegate Hutcheson has well said, if they can give it to you, they can take it away. Our policy, however, only is to secure the enactment of legislation providing for the six-hour day and the five-day work week applicable to those employed in the production of goods that enter into interstate commerce. We are sure and certain that any other law dealing with the shorter work day would be declared unconstitutional.

I am as certain as that I am standing here that we can spend Government money in WPA and PWA and AAA and other governmental projects, day in and day out, week in and week out, but pouring money into these Government projects cannot supply more than temporary relief, save the starving working men and women and their families temporarily, but it is no permanent remedy for unemployment. The only permanent remedy that must come is to create work opportunities for the millions of idle so that they can be given a chance to work in private industry and earn a decent living.

And if the sovereign citizens of this nation can be accorded an opportunity to work on a 48-hour week or a 40-hour week, then it is the duty of so-

ciety to reduce the number of hours worked per day to six and less, if necessary, so that men can maintain their pride of citizenship, their independence of spirit, and be accorded an opportunity to earn a decent living.

The committee has brought in a fine report. It affords the basis of action. This subject is near and dear to us, and we must mobilize the economic strength of the workers of the nation in order to establish this real and practical remedy for unemployment.

Delegate Hutcheson: May I inquire just what the recommendation of the committee was with reference to the bill the Executive Council will introduce in Congress?

Chairman Gainer: In reading this conclusion to the recommendation, I want to submit it with a few added words:

"Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to take such action as will result in the introduction of the five-day week, six-hour day bill in the next session of Congress, and that they give their best efforts to secure its enactment into law."

Mr. President, in the original draft of this report of the Shorter Work Day Committee, that concluding recommendation, which you will note is written in longhand, was not included. As a result of suggestions from many quarters, a concluding meeting of the committee was held and they included this final recommendation, as I recall, by unanimous vote of the committee.

You recall that in 1932, when business conditions were depressed and the usual influential sources of information appeared to be bankrupt, the American Federation of Labor in a striking declaration called for the five-day week and the six-hour day. That was a drastic recommendation at that time but the conditions were depressed and the situation was most serious. As a result of that declaration, shortly thereafter, Senator Black, of Alabama, and Representative Connery, of Massa-

chusetts, one in the Senate and the other in the House, introduced the six-hour day, five-hour week. Bills calling for this were introduced.

That measure, despite opposition of the most drastic type, was passed by the United States Senate. It was favorably recommended for House consideration. About that time the National Recovery Act was instituted, which largely accepted the principles upon which the five-day week and the six-hour day bill was founded. Subsequently, and largely because of the policy that the five-day week and six-hour day contemplated the things the National Recovery Act stood for, and largely because of the fact of our publicity this program was sold until 95 per cent of the public was in favor of it.

However, as business is now beginning to get better, a certain conservative reaction has taken place. So much so that I hesitated to put in that concluding recommendation. However, if we are not to have a recurrence of the condition that has existed for the last six years, with the expanding of machinery, with a trend to shorter work hours, I do not anticipate that the introduction of this bill will be followed by early adoption.

But we say in that report, let not vain hopes delude you into the belief that this depression is going to solve itself automatically. It won't. Society must adjust itself to expanding efficiency and it will be well for the American people and better for labor if we have a measure in Congress which can be debated in both Houses, and which will bring home with recurring force the necessity of continually declaring for a reduction of hours, a steady advance in wages and a balance between production and consumption.

With that thought the concluding recommendation was added to the report of the committee. Of course, we will not oppose an amendment to strike it out.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution 89 be amended by eliminating the section which reads: "That all the International and Local unions be circularized for the adoption of the 30-hour bill," and that the amended resolution read as follows:

Thirty-Hour Week Bill

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Pietro Lucchi, Harry Begoon and Samuel Mindel, International Fur Workers Union of United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record for a 30-hour 5-day week; and

WHEREAS, According to the statistics compiled by the Federation, there are still several million unemployed workers in this country; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor, goes on record in support of the Black-Connelly Bill for a thirty-hour week; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all of the International and Local unions be circularized and exhorted to urge the introduction and adoption of a 30-hour bill in Congress.

With this change in the resolution your committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Shorter Work Week Legislation for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employes

Resolution No. 34 — By Delegate Francis S. Key, Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, In 1934 the Thomas Amendment providing for a 40-hour week with no reduction in salary for certain employes of the United States Government was passed; and

WHEREAS, Realizing the limitations placed on the application of the

shorter work week, legislation was introduced in the last session of Congress providing for the application of the shorter work week to all Government employes alike; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal Administration has excepted the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad from legislation providing for Saturday half-holidays and has opposed the application of the 40-hour week measure to the employes of the Panama Canal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled be instructed to make every effort to have the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employes included in any beneficial legislation reducing hours of labor for Government employes.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Simons: This concludes the report of the committee, which is signed:

E. J. GAINOR, Chairman.
JOHN SIMONS, Secretary
ROBERT MACRORIE
JAMES P. MEEHAN
LAWRENCE OKEEFE
ROBERT B. HESKETH
T. F. HOLLERAN
JOSEPH MCINERNEY
W. G. POWLES LAND
GEORGE SCALISE
ADAM E. ZUSI
JOSEPH F. KELLEY
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT
LOUIS P. MARCIANTE
JOHN C. LAWSON
SAMUEL E. BEARDSLEY
Committee on Shorter
Workday.

Secretary Simons moved the adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

At 1:00 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Ninth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Thompson (Dan C.), Kindred, Wood (Vic), Hefferly, Egan (John J.), Heaton, Rosqvist, Kane (J. C.), Williams (E. H.), Graham (James D.), Marcianite, Phillips (John A.), Martinez, Patterson (Donald E.), Turnblazer, Cahill, Minton, Getchen, Towers, Mundell, Cowherd, McDonald (S. S.), Tracy (Wm.), O'Neill (John J.), Mayer, McClellan (T.), Johnson (E. A.), Bails, Yablensky, Jenkins (E. L.), Dobbs, Jones (John T.), Breidenbach, Wegener, Nischwitz, Van Patten, Will, Stackweather, Drake, Owens (John), Patton (Fred), McCain (U. S.), Augustino, Kennedy (James G.), Farrell (Chas.), McKenzie, Reid, Marchesi, Thompson (Kenneth), Preston (E. J.), Genis, Rivin, Powers (Geo.), Hansen, Hanly (Dave), Majors, Soule, Shave, Pickler, Langston, Keegan (John J.), Stoffels, Draper, Haywood, Klarish, Lisse, Kane (John J.), Hill, McCarty (M. L.), Cahir, Legler, Price, Burton (R. L.), Harrison (J. W.), Gatelee, Wood (R. T.), Glasgow, Hudak, Edmundson, Edwards (John A.), Hafta, Hunter, Reed (Geo.), Saltus, Bender, Moulin, Markva, Johnson (C. W.), Gibson (Chas.), Schreier, Merrill (Lewis), Hawthorne, Kocher, Williamson, Cairns, Fitzgerald (I. J.), Stern, Reynolds (Robt.), Clinedinst, Bellows, Finnegan, Knopka, Alfred, Merritt (F. W.), Gerhardt (Frances), Olds, Gales, Barnes (Geo.), Lee, Hannah, Rex, Weintraub, Williams (C. S.), Matlin, Scherr, Duldner, Hudson, Lufrano, Kirby (Thos. J.).

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Adjustment, Vice President Rickert.

Vice President Rickert: The Secretary will make the report for the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Secretary Maloney, on behalf of the committee, reported as follows:

Masters, Mates and Pilots vs. Harbor Tow Boatmen Union and Railroad Marine Workers, Inc., New York

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate J. J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America is the only national labor group within the American Federation of Labor accorded complete jurisdiction over licensed deck personnel in the

United States of America, and its insular possessions; and

WHEREAS, Said National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America has been a continuous affiliate of the American Federation of Labor for a quarter of a century; and

WHEREAS, Said National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America has rigidly maintained the ethical standards required of an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Two groups dual to the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, one known as Harbor Tow Boatmen Union, the other as Railroad Marine Workers, Inc., have been organized in the port of New York; and

WHEREAS, Said dual groups not only infringe upon jurisdictional prerogatives, of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, but also infringe on several other national and international groups within the American Federation of Labor, notably the International Union of Operating Engineers, the International Seamen's Union, the Carmen of America, and others; and

WHEREAS, Said dual groups have been organized and chartered with the consent and approval of Joseph P. Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Association despite our formal protest which was completely ignored and its tenets repudiated by Mr. Ryan in the public press; and

WHEREAS, The National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America resents not only the total disregard of its jurisdictional rights, the infringement upon their membership rolls, but also the fact that a leading exponent of organized labor within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor would be so unethical as to violate the jurisdictional ethics of American Federation of Labor without the courtesy of even consulting the affiliates vitally interested; and

WHEREAS, The organization of those dual groups is a retrogressive policy for marine labor since it creates a union representation of no particular craft and bulks the men to a hash-like consistency which will give little or no material aid to the individual marine worker since his identity will be submerged in an unleavened mass while his own legitimate group is powerless to aid him; therefore be it and it hereby is

RESOLVED, That the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America does vehemently protest

the organization of said dual groups as dangerous unions subversive to best interests of labor in the port of New York; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America record itself as unalterably opposed to the issuance of dual charters by any affiliate of American Federation of Labor which usurps the rightful jurisdiction of any other affiliate; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America respectfully petition this Convention to take such action as it deems expedient to set about restoring to the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America its complete jurisdictional rights as regards deck personnel on United States vessels (all types); and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommend a course of action whereby said dual groups, viz., Harbor Tow Boatmen Union, Local No. 933-3, also Railroad Marine Workers, Inc., can be either eliminated from the labor picture, or so regulated as to include those members not dual to other legitimate affiliates of the American Federation of Labor whose priority of jurisdiction entitles same to first consideration.

The committee learns, after an extended hearing, and listening to the testimony of many representatives of the various unions involved, that a rather complicated situation has developed among the many trades interested in this question, especially in the Port of New York, and recommends that a conference be called by President Green within sixty days after the adjournment of the convention, for the purpose of securing a satisfactory adjustment of the issues involved.

We also suggest that the following International Unions be notified of the date of said hearing:

International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers; National Organization Masters, Mates, and Pilots of America; International Longshoreman's Association; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America; Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America; International Brotherhood of Boiler-makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; International Union of Operating Engineers; International

Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers, and Helpers; International Association of Machinists; Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; International Seaman's Union of America, and any other unions who may be interested.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Upholstery vs. Painters

Resolution No. 167 — By Delegates James H. Hatch and Edwin E. Graves, Upholsterers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has issued charters in the City of Chicago to two Local Unions affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, thereby causing the two Locals in question to secede from the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Article 4, Section 5 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor reads:

"No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section."

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America be ordered to withdraw the charters they have issued in the City of Chicago to the two Local Unions affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, and that no other charters shall be granted by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America to a Local Union or members thereof that have seceded from the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

The representatives of both international organizations appeared before your committee and presented their case.

No testimony was offered that convinced the committee that the charges made in the resolution were not correct, and your committee is of the opinion that they are founded on facts and therefore recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lindelof, Painters: I move to amend the committee's report, that the matter be referred to the Executive Council because of the fact that there are a lot of other questions entering into this matter. I would like to speak on the amendment.

The amendment was seconded.

Delegate Lindelof: In the first place, we deny that we have taken in any local unions that are now, or have been in the past, affiliated with the Upholsterers' organization. The application for these two charters that are mentioned in the resolution were sent to our International Union in the regular way. That is, one application was signed by one group of members in Chicago, and another by seven members of another group. Both of these groups had work that comes under the jurisdiction of our International Brotherhood, and we granted the charter in the regular way. We had the assurance that the situation as it existed in the city of Chicago, at that time, would be eliminated by granting the charters. Both of these groups, within the last two years, have been doing work that belonged to our International Brotherhood, and it was for that reason, and no other reason, that the charters were granted.

Delegate Hatch, Upholsterers: The statement made by President Lindelof, of the Painters, is an extraordinary one in view of the situation in Chicago. These unions to whom the Painters granted charters were seated in the Chicago Building Trades Council with the Painters' Union for many years, and they were affiliated with our International Union and in good standing at the time the Painters issued charters to them. What we want at the present time is that the charters of Local Unions 17 and 105 be revoked.

The suggestion of the Painters that the matter be referred to the Executive Council would give the Painters an opportunity in the meantime to force

our members into their organization and preventing them from doing our work, which they have been doing since the inception of our organization. We have been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for over 43 years, and during that time have never been involved in dispute with any organization connected with the Federation.

The adoption of the report of the committee is the only logical thing to do to meet the situation. At the present time the Painters have taken over all the members of our local unions in Chicago. Work that had been in our possession for many years, has been transferred to the Painters by their forcing our members off the jobs.

Therefore, the recommendation of the committee fits the situation. It provides that the two local unions to which charters have been granted shall be again returned to our International Union. If there is any question pertaining to jurisdiction, it can be taken up by the Federation in the usual manner. We are willing to appear before any committee that may be selected to hear the claims of jurisdiction, but in the meantime these local unions should be turned back to our organization.

The amendment offered by Delegate Lindelof was defeated on a vote by show of hands.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Maloney: That concludes the report of the Committee on Adjustment, which is signed by all the members:

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman
JAMES MALONEY, Secretary
ROY HORN
JOHN F. McNAMARA
J. B. ETCHISON
CHARLES L. BAGLEY
EDWARD McMORROW
F. J. FLJOZDAL
GEORGE E. BROWNE
J. P. McLAUGHLIN
M. F. GREENE
D. W. TRACY
H. B. PERHAM
JOHN H. WARDLEY
W. F. ROBINSON
GEORGE W. LAWSON
ABE ROSENBLATT
Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Maloney moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Law, Vice President Tobin.

Vice President Tobin: Delegate Volz, President of the Photoengravers' Union, Secretary of the committee, will make the report.

Every matter that we report upon has been adopted unanimously by the fifteen members of the committee. Some of these matters may entail a lot of discussion. We hope it will be as limited as possible, due to the fact that we might be able to get through this evening by 6:30 or 7 o'clock, if we hurry along with our work, considering that the election of officers will take up perhaps over an hour.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Your Committee on Law has had referred to it that part of the Executive Council's report entitled, "Recommendations Governing Presentation of Resolutions, Petitions, Etc.," appearing on pages 99 and 100.

It has also had referred to it fourteen resolutions numbered 2, 57, 74, 93, 107, 117, 121, 124, 131, 133, 146, 152, 193 and 216. One of these resolutions would limit the power of Local Central Bodies in declaring firms unfair. One would modify the provisions under which charters are to be issued. One proposes amendments regulating the basis of representation in Local Central Bodies. One proposes amendments providing for representation by Local Unions not represented through Central Bodies. One provides for changes in rules regulating Departments recognized by the Federation. Five refer to the lowering of per capita tax and dues of Federal Local Unions or the remittance of per capita tax while on

strike, and four are in regard to amendments and rules relative to suspension of National and International Unions.

Your committee has combined the two latter groups for consideration and action by the convention.

Executive Council's Report

That part of the Executive Council's Report referred to this committee and appearing on pages 99 and 100 reads as follows:

Recommendations Governing Presentation of Resolutions, Petitions, Etc.

Pursuant to instructions of the Atlantic City convention, the Executive Council submits the following report regarding the introduction of resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals to be considered by conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

1. All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention.

2. All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

3. Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

4. Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union

at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

5. All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated shall cause all such proposals to be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced and committees to which they are to be referred and that all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

6. The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

Your Committee after due consideration and deliberation unanimously approves of the intent and purpose of the proposals as submitted and recommended by the Executive Council. We are, however, of the opinion that some provision should be included in the proposals whereby National and International Unions, also State Bodies regularly holding conventions just prior to the Federation meeting will be provided the opportunity of submitting resolutions without being subjected to the thirty day provision, or the necessity of presenting such proposals through the Executive Council and securing the unanimous consent of the convention.

We accordingly recommend the following addition to paragraph 1 of the proposal, substituting a ";," for the "." now appearing at the end of this paragraph—

“; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event

such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.”

With the foregoing addition your Committee unanimously recommends that the six numbered paragraphs be adopted as part of Article III, of the Constitution to replace Section 5.

Your Committee moves concurrence in its recommendation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Meyers, Technical Research Employees' Union, No. 20049, Chicago: I wish to speak against the report of the committee. One of the clauses in the resolution is a clause that denies the right of federal labor unions to present resolutions before this convention without the approval of the Executive Council. This says that resolutions of federal labor unions must be in the hands of the Executive Council for approval and disposition thirty days before the convention, which means that we may not see any of our resolutions, if they see fit, appear on the convention floor, which puts us even in a weaker position than we are at the present time. There has been talk about protecting the rights of the weak, but apparently they are not being protected, because it appears that the international unions which have representation on this committee which handles this matter, have protected themselves so that they may present resolutions immediately preceding the convention, but we, the federal labor unions, as far as I know, have not been represented on this committee, and our rights are simply ignored, our right to present resolutions absolutely stopped.

It is a known fact that the resolutions that appear from federal labor unions are generally progressive. We are not ashamed of it, I am not ashamed of it at all. I think we represent a very progressive group within the American Federation of Labor, and whereas we may not win some of our

points at the present time, I think as we become older it will be our views that will prevail upon the American labor movement.

I would like to point out some very interesting facts to the delegates. We, from the federal labor unions, realize how weak we are here, and we realize that things we bring up in opposition to reports of committees are generally lost, and we play a very small part. I should like to cite some figures to show you the inequality that is present, and show you why the shearing away of our democratic rights should not be continued, and why the resolution reported on should be defeated.

The Executive Council report indicates that we have had an average monthly membership of 83,153 persons for each month of the year. We pay 35c a month to the American Federation of Labor, and 22½c of that 35c is for our per capita tax, and that equals \$224,513.04. The entire per capita tax that was reported in the receipts of the Executive Council amounts to \$453,817.37. It appears that the 83,000 members of the federal local unions pay approximately one-half of the money that goes into the American Federation of Labor as per capita tax. We are weak in our rights, but we pay an awful lot of money, we pay almost as much as men who have the highest votes.

In addition to our per capita tax, there is an additional 12½c that goes to a defense fund, and for the last year the federal and local labor unions have contributed \$124,701.45 for a defense fund. In total, we contributed \$349,214.49 to the American Federation of Labor.

Now this is the major financial support of the American Federation of Labor, because if you look at the figures you will find that the total amount of all the rest of the money listed under receipts is less than \$100,000.00. Included in this is an amount of \$48,795.26 in initiation fees. I don't know exactly how much the federal

and local labor unions paid to that initiation receipt, but we pay a good portion of it. We have built up in the past a sum of \$510,623.86 for a defense fund for the American Federation of Labor. We have received this year \$151,656.02 for defense fund requirements. It appears that we have built up the treasury of the American Federation of Labor.

I have heard a good deal of how the American Federation of Labor has aided federal labor unions, but I must say here and now I know the experience of a number of federal labor unions, and that some of us have built an independent union, and after we built an independent union we came to the American Federation of Labor and we said, "Please take us, we want your prestige and your help." There has been no effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor to aid us. There has been no great sacrifice, to my knowledge, among the local unions I have been connected with among the federal labor unions to give any assistance. We have merely come and dropped our unions in the lap of the American Federation of Labor. We wanted to join the main stem of labor, we wanted to be part and parcel of that movement, but we want to be treated fairly and on an equal basis.

The resolution proposed and reported on Pages 99-100 of the Executive Council's report does not give us equal treatment. We are the major financial support, don't forget that, of the American Federation of Labor. Out of the general defense fund, \$50,000.00 was taken and put into the general fund of the American Federation of Labor. With our smaller number of people in the federal labor unions, as compared to the national and international unions, with a proportionately much higher contribution to the American Federation of Labor, they should give us at least equal rights, and we do not have them. I don't think we have a member on any committee, as far as I know, and if we don't have a

member on any committee we are not going to get the protection we need.

I therefore must take a position against the report of the committee, and I trust that they will re-consider this matter and allow us to have the same rights as they do.

Vice President Tobin: Just for the purpose of clarifying, if I can in a few words, the report of the committee, let me say first, for your information, that this report is based on an action of the report of the Committee on Resolutions of one year ago. The Committee on Resolutions was so thoroughly overcrowded with work a year ago that they brought in the recommendation that the Executive Council investigate the situation and try to offer some suggestion to relieve the work of these conventions. The Council spent weeks in trying to find out what was best to be done. After due consideration they unanimously arrived at the conclusion as submitted in the report.

There were 272 resolutions introduced into this convention. Out of 110 or 112 international unions less than forty resolutions came from all of that group. Over 200 resolutions were introduced by central bodies and federal labor unions. It is absolutely impossible to give the proper attention to the subject matter contained in these resolutions under the present system. There are in the vicinity of 88,000 members last month who paid tax from federal labor unions to the American Federation of Labor. The tax, as you know, is 35c. One-half of that is put into a defense fund, and almost the entire amount remaining is used for organizing purposes.

There are 900 chartered federal labor unions at the present time in the Federation. The American Federation of Labor is the parent body, the international body of those federal unions. There is no international union seated here that permits any of its local unions to send or introduce a resolution directly through their local affiliation to any of these conventions. A resolu-

tion from a local union must first go to its international union, and the international union, if it deems it is worthy, submits the resolution to the Federation convention.

We are only endeavoring to apply the same rule to local unions that are directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. In view of the fact that the Federation is responsible for their policy, their actions, their strikes, their declarations, the same as our international unions are responsible for their local unions, your committee and your Executive Council unanimously endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council, and we hope and trust that this convention will approve of the recommendation.

Delegate Osman, Dry Goods Employees Union No. 19932: The Chairman of the committee compares the federal local unions to local unions affiliated with international unions, and he compares the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Executive Council of an International union in relation to their locals. In the first place, the comparison does not hold water, because unlike the international unions, the federal local unions do not have a national convention. I am not, of course, referring to those unfortunate international unions that lack democracy, and that fail to have national conventions. I am sure that the American Federation of Labor does not approve of such undemocratic policies, but I am referring to the majority of the international unions who still respect democratic procedure and whose local unions meet annually and discuss common problems.

The federal local unions have no such rights, they have no such opportunities. Aside from that, as far as organizing activities are concerned, I for one have had very poor experience, as far as the cooperation of federal organizers is concerned. We never obtain any assistance. As a matter of fact, it hardly ever was necessary to seek that. Federal locals are mostly

involved in unorganized fields of industry.

Under the rules of strike benefits and strike assistance a man has to be a member of a union for some length of time before he can get strike benefits, but we are always involved in organizing new shops, new places, new sections. In other words, the people we call out on strike never are entitled to strike benefits. We get no assistance of that sort at all.

Aside from the fact that we are denied the same return for our monetary investment, we are here expected to be ready and willing to quietly submit to the surrender of rights that we, a democratic people, are expected to demand. We want the opportunity to voice our opinion on various subjects. We have no national conventions. This is our national convention, and if we cannot express ourselves we shall never be heard. We do not expect to win, but we have the courage of our convictions, so that when we have an opinion on any matter at least we want to draw the attention of other delegates to those opinions, and at least we hope that some day either we will convince the other delegates or we will become convinced by them.

It is our opinion that democracy does not mean stifling the voice of the democracy, it means giving them opportunity to express themselves. It means those of us who do not agree with the minority will nevertheless retain an open mind and listen to logic and reasoning, and if what people tell us is reasonable and logical we must accept that reason and logic and act accordingly.

Merely to have a sufficient number of votes to carry your point, regardless of whether it is justified or not, is not a true definition of democracy. As a member of a federal local, as a representative of a federal local, I strenuously protest any infringement on our rights, any denial of democracy that we are normally entitled to, and that is aside from the fact that a

membership of less than 3% is required to pay more than 50% of the revenue of the American Federation of Labor. In consideration of that fact, at least we are entitled to equal voice.

Delegate Schoonover, Chicago Federation of Labor: I represent a local in this Federation for thirty-three years. We have gone along nicely and the American Federation of Labor has gone along with us, and I don't know why those federal locals get up here and holler and squawk that they are not getting their money's worth for 35c. They are getting it plenty. All they have to do is to go along. Let me say that the American Federation of Labor is back of us 100%, and these federal labor unions will get more if they sit down and quit squawking.

Delegate Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: I think it is a serious mistake to deny federal labor unions the right to express themselves through resolution at the convention.

It is true that the American Federation of Labor has done much for them, and we are not squawking, as the Chicago Federation of Labor representative says, but we have gone out and organized federal labor unions to the extent of 3,000 members in a local, and there are several of them, and those members are going to be denied the right to present a petition or resolution to this convention unless it meets the approval of the Executive Council.

It is an invitation to the organizers of the CIO to come and get the federal labor unions, and I say to you, delegates, that it is a serious mistake.

I don't belong to a federal labor union, but I am certainly desirous of retaining that great membership, especially in the state of Wisconsin, and I hope that the recommendation of the committee will not pass this convention.

Delegate McCurdy, Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor: I desire to make one observa-

tion. Time and time again in organization policies I have been asked the question, what will I get if I have to go on strike in order to better my conditions? I preface my remark by saying that many people have come to me and said, if I go on strike will I get my full week's wages? I simply say to them that if you are not willing to make the sacrifice then you can go to hell.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee: So that there will be no misunderstanding, the committee is of the opinion that these recommendations of the Executive Council, as recommended to be modified by them, will mean for the expediency and the better work of this convention. Year after year we have seen the same resolutions brought before this body. They have consumed a considerable amount of time, and year after year the same action is taken in regard to them.

Insofar as the federal union not having a voice is concerned, that is all in error, because after all, as Vice President Tobin pointed out, local unions of international unions have to place their proposals through their particular international unions before they can bring them to this body. This means that the federal and state bodies will bring their proposals to the Executive Council for consideration. The Executive Council will give them such consideration, and under the laws as set forth will make a report to this convention, and I am sure that then these various federal labor unions, or others interested, will have their opportunity to express their opinion.

It is not a matter of debarring anyone, or taking the rights away from any one delegate, but a matter of expediency and of furthering the work of this convention, so that we will not find ourselves each year crowded at the end of the session, and so that we can give the kind of attention that we ought to give to many important resolutions which are before us, and not be asked to consider year after year

the same kind of resolutions that we are called upon to do under the present arrangement, wasting the time of the convention.

Delegate Olkives, Kenosha Central Labor Union: This report involves a number of things. I believe the Wisconsin delegation wants to vote against the recommendation of the committee on that portion of the report that deals with the federal union's question. However, on the balance of the report, we are willing to go ahead on it. When we holler no, over here, as we did a day or so ago on several questions, then the report comes back from the hall that certain delegates are disgusted, sitting in the convention and listening to a bunch of "Reds" over there, and over there and up here, and I want to assure you, Mr. President, that I believe every delegate from Wisconsin goes back home after a decision is made on a question in this hall, and supports and protects the American Federation of Labor, its principles, and its policies, and its officers, and I assure you we are called upon a number of times to do just that thing. So we do not care to be called "Reds." We think we have a right to come here and express ourselves on these matters. We have no other place or time to do it, but if we do express ourselves in opposition to the report of the committee we do not care to be called "Reds" because we are not "Reds." We want to vote on that thing in the proper manner.

President Green: The report of the committee is before the convention for acceptance or rejection. The chair does not feel disposed to suggest how the sections of the report can be voted on separately, but there are provisions under our parliamentary procedure that provides for that.

Delegate Osman, Dry Goods Employees' Union: I move to divide the question so that we can vote on each point separately.

The motion was seconded.

A voice vote was taken on the motion offered by Delegate Osman.

President Green: The motion seems to be lost. In order to make sure, the chair will ask for a show of hands, and those who favor the motion will hold up their right hand. Then those who oppose the motion will hold up their right hand.

The motion to divide the report of the committee is lost. The question now recurs upon the adoption of the report of the committee.

The vote was taken by show of hands.

President Green: It is the opinion of the chair that the report of the committee has been carried by more than two-thirds vote. It is so ordered.

Your committee was advised that an error was made in the omission of the name of J. W. Williams of the Building Trades Department in the printing of Resolution No. 2, which resolution was jointly presented on behalf of the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department. This error has been corrected.

Proposing Constitutional Amendment to Prevent Central Bodies Declaring Firms Unfair That Have Agreements With National and International Unions

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates J. W. Williams, President Building Trades Department and John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor grants complete autonomy in its internal affairs to every national and international union receiving a charter or certificate of affiliation; and

WHEREAS, Many national and international unions have negotiated agreements covering terms of employment and conditions of labor for their members employed by such employers throughout the country, as well as locally; and

WHEREAS, These forms of agreement between employers and trades unionists are of great benefit to both employer and organized employees; and

WHEREAS, Central Labor Councils and other delegate bodies have undertaken to interfere with the free operation of such agreements and have at times declared firms under agreement with International Unions to be unfair; and

WHEREAS, Such action is in direct violation to the basic principles of collective bargaining and the necessary observance of agreements entered into by International Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Article Eleven of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by inserting an additional section reading:

"No Central Labor Union or Central Body of Delegates shall have authority to declare any firm or firms having national or local agreements with national or international unions unfair in violation of the provisions of such agreements. Any Central Labor Council or other Central Body of Delegates declaring an employer unfair in violation of the provisions of such agreements shall be subject to the discipline of the American Federation of Labor."

Your committee, while in accord with the purpose of this proposed amendment, believe it to be too drastic as presented, inasmuch as if adopted in the form proposed it would unduly interfere with much of the effective activities and present recognized functions of Local Central Bodies.

We are of the opinion that modification and amendment of Section 7, of Article XI, of the Constitution, to read as follows would bring about the desired reform:

Sec. 7. No Central Labor Union or other Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the Unions involved the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this amendment.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I look with a good deal of apprehension upon this effort to control the actions of a central body. I have the honor of being the President of the central body in Detroit, where I live, but I recognize that under the present system, without any restrictions, it is abused, that frequently the welfare of organizations that have agreements are jeopardized by some new group that want those who have made the fight and succeeded to sacrifice in the interests of those about to make the fight.

But I am deeply concerned with the effect of the amendment as proposed by the committee, whether or not it is going to unduly hamper the central bodies in their efforts to render service to the local organizations when they come to it.

I don't know just what rule could be laid down to protect those organizations that have agreements and at the same time permit the central labor bodies to proceed to place a firm on the unfair list, if, in their judgment, it would be justified in doing so. This, I take it, will authorize the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to pass final judgment, and that no firm or corporation will be placed on the unfair list until the American Federation of Labor Executive Council has given approval. That is going to have the effect not only of restricting the liberties of the central bodies, but it is going to delay and at the same time place the responsibility upon the American Federation of Labor for the conduct of a boycott, which, if you will recall, my friends, is a thing that you have refrained from doing heretofore. The American Federation of Labor, if my memory serves me right, has avoided placing firms on the unfair list.

If this method is followed it will be a change in policy and it will lay the American Federation of Labor open to all of the damage suits that sometimes

come as the result of placing firms on the unfair list, and it will make them a party to every labor injunction that will be issued out of the equity courts. It may or may not be a good thing to drag the American Federation of Labor into these controversies. If you take the responsibility, you will have to defend the lawsuits and you will have to help fight these boycotts through to a successful conclusion, because if you do not, then the failure will be laid at your door.

So I hope if today you pass this resolution, changing the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, you will do it with your eyes open and with a full knowledge of the new responsibilities that you are taking on your shoulders, because I assure you, my friends, that when the local unions come to the central bodies and complain because of delays, attendant to this method of placing firms on the unfair list, we will tell them this is being pursued because the representatives of their international unions made such a law in the American Federation of Labor. In other words, you will take the full responsibility for your actions.

I am not opposed to some restrictions, but I am fearful that the restriction laid down here is just a little too drastic.

Delegate Komaroff, Detroit Federation of Labor: The recommendation of the committee, as worded there, is operating on the idea that all people who are running central labor unions haven't got sufficient intelligence to protect their own interests. I am sure that in all cities all over the country no concern or establishment is put on the unfair list of a central labor union unless the central labor union has interceded on behalf of the local union that is having difficulty with them. They take the responsibility for that, and before doing it they consider it very deeply.

Secondly, there are very few concerns of any importance that haven't

got an agreement with one or two of any international unions, despite the fact that there are many workers in that place that are unorganized. It is certainly tragic and bad enough that workers who are members of unions are put in a position where, under the mask of contracts, without going further and telling the central labor bodies, which are composed of all of these unions, that they shall not have the right to carry on a fight in behalf of local unions to try to bring a concern into line. In view of all this, and representing a central labor union here, I say I am opposed to the committee's report.

Secretary Volz: Let me say first that your committee realized that they have a complex and perplexing problem to deal with. They gave the matter considerable consideration. In fact, each member of the committee was requested to present a proposal or modification which would bring about the desired results, and many such were proposed. The proposal that is before us here was brought out of the various proposals made.

Permit me to say first, that where there is no local union involved, or where no local union has an agreement, central bodies will continue to function in the future as they have in the past. Where a condition arises where a concern has an agreement with a national or local union, the matter is referred to the representatives of that union. If that particular union having an agreement and the union looking for a boycott action can settle their differences, of course the matter will go no further.

The committee is of the opinion that if unions directly involved, those wanting action, and those having agreements, and possibly wanting to avoid too drastic actions, in almost all instances they would reach some accord as to what should transpire.

However, the modification goes further. It provides that when the unions involved—and mind you, not bringing

in the employers—cannot reach agreement and accord then the matter is to go to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee is of the opinion that few, if any, cases will reach this highest court. They feel that with the setup here, while it is somewhat complex, it will provide the necessary machinery to bring about the kind of action that local bodies would like to take, without trespassing or injuring other local unions or other organizations who may have agreements.

I feel confident, just as all the other members of the committee expressed themselves when this matter was acted upon, that if given a trial it will most likely work out satisfactorily, and I feel confident that that is true. I do not believe that any committee, large or small, could have written an amendment to the law, which was apparently necessary, due to past experience, which would meet the approval of everybody. I think the committee—and again the committee was unanimous in this action—came as close to meeting what the delegates to this convention would have as the law as any committee could hope to do.

Delegate Friedrich, Milwaukee Trades Council: Mr. Chairman, I realize that of course this may be a difficult proposition, and that there may have been some abuses in the past. I think, however, now we are going over on the other side in an effort to prevent some abuses. We are going over to the other side into a phase which will perhaps result in even greater abuses.

For example, as I understand it, the Building Trades Department is in favor of this proposition. Most of the requests for placing firms on the unfair list of the central body from which I come, come from the building trades unions. What is going to happen? For example, I know of one case where the building trades unions have requested that we place a firm on the unfair list because of erecting a large building with non-union labor. That company, however, had an agreement

with the Musicians' Union. Under this proposition we would first have to get the approval of the Musicians' International Union before any action could be taken, and then if we can't get the approval of the Musicians' International Union it must go to the Executive Council. The result will be that it will take three or four or five or six months before any action can be taken, and as far as the building trades are concerned, in most instances the building will long since have been finished.

I think that is a phase which the representatives of the international unions ought to consider. We talk of the fact that an injury to one is the concern of all, but here we are getting away from that principle and we are saying that as long as a firm has an agreement with any union, regardless of the number of people it involves, a firm that may employ a thousand or two thousand people, as long as it has an agreement with a union which may have no more than a dozen members in that particular plant, then even if the thousand or two thousand have to go on strike we cannot do anything in placing that firm on the unfair list. I think that is a mistake.

The matter of course is a vexing problem. I recognize, and in many other cases where the issue was difficult to decide this convention has taken action to have a further study made by referring the matter to the Executive Council. I believe that would be the wise course to pursue in this instance, to give this matter a little more consideration before we take action for which many of us may be sorry in the future.

Delegate Komaroff, Detroit Federation of Labor: A point of information—do I understand the Secretary of the committee correctly when he says in the event the international union will not permit the central labor union to put the concern in question on the unfair list, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will override their decision, and in that case

will it not be interfering with the autonomy of the international union?

Secretary Volz: The last paragraph reads as follows: "Failing to reach an understanding between the unions involved"—and that might mean a national, international, or local union—"the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request."

I don't think it would interfere with their autonomy. I don't know of any union that has autonomy over declaring firms unfair. They may have the right to do it, but whether it is an autonomous right, of course, is a question.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I want to place before the convention, with your permission, one or two instances where this thing is carried on. There is a firm in Cleveland that manufactures men's clothes, which has a hook-up with a merchant in Detroit, named Fin-tex, who handles their clothes exclusively. These clothes are made almost exclusively by women. In Detroit Fin-tex branched out and built one store after another until ultimately they have eighteen or twenty stores.

The Building Trades Union had to fight with the Fin-tex Clothing Company on every one of these stores in order to get union labor on them. A good deal of work was done by non-union labor. Finally, however, we succeeded in getting an agreement with the Building Trades Council out of the Fin-tex Company and then we had to police them to see that they lived up to it. Later the printing trades made an issue out of the fact that they had scab printing. We had to go through the same course with them as we did with the building trades and put them on the unfair list in order to straighten them out.

Then along came the journeymen tailors and demanded their bushelmen. We finally succeeded, after again

threatening to put them on the unfair list, in getting the tailors in the union, but they would not let the tailors attend the meeting—they had to collect dues from the cashier from the men that worked in that plant.

Now we have organized the retail clothing salesmen and it is one of the few stores in the down town section selling men's clothing, for the retail clothing salesmen are afraid to come up and join the union, so I presume we will now have to threaten to put them on the unfair list so that their clothing salesmen can join the union.

Without the ability to put it on the unfair list, we would now have that firm selling clothes in a building built by scab building tradesmen, advertised by scab printing, and the clothes busheled by non-union bushelmen and sold by scab clerks, and we would have to stand for it because they had an agreement with the Garment Workers' Union.

There are many other instances. That is the thing I want to avoid. The fact that some of our organizations have an agreement in there does not say to the other people that are anxious to organize that they, too, should not be permitted to use the same tools as the men who got on the ground first. I don't think it is good unionism. I am not opposed to protecting the interests of those that have organized. We have never placed a firm on the unfair list in Detroit where there are union men employed, without calling it to the attention of the union and inviting the employer in also, we call in both the employer and the representative of the union with which they have an agreement, and we try in that way to get it straightened out. If we could not get it straightened out then we thought we had a right to say to the public that that firm should not be patronized.

I will give you another illustration. The J. L. Hudson Company in Detroit, one of the largest mercantile

establishments in the United States, with upwards of 10,000 employees, has one department organized. That is the bushelmen employed in one of its men's clothing departments. They have two of them. One of them is operated by Hudson direct. The other is operated by Benchheller. The Benchheller men are in the union. The others are not. That one department is organized. The retail clerks, the carpet and linoleum layers, the building trades mechanics, or anyone else who wanted to go about organizing that institution would be barred if the journeymen tailors were to say they objected to putting them on the unfair list until we would get the permission of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

I think you ought to recognize that most of the central bodies are officered by people who have some sense of their responsibility, and I hope that applies to Detroit, and you ought not tie their hands. If you do you will find when you come into our town that we will not be able to render the service we have tried to give you in the past.

Where is our friend, Jim Duffy, going to get off under this kind of a proposition, with the S. S. Kresge Co. if some building trades union has a contract to paint signs with the Kresge Co., if the signs are painted by union labor and the sign-painters and pictorial union objects to their being on the unfair list?

Many of these things arise, and under these conditions there isn't any chance of doing anything with them. If the men go on strike and put a picket line in front of the place, they hope to win that strike within the first week or ten days. If they don't win it in that time the chances are they will never win it in many of these places. If they have to wait until the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor passes judgment on the thing it will not be in time to be of real service to them. That is the thing I am afraid of.

Delegate McCurdy, Maryland—District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—In answer to Delegate Martel I want to say, as President of the Baltimore Federation of Labor,—

Delegate Frey, Metal Trades Department: I rise to a point of order. The hour for the special order of business, 4:00 o'clock, has arrived.

Delegate McCurdy: Brother Frey, will you please acquiesce in my request?

Delegate Frey: The convention does that, if they continue to listen.

Delegate McCurdy: I want to say, Mr. President, as a member of the United Garment Workers of America, and as President of the Baltimore Federation of Labor and President of the Maryland-District of Columbia Federation of Labor, to the building trades men who are sitting in this convention, that when the time came in my city in regard to the replacement of union men with non-union men on building trades work, it could be said truthfully that the representative of the Baltimore Federation of Labor replaced non-union building tradesmen with union building tradesmen on work in the city of Baltimore. And I want to say this as a mechanic who has learned his trade under the United Garment Workers of America, to Brother Martel, that I am in a position to take his measure, cut his suit of clothes, if you please, and tailor it into the best fitting suit of clothes he ever had on in his life.

We hear a lot of talk about garment workers and about what they do in cooperation with the things that the American Federation of Labor stands for, but I am here to tell you, Mr. Chairman, and to tell Mr. Martel that I take objection to his statement that he made previously, that in order to wear a suit of clothes with a union label of the United Garment Workers of America on it, you would have to wear overalls.

Delegate Martel: I rise to a point of order. This man is not answering anything that I said at all, and I object to

his bandying my name around here. If he wants to take any measure he can take it for a suit of clothes as far as I am concerned or he can take it for something else.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

President Green: The convention will please be in order. We will now interrupt the report of the committee and the discussion which has taken place and proceed to the special order of business. The convention directed that the election of officers be made a special order for 4:00 o'clock this afternoon. That hour has arrived and the special order of business will now proceed.

The chair asks that President Manion of the Brotherhood of Railway Telegraphers, please come forward and preside.

Delegate E. J. Manion, Railroad Telegraphers, in the chair.

Chairman Manion: Delegates, the time has now arrived for the special order of business, the election of officers. The first order of business will be the nomination and election of a President for the American Federation of Labor for the forthcoming term of one year.

Delegate Harrison, Railway Clerks: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I rise to nominate a leader for the next term, and as the chief executive of the American Federation of Labor, in considering our leader I think perhaps it might be well to suggest that American labor as represented by the American Federation of Labor is upon the threshold of new opportunities to be of service to the toiling masses of our country and to contribute that wholesome influence to the peoples of the world who cherish the same ideals and have the same aspirations that we in America love so well.

In my judgment, the future holds much for the people of our country. Our opportunities to realize our ambitions will, to a large extent, be determined by that leadership which we

here, through this American Federation of Labor, give to our people.

We now have, I think, a governmental administration which is more sympathetic to our ideals than that which many of us have ever heretofore known, and upon the wisdom displayed by us and upon the policies which we determine and upon our actions will depend whether or not we realize that opportunity and keep the faith with those who depend upon the American labor movement.

And so in presenting a candidate for the high and honorable office of President of the American Federation of Labor, it is well that we select one who possesses the qualifications of confidence, integrity, and the personality that will lead us to those better opportunities. I desire to offer such a candidate to your favorable consideration, one whose record in the labor movement is known by all, one whose ability is surpassed by none—a personality loved by all.

It is a pleasure to submit the name of William Green as candidate for President of the American Federation of Labor.

(The audience arose and applauded the nomination of President Green)

Chairman Manion: The chair recognizes President Williams of the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Williams, Building Trades Department—Mr. Chairman and delegates, I rise at this time to second the nomination of the most outstanding labor leader in the world today. Admitting the fact that he is the most outstanding labor leader of the present day, he belongs at the head of the greatest labor movement in the world today. He is a man who has sacrificed his own personal interests to protect the American Federation of Labor from those who would destroy it; a man who had the love and admiration of every President of the United States who has had the honor of being acquainted with him; a man whose advice

is sought by United States Senators and Congressmen.

Therefore, as President of the Building Trades Department, and in behalf of the Building Trades Department, it gives me great pleasure to second the nomination of Bill Green, our Bill Green, for President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I move that nominations be closed, and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for William Green as President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William Green as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: In conformity with the announcement just made and the instructions of the convention, I declare William Green elected President for the ensuing term.

President Green: Mr. Chairman, officers and delegates in attendance at this great convention of the American Federation of Labor: I accept with a full sense of appreciation and responsibility this high honor which you have again conferred upon me. I am conscious of the grave responsibilities incurred, but with a feeling of courage and confidence I accept the commission, and neither foe within or foe without will stop us from going forward to the realization of our objectives.

The call of the hour, in my judgment, is for the exercise of patience and tolerance. We must not substitute passion or feeling for judgment, but possessed of all our faculties, self-disciplined and self-controlled, we must grapple with our internal and external problems as wise, patient, tolerant men.

I view the future with some feeling of apprehension and deep concern. It is easy for us to face the common foe,

those who oppose the organized labor movement for selfish economic reasons, but it is not easy for us to battle with those who are a part of our great organized labor family. We shrink from that, we turn from it, we want to avoid it. And in order to avoid it, in order that we might meet the common foe unitedly with our breasts collectively bared, I take advantage of this occasion again to plead with the family, those who should be here, to come back to our home and sit with us and share with us the common fight. Our efforts will be directed along those lines and to heal up the wounds, to close up the breach, to unite the family, and to present to the common enemy, the constitutional enemy, the united opposition and the united front of labor.

We have before us great opportunities. Like a panorama unfolding, we see the picture. We are permitted to live at a period in our nation's history when there are so many things favorable to labor, and we want to take advantage of all of those favorable conditions during the coming year so that we can promote and advance the common interests of all.

I promise you, my friends, to give to my work the best I have, my strength and my energy, all I possess. There is no sacrifice that I could make that I would not willingly make in order to unite the forces of labor. I pledge to you a leadership, courageous, militant, uncompromising and unflinching in every circumstance in which the American Federation of Labor is placed.

It is indeed a pleasure, an honor, and a privilege to lead such a mighty army of millions of men and women united in a common cause. I appreciate that honor. I express to you my deep appreciation of your renewed confidence in me, and as your leader I promise again and pledge in your presence the best of service that I can give the organized labor movement of the nation.

I thank you.

Chairman Manion: The next order of

business is the nomination and election of a First Vice-President.

Delegate Lakey, Carpenters: I feel it an honor and a privilege to nominate the dean of the Executive Council. I know the work he has done in that Council, because I have worked with him in the office of the Brotherhood of Carpenters for nearly thirty years. We all recognize the ability of Frank Duffy, and we thank him for his untiring efforts in behalf of the organized labor movement of America. I therefore take great pleasure in placing in nomination Frank Duffy, Secretary of United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Kelly, Carpenters: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Frank Duffy as First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Frank Duffy as First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: By your vote you have elected Brother Duffy First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The next order of business is the election of a Second Vice President to succeed Brother Rickert.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: It is not my purpose to deliver an extended eulogy on the splendid officer who now occupies the office of Second Vice President. However, I believe I should review very briefly a few matters, both with reference to him and to his splendid organization. His national union fifty-six long years ago stood beside the cradle when the Federation was born. The officers of his union at that time helped to dress the struggling infant in its swaddling clothes.

This officer has served you for twenty long years. He is one of those who stood at the right side of the mighty Gompers and contributed materially to the success of the Gompers' administration. He is also privileged to be one of those who now sits at the right hand of our honored leader, William Green, the statesman, the warrior, and one of the finest leaders of men it has been my privilege to know. And again he has contributed materially to the success of William Green's administration. His national union, I am frank to say,—and I believe with truth in view of the record that stands—will live and die within the American Federation of Labor, or rather it will live as long as water runs and grass grows, and this officer will live and die within the Federation, either as an officer or a representative of his national union.

Mr. Chairman, it is a privilege to present to this convention the name of the distinguished President of the United Garment Workers of America, Thomas A. Rickert.

Chairman Manion: Are there any further nominations?

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I move that nominations be closed, and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Mr. Rickert for Second Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Thomas A. Rickert as Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: In conformity with the announcement just made and the instructions of the convention, I declare Thomas A. Rickert duly elected Second Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Third Vice President.

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers: I desire to place in nomination a man

who needs no introduction to this assembly and no eulogy on my part, a man who has done much for this Federation and for the labor movement of this country. I take great pleasure in nominating for Third Vice President Matthew Woll.

Delegate Madsen, Painters: I move you that nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Matthew Woll for Third Vice President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Matthew Woll for Third Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: In accordance with the announcement and the instructions of this convention, I declare Matthew Woll duly elected Third Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nominations now for Fourth Vice President to succeed Vice President Coefield.

Delegate Burke, Plumbers: It gives me pleasure to place in nomination for Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor the present incumbent in office, John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of United States and Canada.

Delegate Myrup, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for John Coefield for Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for John Coefield for Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: And the Chair declares John Coefield unanimously elected Fourth Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifth Vice President to succeed Vice President Wharton.

Delegate Henning: Machinists: Up to the present time in this convention the members of our delegation, outside of the work we have had to perform in presenting committee reports, have at all times refrained from making speeches on the floor of this convention, and I am not going to spoil that record now. I take pleasure in presenting the name of Arthur O. Wharton, President of the International Association of Machinists, for Fifth Vice President.

Delegate Alifas, Machinists: I move that nominations be closed, and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Arthur O. Wharton for Fifth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Arthur O. Wharton as Fifth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Manion: In conformity with the announcement just made and the instructions of this convention, I declare Arthur O. Wharton elected Fifth Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nominations now for Sixth Vice President.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I arise at this time for the purpose of exercising the coveted privilege of placing in nomination for the office of Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor one whose chair at the Council table has, so far as the purposes of this convention are concerned, been vacant.

On the first day of August, he was

sorely stricken. It was found that a critical operation was necessary. At times his life hung in the balance. On the 7th day of the current month his slow recovery had reached a point where his physicians thought that it would be expedient and safe to have him sent to the Pacific Coast where it was believed that the climatic properties of that region would help to restore him to his old-time vigor.

The illness he is now undergoing is the penalty imposed by nature when zeal for a cause carries one beyond the reasonable limitations of health, pain, suffering, and the dull tedium of the sick room have been powerless to stifle his interest in the work of the American Federation of Musicians and as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. His friends and co-workers on the floor of this convention indulge the hope that as a result of this day's deliberations they may be able to flash across the continent the glad tidings that your confidence in him is undiminished, that your faith in him is unmarred. Whittier tells us:

"The healing of the seamless dress
Is by our beds of pain.

We touch in mind life's throng and
stress

And are made whole again."

Our added hope is that by the waters of the Pacific shore and under the genial radiance of the western sun he may find full "healing of the seamless dress" that will restore him to the ranks where he has rendered such illustrious and permanent service in days gone by.

I therefore nominate for the office of Sixth Vice President Joseph N. Weber, of New York.

Delegate Dempsey, Motion Picture Operators: I rise at this time to second the nomination of Joseph N. Weber without any further remarks.

Delegate Bagley, Musicians: I move that nominations be closed, and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for

Joseph N. Weber for Sixth Vice President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Joseph N. Weber as Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: In conformity with the announcement just made and the instructions of this convention, I declare Joseph N. Weber elected Sixth Vice President for the ensuing term.

The chair calls for nominations now for Seventh Vice President.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: I rise to nominate a man who has served long and well this American Federation of Labor. It is with honor and pleasure that I nominate G. M. Bugniazet, International Secretary of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Delegate George, Post Office Clerks: I move that nominations close and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for G. M. Bugniazet.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for G. M. Bugniazet as Seventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Manion: In conformity with the announcement just made and the instructions of this convention, I declare G. M. Bugniazet duly elected Seventh Vice President.

The Chair calls for nominations now for Eighth Vice President.

Delegate Fljzodal, Maintenance of Way Employes: Mr. Chairman, I rise to nominate a man who needs no introduction to the American Federation of Labor or the labor movement of this country. Anything I could say I am sure would not add to his reputation. The services he has rendered to the labor movement in the past are a sufficient guarantee of his work.

I know the delegates in this convention will unanimously cast their vote for this man. Mr. Chairman, I have great pleasure indeed in placing in nomination for the position of Eighth Vice President Brother George N. Harrison, President of the Railway Clerks, and Chairman of the Railway Executive Association.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I move that the nominations close, and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for George N. Harrison for Eighth Vice President.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for George N. Harrison, as Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: And the Chair declares George N. Harrison elected Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nominations for a Ninth Vice President to succeed Vice President Tobin.

Delegate Hughes, International Brotherhood of Teamsters: I desire at this time to place in nomination Daniel J. Tobin for the office of Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Burke, Plumbers: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin for Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin as Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: And in conformity with the announcement, the Chair hereby declares Brother Daniel J.

Tobin elected as Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Tenth Vice President.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers: I desire to place before you the name of Harry C. Bates of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers.

Delegate Coefield, Plumbers: I think in gatherings of this kind we should welcome art into our ranks, and I consider it an honor to move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Harry C. Bates, representing the art of masonry, the chief artist representing the bricklayers and masons.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Harry C. Bates as Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: And in conformity with the announcement, the Chair hereby declares Brother Harry C. Bates elected as Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for the nomination for Eleventh Vice President.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: I rise at this time to place before you the name of a brother who has successfully headed the great National Association of Letter Carriers for twenty-three years, and under whose successful guidance it has grown in power and influence, as has, of course, the great Federation of Labor itself, headed by William Green, who has carried us forward so that during his presidency our hours of labor have been decreased 30 per cent, our annual remuneration has been increased 75 percent, and when you put the two together that means our rate per hour has been more than doubled.

His members serve the poor in their homes without condescension, they serve the rich in their palaces without sycophancy, and he himself typifies the ideas of self-taught America. Self-taught and continually self-teaching, you will find him day after day in conversation with bootblacks, with chauffeurs, with Congressmen, with Senators, and with university presidents. None so low from whom he cannot learn, none so high but what he meets them on terms of mental equality. With his head in the high heavens of idealism, his far seeing eyes looking forward to that happy time when there will be prosperity for all, his feet are always placed on the rock of realism, with one hand reaching forward garnering future victories for his own, for all of us.

Only a few hours ago you heard his magnificent report as Chairman of the Committee on Shorter Work-Day, and we all know that the adoption of his philosophy, the practice of his teachings will bring success, not only to the workers of America, but to all the people of America.

Without further encroaching upon your time, I present in the name of the Letter Carriers our President to be your servant, Edward J. Gainor.

Delegate Hyatt, Post Office Clerks: I move that nominations close and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Edward J. Gainor, for Eleventh Vice President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward J. Gainor as Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: And the Chair officially declares Brother Edward J. Gainor elected Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Twelfth Vice President.

Delegate McMorro, Street and Electric Railway Employees: I rise at this time to place in nomination a man who needs no introduction, I think, to the older delegates. I served as a delegate thirty-two years ago with the person I am about to name. He has been the guide and inspiration of my organization for forty-six years. Perhaps he is the dean of the Federation; but let me say in conclusion that the older he gets—he is like Halg and Halg, he gets better with years. It affords me great pleasure to place in nomination W. D. Mahon, for twelve years Vice President.

Delegate Case, Lathers: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William D. Mahon for Twelfth Vice President.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William D. Mahon as Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: And the Chair officially declares William D. Mahon elected as Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for a Thirteenth Vice President.

Delegate Barney, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I desire to place in nomination the name of a man who for over thirty years has been active in the labor movement. He served on two Government labor boards. He has attended every American Federation of Labor convention, either as a delegate or a visitor, since 1910. He is General President of his organization and is well known in the labor movement. It gives me great pleasure at this time to nominate Brother Felix H. Knight, General President of the Railway Carmen of America, for Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Macrorie, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I move that nomina-

tions be closed and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Felix H. Knight as Thirteenth Vice President.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Felix H. Knight as Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: And the Chair officially declares Felix H. Knight duly elected Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourteenth Vice President.

Delegate Dempsey, Theatrical Stage Employees: I rise at this time to place in nomination the present incumbent, George E. Brown, for the consideration of the delegates.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: I move that the nominations close and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for George E. Brown as Fourteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for George E. Brown as Fourteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: And the Chair officially declares George E. Brown duly elected Fourteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifteenth Vice President.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: In behalf of the delegation from the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Bartenders' League of America, and many other friends, it is my pleasure and privilege to place in nomination a brother who has led our organization for more than a quar-

ter of a century. I take great pleasure in nominating Brother Edward Flore.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that nominations be closed, and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Edward Flore for Fifteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward Flore for Fifteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: And the Chair hereby officially declares Edward Flore Fifteenth Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Secretary-Treasurer.

Delegate Martel, International Typographical Union: I desire to place in nomination a gentleman who has served this organization as Secretary so long that the minds of men runneth not to the contrary. During all the strife and storm he stands as the Rock of Gibraltar, both feet on the ground, calm and steadfast. He has given service as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. It is my pleasure and privilege to present you the name of Honorable Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union, for re-election.

Delegate McCurdy, Maryland State Federation of Labor: I rise to second the nomination of Frank Morrison, and I want to say that Brother Martel did the best thing that he has done at this convention when he nominated Frank Morrison.

Vice President Mahon: I move to close nominations and that the Chairman be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary-Treasurer for the ensuing term.

Chairman Manion: Complying with the instructions, I hereby cast the

unanimous vote of this convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term, and I declare him unanimously elected. And it is the best act I have done since I have been in this convention.

Delegate Holmgren, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: Mr. Chairman, I move you that we give Acting Chairman Manion a vote of thanks for the fine way in which he conducted the election of officers.

President Green in the Chair.

President Green: The next order of business is the selection of delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. The first nomination will be the first delegate and the next will be the second delegate.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: We all realize the importance at this time of sending a delegate to Great Britain that will fully represent the American people. We know that Britain will soon have an American queen. We want some one to adequately represent the American people in going before the next British Congress, and with that view in mind, I rise at this time to present the name of a delegate who is thoroughly acquainted with all the arts that are necessary to array and arrange the next Queen of Great Britain, as a representative of the American people. I therefore present the name of Delegate William C. Birthright, of the Barbers' International Union, who understands all the arts of his trade which are necessary to equip the coming Queen of Great Britain for her position, William C. Birthright, International Secretary of the Barbers' International Union, as first delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Crane, Barbers: As a representative of the Barbers' Union, I wish to second the nomination of William C. Birthright.

Delegate Reagan, Barbers: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of

the convention for William C. Birthright as first delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William C. Birthright as first fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

President Green: And the Chair declares William C. Birthright unanimously elected.

Nominations are in order for a second fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegates Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: I desire at this time, Mr. Chairman and delegates, to place in nomination for No. 2 delegate to the British Trades Union Congress a sheet metal worker who is First Vice President of our international union. I hope you will approve of our selection, James J. Ryan, of the Sheet Metal Workers.

Delegate Walter, Boiler Makers: I move to close nominations and instruct the Secretary to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for James J. Ryan for second delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for James J. Ryan for fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

President Green: And the Chair declares James J. Ryan duly elected as fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Nominations are in order for a fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers: Inasmuch as there apparently are no political aspirants for this office, I move you that the selection of a delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress be left in the hands of the Executive Council.

Delegate Martel: Is that motion in order?

President Green: I am sure Brother Volz will withdraw that motion.

Delegate Martel: The fact that nobody has olled the machinery is no reason why the Executive Council should make the appointment. I desire to place in nomination for that position a man who spent considerable time in Canada, and was active in building up the trades union movement there before coming to America. He has a wide acquaintance in this convention and has served on committees, Mr. William R. Trotter, of the International Typographical Union.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I nominate Delegate Martel.

Delegate Martel: I am not a candidate.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that nominations be closed.

Delegate Coefield, Plumbers: Do I understand nominations are closed?

President Green: Not yet.

Delegate Coefield: Then I rise to nominate a delegate for the position who, by his action in this convention, has demonstrated that he will give you good service, Brother R. A. Henning, of the International Association of Machinists.

Delegate Trotter: Seeing that I did not seek the office, I will withdraw in favor of any other nominee.

Delegate Franklin, Boiler Makers: I move that nominations close and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Delegate Henning for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for R. A. Henning as fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted, and the Chair de-

clared Delegate Henning unanimously elected.

Convention City

President Green: We have an invitation to hold the convention at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; we have an invitation to hold the convention at Atlantic City; we have an invitation to hold the convention in Halifax, Nova Scotia; we have an invitation from the manager of the Netherland-Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, to come there.

Delegate Williams, Building Trades: I rise to place in nomination the city of Denver.

Delegate Adams, Denver Trades and Labor Assembly: I rise to support the nomination of Denver as the city for the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention. As you know, we can offer you a climate that is second to none in the United States. We can offer you mountain scenery which is unsurpassed. I think you can do us a great deal of good by coming to Denver for your next convention. We can offer you some union restaurants and union shops and, inasmuch as we are now conducting an organizational drive, I hope we will be able to offer you all union accommodations.

We are in the center of a large agricultural industry. We are the center of a great coal mining region and there are silver and lead mines. Therefore, I say you can do us a great deal of good by holding your convention in our city and give an impetus to union labor of which we are in need. We can offer you entertainment. I sincerely urge the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1937 convention in Denver, Colorado.

Delegate Williams, Building Trades: I rise to yield the honor to the dear sister in nominating Denver, and I desire to second the nomination.

Delegate Martel: The International Typographical Union, as you know, has its home in Colorado Springs. It was established originally for a T. B.

colony. As I know we have a lot of one-lungers in this convention, I know Denver will be selected.

Delegate Hirschberg, Philadelphia Central Labor Union: I place in nomination the renowned City of Brotherly Love, the city that for forty years supported the G. O. P., but in the last election succumbed to democracy and supported President Roosevelt. Pennsylvania gave him a large majority and has wiped out two Republican Senators, besides electing Governor Earl and Lieutenant Governor Kennedy, both Democrats.

The city of reaction, as exemplified by the Union League, the Manufacturers' Club and the Chamber of Commerce, has nevertheless given us a Mayor who, when he first took office, inaugurated a Labor Board that has settled innumerable cases in favor of the working people. He has taken authority from the police to supervise picketing. You can now find striking picketers unmolested by police. The city, as you know, has much to show of historic exhibits. Within a stone's throw of the City Hall you find the great building in which was adopted the Constitution of the United States. A short distance away is the Betsy Ross House where the most historic flag in the world was made.

The Central Labor Union of Philadelphia has requested me to ask you to permit them to become your hosts next year, not only because they have not had that pleasure and honor for twenty-four years, but we find that in 1937 Philadelphia will celebrate the birth of the Constitution, the 150th anniversary. If what has been said upon this floor and elsewhere is true, that the Constitution of the United States needs improving, there is no greater opportunity to dramatize the situation than to appear upon this occasion in the city of Philadelphia.

I trust, therefore, for the reasons outlined, that when you vote, you will vote to meet in 1937 in the City of Brotherly Love, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Upon motion, nominations were closed.

President Green: The Chair will test the judgment of the convention by a show of hands. All those in favor of the city of Denver in which to hold our next convention, will hold up their hands.

A large number of delegates held up their hands.

President Green: All those who favor holding the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in the city of Philadelphia, will hold up their right hands.

A comparatively small number of delegates voted for Philadelphia.

President Green: The Chair declares the city of Denver as the city selected for holding the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: The convention will now revert to the regular order of business, and the Chair recognizes Secretary Volz, of the committee.

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers: Mr. Chairman, I have been requested to call attention to an invitation that is being extended to this Federation to hold its 1939 convention in the city of New York. The invitation comes from the New York World's Fair 1939, Inc., addressed to Vice President Woll, and is signed by Grover Whalen, President of that activity. The communication is as follows:

November 16, 1936.

Dear Matt:

As you well know, in 1939 New York will commemorate the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Government in New York and the inauguration of George Washington as the first president of the republic.

In 1939 in New York we will hold a World's Fair. It occurred to me that since the American Federation of Labor is in convention assembled in Tampa, Florida, you would wish at this time to consider our invitation to hold your 1939 convention in New York.

The New York World's Fair, as the name indicates, will be an international exposition and will attract not only people from every state in our own country but also visitors from every country in Europe. We estimate that fifty-five million people will visit the

Fair and I feel sure that in no city in the country, could the American Federation of Labor find a more desirable place to hold its convention in 1939. May I ask you to officially extend this invitation on behalf of the New York World's Fair to your fellow delegates of the American Federation of Labor.

With high personal regards,
Very sincerely,

GROVER WHALEN.

Mr. Matthew Woll, Vice President,
American Federation of Labor,
Floridan Hotel,
Tampa, Florida.

As I said, the letter is addressed to Vice President Woll, who is on the Board of Directors of the New York Worlds Fair. I might add that there are a number of delegates who have been attending this convention who are on the Labor Advisory Board of the Worlds Fair, including Michael Cashen, Edward Canavan, James Quinn, Joe Ryan, and a number of others, including myself, and we heartily extend this invitation for the 1939 convention.

Delegate Holmgren, Railway Carmen: In response to the statement made by the brother, may I suggest, although I don't believe it is in order, that we comply with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor and decide this question at our convention in 1938? Some of us may not be here.

President Green: The invitation extended will be included in the proceedings of the convention. It will be the prerogative of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in 1938, to select the 1939 convention.

A Delegate: That does not commit the convention to go to New York, does it?

President Green: No, that does not commit the convention to anything.

Report of Committee on Law (Cont.)

President Green: The convention was considering Resolution No. 2 when we interrupted the regular order of business for the election of officers. The chair recognizes Vice President Tobin, chairman of the committee.

Vice President Tobin: First, I want to say to the delegates that your Com-

mittee on Laws, in giving consideration to this resolution, has tried to do the best we could toward straightening out a condition that has obtained for many, many years and that has caused a great deal of unpleasantness between central bodies and international unions.

This is not the first time this question has been up before the convention. Over thirty years ago a strike obtained in the city of Boston against a large employer. The central body in Boston at that time placed a boycott on this large employer. The Executive Council of the Federation at that time adopted a resolution condemning the central body and in substance saying that no such action could be taken in the future by any central body without the approval of the Executive Council. Where the Executive Council failed at that time was in not bringing the matter into the convention and having the substance of their resolution adopted as a part of the laws. But the rule obtained, and as a result of that the resolution in the Council, of which I was not a member, prevailed for many years regarding boycotts where there was a large number of unions employed.

I don't think it is necessary for me to say that the International Union I represent has had substantial assistance from central bodies on more than one occasion, especially in the distribution of milk and bakery products and other articles which our membership haul. Delegate Frank Martel, of the International Typographical Union—and he is representing the Typographical Union and not the central body—and I want to say for your information, Brother Martel, that your International President appealed to the Council some three or four months ago, asking the Council in the strongest possible language to do something to protect International Unions from central bodies placing large memberships in a very unpleasant position as a result of boycotts. The Council had no power un-

der the constitution to check a central body.

So when this resolution came in from the Building Trades Department, subscribed to by the Metal Trades Department, as we found out in the hearing, your Laws Committee discussed the matter from every angle for two or three days. International officers appeared before us. We tried to devise some means that would not seriously injure the central body, but that would protect international unions where trade agreements obtained.

Under our report, if it is adopted—and it makes no special difference to me or any other one member of the committee—the procedure will be as follows, boiling it down in plain language: if there is an employer who is unfair to a certain organization and that employer refuses to do business with that organization, the delegates from that organization come to the central body and the central body makes an investigation and endeavors to bring about a settlement. Failing to do that, three or four or five organizations within the central body call the organizations together and say to them, in substance, will you go along with us in an endeavor to straighten out this employer for this one particular union? If the other organizations say OK the matter is then and there handled by the central body and they are allowed to proceed.

Now, then, we take the other point of view. If the other organizations refuse to go along because they say this trade has never been organized and we have trade agreements, then the central body sends the matter to the Federation by letter or by wire. The Executive Council will, in my judgment, delegate President Green and one or two associates in Washington the right and power to decide the procedure of the Council. President Green will then immediately try to get the International unions to see the wisdom of the action of the central body.

If, on the other hand, President Green and his associates decide that it

is dangerous to involve trade agreements or involve the membership of large organizations, President Green will say no to the central body. If there is no other organization involved but this one particular union that asks the assistance of the central body, there is no question whatever—and that obtains in nine out of ten cases—there will be no hindrance whatever upon the central body proceeding as before to adjust the difference or to place this firm on the "We don't patronize" list.

That is the purpose of this report, to prevent a large number of unions from being placed in a position where their membership working under agreements are compelled to work for an employer that is placed on the unfair list, and I think you men will agree that there is nothing unfair in trying to protect trade agreements where they are obtained for years in many instances with many employers.

Now we will take the other side of the question. We will say there are nine organizations working for one particular concern in the building trades, or in the printing trades, or in the metal trades industry, and of those nine trades eight of them have a grievance with an employer and there is one little organization that says, we won't go along. We know how those things can be brought about, and here are the eight trades that are held up from getting this employer on the unfair list by one union. The central body again acts and endeavors to get this one union to agree with the majority in favor of a boycott and they can't do anything because there is some ulterior motive—in some instances it may be hidden—whereby they can't move this one organization in the interests of the other eight. Then the president of the central body goes again to the President of the Federation, and the President of the Federation endeavors to contact the officers of this one small union and he fails. Then the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the power given to him by the Ex-

ecutive Council, can say to the central body, "yes, you go ahead, you are justified in your stand."

That, in substance, is about what the report of the committee means. If you don't want it I am afraid you are going to make a mistake, because there are conditions arising within the last few years in our movement where many inexperienced delegates are getting into central bodies, young men and women who are as interested and sincere as we are, but they haven't the experience of the years of trial we have gone through, and in many central bodies radical action is liable to prevail in many instances within the next two or three years.

Having all these phases of the situation in mind, and after sitting for days on the Council in a recent case, Seattle, and listening to another complaint from an international officer before committee in reference to a building trades matter, your committee brought in this report, expecting that you might give it a trial, and if it doesn't work successfully it is your privilege to repeal the amendment next year or the year after.

I hope and trust that the delegates here, considering the dangerous situation confronting the International Unions with trade agreements, will give this report, which was unanimous on the part of the committee, a trial for a year or two.

Delegate Olkives, Kenosha Central Labor Union: I believe that the city central bodies should be disciplined, and I believe they are being disciplined. From hearing the remarks of so many delegates here who are speaking in favor of the adoption of the committee's report, one would think that the central bodies throughout the nation are going contrary to the regulations of the American Federation of Labor, one would think they are using bad judgment in the application of boycotts in their respective cities.

We have in our city a large group

of men organized. I think the percentage on a per capita basis is as great or greater than any city in the United States. The subject as presented by the committee appears to me that if I wanted to travel from Milwaukee to Chicago I would have to go by way of Detroit. Many of these issues that will be up for disposition before city central bodies will not have the proper attention of the city central bodies and will not receive the proper service of the central bodies if we first have to appeal to the local union, and the local union disagreeing with the central body, we will then go to the international union and they will say they will abide by the decision and the request of the local union; then we will have to go to the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council to determine the proper steps to take on this question.

I think we have been disciplined, and I think when you make reference to an incident thirty years ago, it is a very poor reference.

I think we have been going along in this matter with a minimum of mistakes, and I think we should continue to operate in that manner. If it would be in order, I would suggest that this entire matter be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration, and let us continue in the manner that we are, because I know that in the city of Kenosha, with a population of less than 50,000, we have 8000 dues paying members, men and women in organized labor, merely because they wanted to, and in many instances we did not get the employers to agree to enter into an agreement with the employees, as they have in the city of Kenosha, merely because they were organized. When one of these organizations would consult their employer for the purpose of working out agreements, if they told the employer, unless you meet us and make an agreement with us on this matter, we will go on strike and boycott you, do you know what the employers in

Kenosha would tell them? We will find out what the City Central Body has to say about it. And we have usually intervened in bringing about a satisfactory adjustment. It has been necessary in many instances to boycott an employer. I think every employer is at heart in favor of organized labor. If he can and will enter into an agreement with one union or with one group of men, and if he does so sincerely and honestly, he will enter into an agreement with all union men.

I might use the phrase, "Hateful to me as the gates of hell is he who holds in his heart one thing and utters another." If he is not sincere, let us strike against him or boycott him and find out if he is sincere or not.

I think this thing should be referred back and be given a report from the Executive Council.

The vote was taken on the motion to adopt the committee's report.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that the report of the committee is adopted by more than two-thirds majority. It is so ordered.

Delegate Coefield, Plumbers: I rise at this time to make a motion that seems to be one that will suit the delegates. My motion is that we suspend the rules and continue in session until we complete the work of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: Let me say just a word in order to allay apprehension on the part of the representatives of city central bodies, and particularly of Federal labor unions. First of all, city central bodies I know will be given the widest latitude in their policy of dealing with unfriendly employers in their respective communities. For one, I shall strongly oppose the restriction of central bodies in placing firms upon the unfair list, excepting in some grave emergency. We want the central bodies to be able

to deal with these questions quickly and promptly in their respective communities. In my official capacity I shall favor granting to the central bodies the widest power to deal with these questions and place firms upon the unfair list because of their unfriendly attitude to labor.

Secondly, in the introduction of resolutions by Federal labor unions, I interpret the amendment to the constitution to mean that it is designed, not to restrict them in the introduction of resolutions and in having resolutions considered in convention, but it is designed for the purpose of facilitating the work of the convention. When a number of resolutions are introduced upon the same subject, there does not seem to be any good reason why some machinery should not be set up so that those resolutions dealing with the same subject could be consolidated and the convention act upon the consolidation. I shall favor giving the Federal labor unions the widest latitude possible to introduce and present their resolutions.

Proposing Amendment to Law Regulating Basis of Representation of Local Unions in Central Bodies

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate J. F. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is passing through a period of fundamental changes in policy and practices; and

WHEREAS, The present method of determining representation of Local Unions affiliated to Central Labor Unions has caused much dissension and disruption thereby destroying the fundamental purpose of organization and in some localities has created dual unionism; and

WHEREAS, Upon those who believe in organization devolves the responsibility of extending organization and helping others to understand the spirit and purposes of unionism; and

WHEREAS, It is the contention of local unions having a large membership and paying a greater share of the per capita tax that enables Central Labor Unions to carry out the program of solidifying organized labor and organizing the unorganized, that the present law governing representa-

tion in Central Labor Unions be amended and proportional representation substituted; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor amend Sec. 11 of Article XI to read as follows:

"The representation of local unions entitled to affiliations in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 100 members or majority fraction thereof."

Your committee unanimously recommends non-concurrence in this resolution but is of the opinion that Section 11, of Article XI, should be clarified and recommends that this section be amended to read as follows:

Section 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

Your committee moves concurrence in its recommendation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Amend Section Eight of Article Fifteen of the Rules Governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate J. W. Williams, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Committee appointed by the American Federation of Labor to adjust the controversy which existed in the Building Trades Department was granted certain powers and authority; and

WHEREAS, In the understanding reached, it was agreed by the Committee that there would be two additional Vice-Presidents added to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, Section Eight of Article Fifteen of the General Rules governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor provides that the Executive Council of each Department

shall consist of not more than seven members including the Executive Officers or Officer thereof; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Section Eight of Article Fifteen of the rules governing Departments be amended by striking out the word "seven" after the word "than" in the second line of Section Eight and inserting in lieu thereof, the word "nine" so that Section Eight of Article Fifteen will read as follows:

"Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each Department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers, thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department."

Your committee unanimously recommends concurrence in this resolution and moves approval of its action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

In regards to Resolution No. 74 your committee was advised by its introducer that a mistake was made in its preparation and that Article VIII referred to should read Article IX, and Article XV should be changed to Article XIV. We have accordingly changed these references with the consent of the introducer.

Charters for Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 74.—By Delegate H. B. Perham. The Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS, Industrial changes make it necessary to revise our laws to meet new conditions; and

WHEREAS, Our present laws affecting Federal Labor Unions have proved to be discouraging to that kind of organization, and the time has arrived to remove restrictions and make it possible for them to grow,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That Article IX, Section 11, of the constitution be amended by eliminating the first eight lines and up to the words "consent of such unions," and substituting therefor wording as follows: "Charters may be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union making a positive and clear definition of trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant."

That Article XIV, Section 2, be amended by eliminating in fourth and fifth lines the words "not in conflict with National and International Unions."

Your committee unanimously recommends non-concurrence in this resolution and moves approval of its action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Provision for A. F. of L. Convention Representation of Locals Not Represented Through Central Bodies

Resolution No. 193.—By Delegate George Knelp, West Palm Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Locals that are not affiliated with Central Labor Unions because there are no Central Labor Unions in their community, are not entitled to a seat in the American Federation of Labor convention; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That Local No. 1927 respectfully requests that your laws be amended so that locals where there is no Central Body shall be entitled to a seat provided said locals are affiliated with the State Federation of Labor.

Your committee is of the opinion that the intent and purpose of this resolution is to provide delegate representation to Federal Local Unions at conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee calls attention to the fact that this is already provided for in the Constitution. Committee accordingly recommends non-concurrence in the resolution as presented and moves approval of its action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

As previously reported your committee has combined Resolutions No. 57, 107, 124, 152 and 216 for consideration and action by the convention. All of the resolutions provide for the lowering, or the exemption from per capita tax and reduction of dues of Federal Local Unions for various reasons as stated. These resolutions follow:

Proposing Dues and Tax Exemptions for Members of Directly Affiliated Locals on Strike

Resolution No. 57.—By Delegate Rudolph Faupl Fabricated Metal Workers Union No. 19340, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the

American Federation of Labor to require local trade and Federal labor unions to pay a per capita tax on its members and to charge its members a minimum of one dollar (\$1.00) per member per month for dues; and

WHEREAS, This requirement imposes a burden on local trade and Federal labor unions who are conducting a lengthy strike or whose members are locked out; and

WHEREAS, After settlement of a strike or lock-out it is often difficult to get members to pay dues incurred during a strike or lock-out; and

WHEREAS, Such difficulty retards the progress of local trade and Federal labor unions;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That this 56th convention of the American Federation of Labor amend its Constitution and By-Laws to

Exempt local trade and Federal labor unions from paying a per capita tax on those members who are on strike and from requiring these members to pay dues, for the duration of a strike or lock-out directly affecting a local trade or federal labor union, if such strike or lock-out exists for a period of two (2) weeks or more.

Requesting Reduction in Per Capita Tax for Nurses and Hospital Professionals

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Claire Rex, Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals, No. 20094, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The low salaries of nurses and other hospital professionals has resulted in very great hardship in the payment of the present required union dues; and

WHEREAS, The majority of hospital professionals are unorganized; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reduce the per capita tax of thirty-five cents per month to Federal Locals in order that said Locals will be enabled to reduce their dues from the required minimum of one dollar per month which will aid in the organization of this group of professional workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the reduction of per capita tax be considered at the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Proposing Reduction in Per Capita Tax for Directly Affiliated Local Unions

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York City.

WHEREAS, The per capita which Federal locals pay to Washington is 35c (thirty-five cents) a month; and

WHEREAS, Such a per capita necessitates the local charging relatively high monthly dues in order to benefit the local treasury; and

WHEREAS, With real wages falling, such high monthly dues constitute a hardship to the membership of Federal locals; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consider the advisability of lowering the per capita tax of Federal locals to 25c (twenty-five cents).

Proposing Reduction in Dues for Seasonal Workers

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate George Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.

WHEREAS, There are certain unions who are engaged in seasonal work; and

WHEREAS, Certain unions only work short periods of from two to six months; and

WHEREAS, Members who are only employed for these short periods are compelled to pay monthly dues each and every month whether actually employed or not; and

WHEREAS, This taxation is a burden and amounts to exploiting ardent unionists who resent an undemocratic arbitrary assessing of their earnings; and

WHEREAS, Certain members who oppose this tax take out withdrawal cards, and become isolated from the movement; and

WHEREAS, The Alaska Cannery Workers' Union, Local 20195 of San Francisco, and the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers' Union, Local No. 18257 of Seattle, Washington, in regular meeting assembled instructed their constituted officials to take such action that this issue be made a part of the business of the 56th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That certain amendments and revisions regarding out-of-work and unemployed members' dues be changed that will accomplish the relief desired.

Advocating Reduction in Tax for Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 216—By Delegates J. C. Waddell, Federal Labor Union No.

20186, Barberton, Ohio; Donald O. Davis, Match Factory Workers No. 18460, Akron, Ohio; Geo. B. Jackson, Federal Labor Union No. 18959, Orlando, Fla.; Frances Gerhart, Federal Labor Union No. 20183, Barberton, Ohio; Ben Weintraub, Photographic and Finishing Employees' Union No. 18893, New York, N. Y.; Jos. Driscoll, Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.; A. Feinberg, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 19889, Los Angeles, Calif.; Claire Rex, Hospital and Medical Professionals No. 20094, New York, N. Y.; Leif Dahl, Farm Laborers Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.; Wm. J. Cannon, Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.; Marcella Ryan, Cannery Workers Union No. 20099, Alameda County, Calif.; Andrew B. Cross, Federal Labor Union No. 19322, Kenosha, Wis.; Rud. Faupl, Fabricated Metal Workers No. 19340, Milwaukee, Wis.; Henry Garcia, Federal Labor Union No. 20185, Fort Morgan, Colo.; Stanley Joers, Metal Workers Union No. 19829, Milwaukee, Wis.; Patrick Gallagher, Gas Workers Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.; W. Kelleher, Sugar Refinery Employees' Union No. 20037, Crockett, Calif.; Irving Meyers, Technical Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.; Donald Henderson, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20318, Freehold, N. J.; Paul Arias, Agricultural Workers' Union No. 20172, Fort Lupton, Col.; Roy Hawthorne, Cannery Workers' Union No. 20224, Camden, N. J.; Vincent Vigil, Beet Field Workers Union No. 20169, Fort Collins, Colo.; Albert Markva, Agricultural Workers Union No. 19994, Blissfield, Mich.; Arthur Osman, Dry Goods Employees Union No. 19932, New York, N. Y.; Erwin Zumach, Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.; Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.; G. Woolf, Alaska Cannery Workers Union No. 20195, San Francisco, Calif.; Lewis Merrill, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Many federal locals have

become organized in hitherto unorganized fields of industry; and

WHEREAS, The Welfare of organized labor makes it necessary that these locals should be encouraged to push organizational activity and take advantage of organizational opportunities among the unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Locals lack the assistance and benefits received by locals of National and International unions; and

WHEREAS, The dues charged by these locals must of necessity be sufficiently low in order to be able to attract and retain membership among workers who even today fail to appreciate the value of trade-unions; and

WHEREAS, The federal locals lack the financial resources with which to meet their current expenses and the expenses of carrying on organizational campaigns; and

WHEREAS, It is almost impossible for Federal locals to obtain financial assistance to conduct organizational strikes in industries which in many instances are 75% to 90% unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The present rate of per capita tax deprives the locals of much needed finances with which necessary organizational campaigns might be carried on; and

WHEREAS, Numerous locals find it absolutely impossible to regularly meet the per capita tax and thus expose themselves to possible suspensions of charter revocations; and

WHEREAS, A lower per capita tax would make it possible for local unions to honorably meet their obligation to the Federation and to fulfill their promise to recruit many thousands of workers into the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Article 10, Section 1 of the constitution be amended and the phrase "thirty-five cents per member per month" be changed to "twenty-five cents per member per month"; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this amendment become effective on and after January 1st, 1937.

Your committee unanimously recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing five resolutions, Nos. 57, 107, 124, 152 and 216 and moves approval of its action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee has likewise combined for consideration and action by

the convention Resolutions No. 117, 121, 133 and 146, all of which refer to and would prohibit action by the Executive Council in suspending National or International Unions prior to approval by a two-thirds vote of a convention. These resolutions read as follows:

**Suspension of an International Union
By the Executive Council Not to Be-
come Effective Until Approved
by Convention**

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis., and Erwin W. Zumach, Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.

RESOLVED, That Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by the insertion of the following clause:

"Section 13. The suspension of an affiliated National or International Union by order of the Executive Council shall not take effect until approved by a two-thirds majority vote of the delegates assembled at a regular convention."

**Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L.
Constitution Granting Organiza-
tions Suspended by Executive
Council Right of Represen-
tation in Convention**

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Mira Komaroff, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, Detroit, Mich.

RESOLVED, That Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by insertion of the following clause:

"Section 13. The suspension of an affiliated National or International Union, by order of the Executive Council, shall not deprive such affiliated union of the right to representation by delegates at any convention of the American Federation of Labor until the order of the suspension shall have received the approval of a two-thirds majority of the delegates assembled at a regular convention."

**Amendment to Constitution Providing
That Suspension of an International
Union May Be Made Effective
Only Upon Convention Order**

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

RESOLVED, That the present Sec-

tion 12 of Article IX of the constitution be repealed and the following be substituted in lieu thereof:

"Section 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to suspend or revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the suspension or revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of the regular convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll call vote."

**Constitutional Amendment Providing
That Charters May Be Suspended
Only by a Two-Thirds Vote of
the Convention**

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Sanders Genis, Central Labor Union, Minneapolis, Minn.

RESOLVED, That Section 8 of Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by adding thereto the following:

"Rules formulated by the Executive Council with respect to suspension of charters of the National and International unions shall not become operative unless and until such rules have been approved by a two-thirds vote at a regular convention of the Federation."

Your committee unanimously recommends nonconcurrence in the foregoing four Resolutions No. 117, 121, 133 and 146 and moves approval of its action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Volz: This concludes the report of your Committee on Law. All recommendations made were the result of unanimous action. The report is signed on behalf of all members of the committee who attended any of its meetings.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman
EDWARD J. VOLZ, Secretary
DENNIS LANE
PIETRO LUCCHI
CHARLES ANDERSON
GEORGE H. DAVIS
THOMAS FLYNN
Wm. P. WALSH
JAMES L. KELLY
FRED J. DEMPSEY
W. J. GORMAN
DAN HAGGERTY
J. F. WATKINS
GEO. B. FALCONER
HARRY J. STEEPER
Committee on Law.

Secretary Volz: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole and the adoption of the constitution as amended.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair thanks the committee for the service rendered the convention.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Hyatt, to present a resolution in behalf of the Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION OF THANKS

Delegate Hyatt read the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement of Tampa has entertained this convention in splendid fashion and in spite of many handicaps; and

WHEREAS, The citizens of the city have loyally supported and joined with them in these efforts; and

WHEREAS, The press of the city has been unusually active and cooperative; and

WHEREAS, The city officials and administration have extended to the delegates and visitors all possible courtesy and assistance; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does extend to our brothers of the Tampa labor movement, the people of the city, the officials of the civic government and the press our heartiest thanks for their hospitality and for their part in a successful convention."

Delegate Hyatt: I move the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate McMorrow, Street Railway Employees: I might suggest that the mover of this resolution add the press of the city.

Delegate Hyatt: I will accept that.

President Green: We add to that the press of this city, as well as the representatives of the newspapers and the press associations throughout the entire country.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Anderson, of the Special Committee appointed this morning.

Delegate Anderson, Portland, Oregon, Central Labor Council: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the Special Committee appointed this morning by the President of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the strike of some of the cannery workers which occurred last Wednesday, has carried out the instructions of the convention, and delegate Friedrich, a member of the committee, will now present the report.

Report of Special Committee to Investigate Arrests of Cannery Strikers in Tampa

Delegate Friedrich read the following report:

Your committee, due to the lack of time available to it, could not make a detailed and thorough investigation of this matter.

We sought to contact Brother Roy Hawthorne, delegate from Cannery Workers Union No. 20224 of Camden, N. J., who brought this matter before the convention but were informed that he had left the convention.

We were also unable to directly contact any of the workers conducting the strike against the local plant of the California Packing corporation and all of our information comes to us at second hand.

Delegate Hawthorne charged that the President of the newly organized local union formed by the strikers, Brother P. M. Austin, was arrested on Wednesday, November 25, after being elected as president of the local at a meeting the previous night. Delegate Hawthorne also charged that three other strikers were arrested and that one of them was clubbed by the police.

We sought to interview Mayor R. E. L. Chancey about this matter but were unable to do so because he has been ill for some time. We did however confer with Miss Frances Thomas, secretary to Mayor Chancey, and Mr. Claude J. Woodruff, Tampa chief of police.

We were informed by Mr. Woodruff that while Brother Austin was "picked

up" last Wednesday and held for three hours he was not arrested and no charges were lodged against him.

Three other strikers, Gust Morales, Rene Morales and Joe Fernandes were arrested for alleged participation in a fight on the picket line and charged with disturbance of the peace and inciting to riot. These cases came up in Police Court this morning and their trial was set for December 1 on the request of their attorney J. E. Bryan. They have been released, pending trial, upon recognizance of friends binding themselves to a \$100 bond for each one.

One other man, Lois Boisclair, who had previously been arrested and tried was fined \$50 but sentence was suspended.

Your committee emphatically stated the position of the organized labor movement, that these strikers were entitled to peacefully picket and to the full protection of the law and the authorities in the exercise of this right.

The chief of police denied that the right of picketing was being interfered with and contended that some of the arrests had been made to protect the strikers against the strikebreakers.

From delegates and members of local unions who have sought to help these strikers we learn, however, that while picketing is permitted it is not permitted directly in front of the plant but that pickets are required to walk on the opposite side of the street from the plant. This of course makes picketing ineffectual and in the opinion of your committee is a restriction and interference with the right to picket.

Since this convention is about to adjourn and your committee can make no further investigation we recommend that this convention express itself as opposed to any restriction or interference with the full exercise of the right to peaceably picket and that we request the Tampa Central Trades and Labor Assembly to continue the interest of labor in this matter, to gain full justice for those now awaiting trial and

to give such other advice and assistance to these strikers as lies within its power so that the newly formed local union may grow and function to bring about an improvement in the conditions of these workers who in the past have been forced to work under deplorable conditions.

GUST ANDERSON
J. F. FRIEDRICK
LUTHER E. SWARTZ

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that all of the convention committees have completed their work and all of them are discharged with the thanks of the convention.

The Chairman now recognizes Secretary Morrison for announcements and messages.

Communication

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

Tampa, Florida,
November 27, 1936.

The Honorable President and Delegates of The American Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled, Tampa, Florida.

Friends of Tampa:

Tampa has been honored by your presence and visit here. The people of Tampa have enjoyed exceedingly the privilege of extending hospitality to the delegates and visitors to your Convention. We hope that your stay in Tampa has been pleasant and successful from every standpoint and we hope that all of you will return to Tampa quite often. We also hope that in the future we may have the pleasure of another Federation of Labor Convention in Tampa.

It is a matter of deep regret to me that because of illness I have not had the pleasure of welcoming you and meeting with you and that now, when you are about to leave Tampa, I cannot personally appear before you to personally extend our best wishes for your continued success and prosperity in the achievement of the ideals of your fine organization.

Faithfully yours,

R. E. L. CHANCEY,

RELC:T Mayor.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce, as a matter of informa-

tion to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, that the splendid representatives of the press from the different cities of the country, representing press associations and newspapers, have sent from this city over the Postal and Western Union telegraph lines an estimated million words reporting upon the activities of this convention. You can probably appreciate the extent to which publicity was given to this convention when I say that at the Atlantic City convention one year ago it was estimated that about 225,000 words were reported. The comparison is between a million words sent out from this convention and 225,000 words from our last convention. I know I voice your sentiments and your feelings when I express to the press our deep appreciation of the fine service rendered this convention.

President Green's Closing Statement

Now we have reached the end. We have completed the work of the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. I do not believe that I indulge in exaggeration when I say that this will go down as an historic convention, a great convention of the American Federation of Labor. To those who have attended this convention so faithfully and who have participated in its deliberations,

I express my deep appreciation. I know that you have made a definite contribution to the achievement of the ideals, the hopes and the aspirations of labor.

It has been a highly educational convention. We have completed a record that will be read with interest and profit by students of economics and friends and foes of our great labor movement.

I deeply appreciate your attendance at this convention. I hope you have enjoyed your stay in this city as I have, and I wish for you a safe and happy return to your homes and to your loved ones.

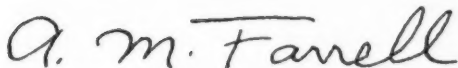
There will be a meeting of the Executive Council at the Floridan Hotel at 2:00 o'clock Saturday afternoon. Representatives of the Cleaners and Dyers' locals who are making application for a national charter and representatives of the agricultural workers are requested to meet with the Executive Council at that time.

I now solemnly declare the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 6:05 o'clock p. m., Friday, November 27, 1936, the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.



Secretary and Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor



Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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